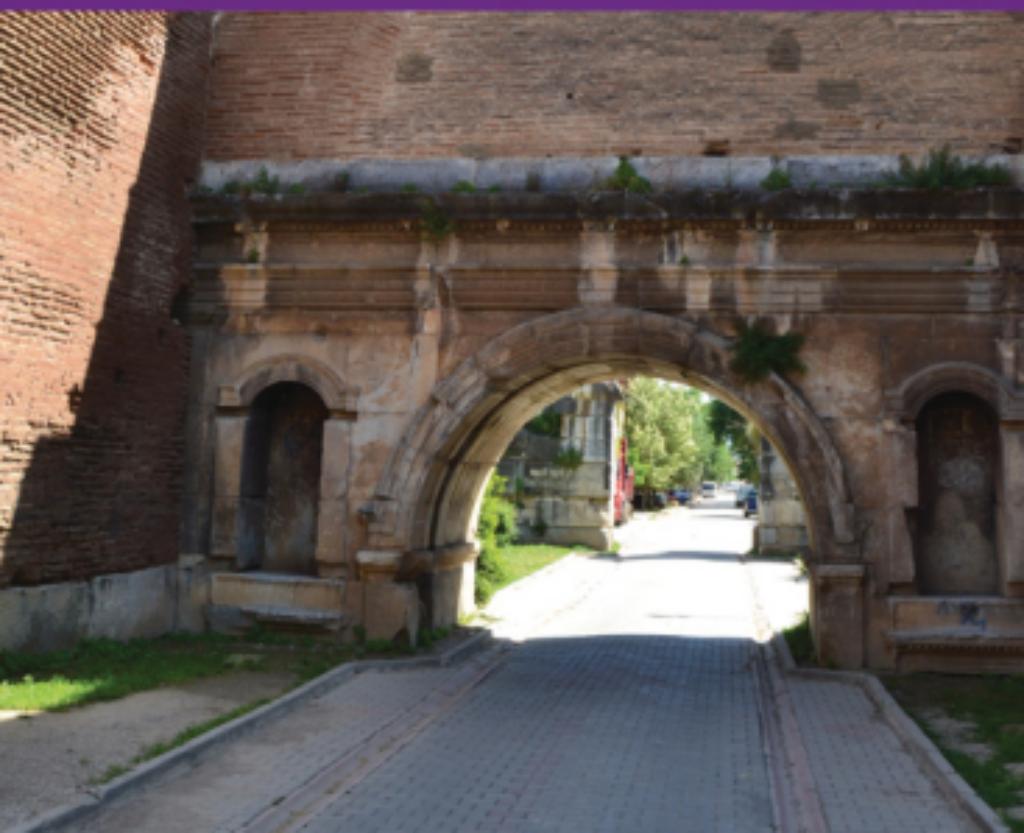


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# Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century

DIMITRI KOROBEINIKOV



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DIMITRI KOROBENIKOV

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*To my parents, Valentina and Alexander*



## *Preface*

This book looks at relations between Byzantium and its eastern neighbours in the thirteenth century. Despite the fall of Constantinople in 1204 and the consequent disintegration of Byzantium, the successor state, the Nicaean Empire (1204–61), was much stronger and much more the heir of the twelfth-century Byzantium of the Komnenoi than has generally been appreciated. Furthermore, it was recognized as such by its eastern neighbours throughout the period. The Nicaean Empire gained dominant influence over the Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm in the 1250s. The appearance of the Mongols added a complicating factor, which the Byzantines at first managed effectively. However, in the last quarter of the century the continued decline of Seljuk power, the continuing migration of Turks from the east, and what effectively amounted to a lack of Mongol interest in western Anatolia allowed the creation of powerful Turkish nomadic confederations in the frontier regions facing Byzantium. By 1304 the nomadic Turks had broken Byzantium's eastern defences. The Empire forever lost its Asian territories, and Constantinople became the easternmost outpost of Byzantium.

The thirteenth century is a period of consistent success for Byzantine diplomacy towards the Seljuks and the Mongols. However, successful relations with the great powers of the age were not ultimately a key factor for successful defence of Byzantine Asia Minor.



## *Acknowledgements*

This book would have been impossible without the help of many people. First and foremost, I thank my supervisor, Dr M. Whittow, for all his help and patience during the laborious process of shaping the structure of this book. My second, unofficial supervisor was Dr R. Repp, who greatly helped me with the ‘oriental’ part of my work. I also owe a considerable debt to Dr M. E. Martin, who read the text throughout and offered many suggestions concerning both the style of the writing and the content. Dr J. Shepard’s support was vital during the last stages of this work.

I am very grateful to Dr J. Gurney for his consultations on Persian, Dr S. Brock and Dr D. G. K. Taylor for their lessons in Syriac, and Professor T. van Lint in Armenian. I also wish to express my gratitude to Professor C. Mango and Professor E. M. Jeffreys for various pieces of advice, to Professor A. A. M. Bryer, for all his help since 1999 when he had given recommendations when I was applying to the University of Oxford, and to Dr J. D. Howard-Johnston, Dr R. Macrides, Professor S. Redford, and Dr A. Peacock for scholarly discussions.

My first thesis had been submitted in Russia, and my supervisor was Academician G. G. Litavrin. His passing was a heavy loss for me, as was that of Professor I. Ševčenko. My first tutors were Dr R. Shukurov and Professor S. Karpov, to whom I am indebted for introducing me to the world of Byzantine and Oriental Studies. I also remember unforgettable talks with Ian Booth about Paphlagonia, our common passion.

The most important parts of the book were written when I was a student at Exeter College, Oxford (1999–2004), a Junior Research Fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford (2004–7), Research Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC (2006–7), and Senior Research Fellow at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, University of Koç, Istanbul (2013). To all these colleges and foundations I am deeply grateful for their support. In Moscow, my colleagues at the Institute of General History, the Russian Academy of Sciences, have been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. I also thank my new colleagues at the University at Albany, SUNY, for their stimulating help.

I also want to thank the editors of *Byzantinische Forschungen* (and in particular Dr W. Kos and Prof W. Kaegi) and Ashgate Publishing Limited (and most especially Mr J. Smedley and Prof L. Brubaker) for permission to reuse the content of two articles of mine.<sup>1</sup> Likewise I am grateful to the

<sup>1</sup> Korobeinikov 2007, 2004b.

Trustees of Dumbarton Oaks for their permission to reproduce the picture of the Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora (Kariye Cami).

*Bonum vinum laetificat cor hominis*, and my life in Oxford would have been bleak and colourless without my Greek friends, all now Doctors: Eleni Lianta, Maria Kouroumali, Panos Sophoulis, and Christos Simelidis. Family friends Jim and Jane Corden have always helped me greatly. Indeed, my time at Oxford would have been inconceivable without their support.

Finally, a special debt to my parents, Valentina and Alexander, for their love, help, and advice.

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## *Abbreviations*

Akropolites	Georgii Acropolitae <i>Opera</i> , eds. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1978)
Akropolites (Macrides)	George Akropolites, <i>The History</i> , trans. R. Macrides (Oxford, 2007)
Akropolites (Zhavoronkov)	Georgii Akropolit, <i>Istoriia</i> , trans. P.I. Zhavoronkov (St Petersburg, 2005)
Aksarayı	Aksaraylı Mehmed oğlu Kerîmüddin Mahmud, <i>Müsâmeret ül-ahbâr. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi</i> , ed. O. Turan (Ankara, 1944)
Bar 'Ebrāyā	Gregorios Bar 'Ebrāyā (Gregorius Barhebraeus), <i>Ktābā d-maktabānūt zabnē: Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon syriacum: e codd. mss. emendatum ac punctis vocalibus adnotationibusque locupletatum</i> , [ed. P. Bedjan] (Paris, 1890)
Bar Hebraeus (Budge)	Gregory Abú'l Faraj, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, <i>The Chronography</i> , ed. and trans. E. W. Budge, 2 vols (London, 1932)
BE	<i>Buζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου</i> , eds. E. L. Branouse and M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, 2 vols. (Athens, 1980)
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
Choniates, <i>Historia</i>	Nicetas Choniates, <i>Historia</i> , ed. I. A. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Dölger, Wirth, <i>Regesten</i> , 3	F. Dölger, <i>Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des öströmischen Reiches, 565–1453</i> , 5 vols. (Munich and Berlin, 1924–77), 3. Teil (with assistance of P. Wirth); <i>Regesten von 1204–1282</i> (Munich, 1977)

Dölger, <i>Regesten</i> , 4	F. Dölger, <i>Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des os-trömischen Reiches von 565–1453. 4. Teil. Re-gesten von 1282–1341</i> (Munich, 1960)
EEBΣ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EI <sup>2</sup>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition</i> , 11 vols. (Leiden, London, 1960–2002)
Gregoras	Nicephorus Gregoras, <i>Historia Byzantina</i> , eds. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–55)
Guilland, <i>Recherches</i>	R. Guilland, <i>Recherches sur les institutions byzantines</i> , 2 vols (Berlin, 1967)
<i>Histoire</i> (ed. Uzluk)	<i>Anadolu Selçukluları Devleti Tarihi III. Histoire des Seldjoukides d'Asie Mineure par un anonyme, depuis l'origine de la dynastie jusqu'à la fin du règne de Sultan Alâ-el-Din Keikoubad IV (?) fils de Soleimanshah 765/1364. Texte persan publié d'après le MS. de Paris</i> , ed. F. N. Uzluk (Ankara, 1952) <sup>1</sup>
Ibn al-Athīr	'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Athīr, <i>al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh</i> , 11 vols. (Beirut, 1998)
Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 2	<i>The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin</i> , trans. D. S. Richards [Crusade Texts in Translation, 15] (Farnham, 2007)
Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3	<i>The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh. Part 3: The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace</i> , trans. D. S. Richards [Crusade Texts in Translation, 17] (Farnham, 2008)
Ibn Bibi	<i>Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure, d'après l'abrégué du Seldjouknāmeh d'Ibn-Bibī: texte persan</i> , ed. M. T. Houtsma [Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides, iv] (Leiden, 1902)

<sup>1</sup> References are made only to the pagination of the Persian manuscript facsimile.

Ibn Bibi (AS)	İbn-i Bibî, <i>El-Evâmirü'l-'Alâ'iyye fi'l-umûri'l-'Alâ'iyye</i> , ed. A. S. Erzi (Ankara, 1956)
Ibn Bibi (Duda)	H. W. Duda, <i>Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibî</i> (Copenhagen, 1959)
Ibn Bibi (Yazıcıoğlu Ali)	<i>Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure d'après Ibn-Bibî: texte turc</i> , ed. M. T. Houtsma [Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides, iii] (Leiden, 1902)
Ibn Bibi (Yazıcızâde Ali)	Yazıcızâde Ali, <i>Tevârîh-i Âl-i Selçuk (Oğuz-nâme-Selçuklu Tarihi)</i> , ed. A. Bakir (Istanbul, 2009)
Juvaini (Boyle)	'Alâ-ad-Din 'Atâ-Malik Juvaini, <i>The History of the World-Conqueror</i> , trans. from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by J. A. Boyle (Manchester, 1997)
Juwaynî	'Alâ al-Dîn 'Atâ Malik-i Juwaynî, <i>Ta'rîkh-i Jahân-Gushâ</i> , Persian text ed. by Mîrzâ Muhammed Qazwînî, 3 vols. [E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, xvi, 1–3] (Leiden, London, 1912–37)
Kirakos Gandzakets'i	Kirakos Gandzakets'i, <i>Patmut'yun Hayots'</i> , ed. K. A. Melik'-Öhanjanyan (Erevan, 1961)
Kirakos (Bedrosian)	Kirakos Gandzakets'i's <i>History of the Armenians</i> , trans. R. Bedrosian (New York, 1986)
Kirakos (Khanlarian)	Kirakos Gandzaketsi, <i>Istoriia Armenii</i> , trans. L. A. Khanlarian (Moscow, 1976)
<i>Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner</i>	<i>Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner</i> , XIII–XV dd. ( <i>Short Chronicles</i> , XIII–XV cent.), ed. V. A. Hakobyan, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1951, 1956)
MM	F. Miklosich, J. Müller, eds., <i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana</i> , 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90)
MPG	J.-P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeco-latina</i> , 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
MPL	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , 217 vols., 4 vols. of indices (Paris, 1844–64)
Nasawî	Shihâb al-Dîn Muhammed al-Nasawî, <i>Sîrat al-sultân Jalâl al-Dîn Mankburni</i> ( <i>Zhizneopisanie sultana Jalal ad-Dina Mankburny</i> ), ed. and trans. Z. M. Buniiatov (Moscow, 1996)

<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991)
Pachymeres	Georges Pachymérès, <i>Relations historiques</i> , ed. A. Failler, trans. A. Failler and V. Laurent, 2 vols. in 5 parts (Paris, 1984–2000)
<i>PBW</i>	M. Jeffreys <i>et al.</i> <i>Prosopography of the Byzantine World</i> : <a href="http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk">http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk</a>
<i>PLP</i>	E. Trapp, R. Walter, H.-V. Beyer, eds. <i>Prosopo- graphisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit</i> (Vienna, 1976–2000)
Rashīd al-Dīn	Rashīd al-Dīn, <i>Jāmi‘ al-tawārikh</i> , ed. B. Karīmī, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1959)
Rashīd al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī)	Rashīd al-Dīn, <i>Jāmi‘ al-tawārikh</i> , ed. M. Rawshan and M. Mūsawī, 4 vols (Tehran, h. sh. 1373 / 1994)
Rashīd al-Dīn (Arends)	Rashīd al-Dīn, <i>Sbornik letopisei</i> , trans. A. K. Arends, L. A. Khetagurov, O. I. Smirnova and U. P. Verkhovsky, 3 vols. (Moscow, Len- ingrad, 1946–60)
Rashīd al-Dīn (Thackston)	Rashududdin Fazlullah, <i>Jami‘u’t-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles</i> , trans. W. M. Thackston, 3 vols. (Harvard, 1998–9)
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
Skoutariotes (Heisenberg)	Theodori Scutariotae <i>Additamenta ad Georgii Acropolitae Historiam</i> , in Georgii Acropolitae <i>Opera</i> , eds. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1978), i, pp. 275–302
Skoutariotes (Sathas)	Anonymous <i>Σύνοψις χρονική</i> , in <i>Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη</i> , ed. K. N. Sathas, 7 vols. (Venice, 1872–94), vii, pp. 1–556
<i>SBAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse</i>
<i>Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq</i>	<i>Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq dar Ānātūlī</i> , ed. N. Jalālī (Tehran, 1999)
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>

## Note on Transliterations

All names and titles which appear in Byzantine sources are preserved as closely as possible to their Greek original. I have thus written ‘Nikomederia’ instead of ‘Nicomedia’ and ‘*megas logothetes*’ instead of ‘grand (or great) logothete’. An exception has been made for such well-known place names as Constantinople and Nicaea, the two Byzantine capital cities in the thirteenth century, for the Greek and Roman provinces in Asia Minor (e.g. Cilicia instead of Kilikia), for the names of two famous rivers in Asia Minor (the Maeander and the Cayster), and for the names of the poets and prose writers of Ancient Greece and Rome, which are listed in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.<sup>1</sup>

All the names written in Arabic characters are transliterated according to the Library of Congress system. The purpose of this transliteration system is to make the original form easily recognizable. However, I felt free to reproduce the specific Turkish sounds ö and ü, as well as ġ, ç and v, in the names of the persons whose Turkic identity was beyond any doubt. Thus, the name of the Biblical king Solomon (Sulaymān/Süleymān in the Qur’ān) is transliterated as ‘Sulaymān’ in Arabic and Persian names and as ‘Süleymān’ in Turkic ones. As the letter ī (ş) in Turkish pronunciation represents two sounds [i] and [ɪ], I have reproduced in Turkish names the sound [ɪ], in order to differentiate the former from the sound [i], rather than using ī. Thus, I have written the name ‘Yaghībasān’ as ‘Yagībasān’. In the footnotes, however, I have often used the simplified form (e.g. Aksarayi instead of Āqsarāyī), not least because I have followed the choices of the sources’ editors. In addition, this helps the reader to discern my opinions about this or that author (e.g. Āqsarāyī or Ibn Bibī) from my references to the *editio critica* of his work (e.g. Aksarayi, p. 143 or Ibn Bibi, p. 256).

The Mongol names are given in the Middle Mongolian form, without the long vowels. Thus, I have written ‘Ghazan’ and not ‘Ghāzān’, ‘Baiju’ and not ‘Bāyjū’. However, while the names of the Mongol Khāns (including the Īlhāns) are transcribed only in this simplified form, the names of the less-known Mongol *noyans* are accompanied by their ‘Arabic’ transliteration (in round brackets), as they appear in the Muslim sources. The purpose is the same: to make the names fully ‘readable’.

The names of the dynasties are also given in simplified form (without long vowels). The names of local Turkic dynasties are written in the Turkish form.

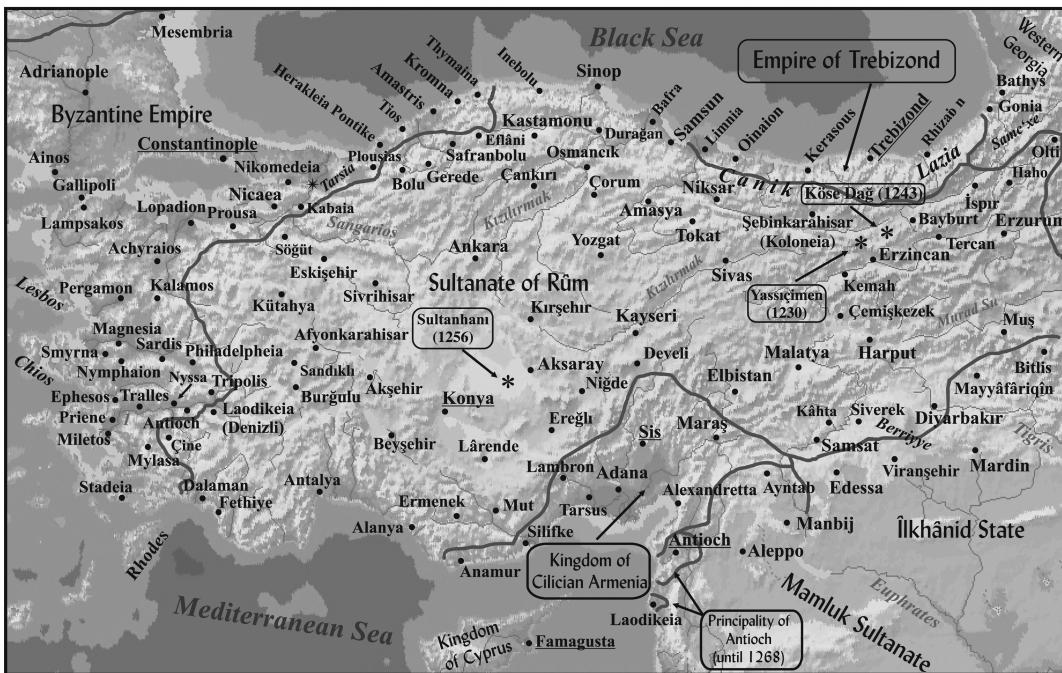
<sup>1</sup> S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, revised 3rd edition (Oxford, 2003).

Thus, I have written ‘Seljuks’ and not ‘Saljūqs’, ‘the Karamanoğulları’ and not ‘the Karamanids’.

Place names, however, are another story. In reproducing Muslim geographical names, I have used the system adopted in the *Historical Atlas of Islam*, ed. H. Kennedy (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2002), maps 46 and 47. The place names of the Sultanate of Rūm are given in the modern Turkish form, without indicating long vowels. However, in many cases I also use the Arabic transliteration for the names of Eastern Anatolia, which was an area disputed between the Seljuks, the Ayyubids, the Mongols, and the minor Persian, Arabic, Armenian, and Turkic dynasties. The names of the Muslim lands, provinces, and places east of Asia Minor are reproduced in transliterated form (e.g. ‘Irāq), just as these are reproduced in the relevant maps of the *Historical Atlas of Islam*. Usually these forms are easily recognizable (e.g. Iran and Īrān); an exception has been made for Egypt (al-Miṣr) and Syria (al-Shām), as the traditional Arabic spelling of these countries is too different from the normal English forms, which derive from Greek.

As with personal names, titles are transliterated according to the Library of Congress system. The only exceptions are the titles ‘Sultan’ and ‘Caliph’ which have their usual English form. As such, these two titles are capitalized when this is required by the rules of English grammar, while other titles are not, apart from the titles ‘Khān’ and ‘Īlkhān’, which are always written with the first letter capitalized, as is common in academic literature.

### Asia Minor c. 1265



Legend:

- \* - Bridge of Justinian over Sangarios      I - Maenander River
- \* - Major battles
- Constantinople - Capital cities



# Introduction

## The Thirteenth Century

Few historical periods in the history of mankind can be seen as so fateful as the thirteenth century. The Mongol Empire, which united almost the whole of Asia and far exceeded in size the past Empires of the ancient Iranian kings, Alexander the Great, or the Roman emperors, was established in the 1210s–70s. Military campaigns on an unprecedented scale, the destruction of many cities and towns, and the disappearance of states, tribes, and even nations—all these events were hallmarks of this cruel century.

Having eliminated many kingdoms, the Mongols, whose state bordered Poland and Hungary on the west, Mamluk Egypt and India on the south, and Indo-China and Japan on the east, made possible long journeys and the exchange of ideas, the arts, and trade. In 1275 Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant, apparently reached China, and his fascinating account of his travels opened the lands beyond Īrān to Europeans. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Rashīd al-Dīn, the *wazīr* of the Mongol Īlkhāns in Īrān, composed the *Shu‘ab-i panjgāna*, the *Five genealogies* of the rulers of the Arabs, Jews, Mongols, Franks, and Chinese, and thus became a pioneer in establishing a new field of study which we now call ‘world history’.

In this changing, perturbed, dangerous world of the thirteenth century, Byzantium seems to have been a remnant of the remote past. As the Mongol Empire was the largest, so the Byzantine Empire was the oldest. At the beginning of the thirteenth century Byzantium was still one of the most influential states in the eastern Mediterranean, possessing two-thirds of the Balkans and almost half of Asia Minor. At the end of the century the Empire was a tiny, second-ranking Balkan state, whose lands were often disputed between the Bulgarians, the Serbs, and the Franks.

Two events, both disastrous to the old Empire, contributed to its tragic fate in the thirteenth century. The first was the capture of Constantinople on the night between 12 and 13 April 1204 by the participants in the Fourth Crusade. The second was the fall of the last Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor, which had been conquered by the Turks by 1304. From this point on, the Empire ceased to be a great Mediterranean power.

It would, however, be a mistake to describe the history of Byzantium as a series of defeats and failures. For the Byzantines also knew their triumphs in the thirteenth century, like that of 15 August 1261, when the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) entered Constantinople, which had recently been retaken from the Latins. The old Empire still had the resources for its survival: its possessions in Asia Minor formed the basis for the successful Byzantine *reconquista* against the Crusaders. One cannot help but wonder how these Anatolian possessions fell to Turkish hands only forty years after the triumphal return of Michael VIII to Constantinople.

Oddly enough, we still have no monograph which describes the thirteenth century history of Byzantium, despite the fact that the fall of Constantinople in 1204 and the loss of Asia Minor in 1302–4 were milestones of no less importance than the battle of Manzikert in 1071 and the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II Fātiḥ (1444–6; 1451–81) in 1453. Only a few pages in the works of Vryonis, D. M. Nicol, Laiou, and Cahen,<sup>1</sup> who provide the best accounts of this period, narrate the loss of Western Asia Minor by the Byzantines. A particular difficulty with which any scholar of Byzantine history after 1204 is confronted is that this period requires knowledge of many languages. For the Ottoman state, the gravedigger of Byzantium, had been founded by the end of the thirteenth century; and anyone wishing to understand why Byzantium disappeared from the political map should also study, besides the extant documents and chronicles in Latin, Greek, and Church-Slavonic, the sources in Persian, Arabic, and Ottoman.

Thus, the chief focus of this work is Byzantine-Turkish relations in the thirteenth century, from 1204 to 1304/5. A special emphasis will be laid on the political contacts that existed between the Empire, on the one hand, and the Seljuks, and later the Mongols, on the other. But I cannot ignore the simple fact that before any serious investigation I need to introduce my sources, however scanty and dispersed the latter may be. One should not forget that these historians, writers, and chroniclers composed their works, some of them true *chefs-d'œuvre*, amidst the awe, blood, and dust of their cruel time; their biographies, as well as the study of their works as sources, help us to understand the feelings, prejudices, and sympathies of people who are separated from us by the distance of eight centuries.

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Some preliminary remarks are in order. It is important to remember that the Byzantine state in Western Anatolia was destroyed by the ethnic invasion of the Turks in the 1300s, whilst a considerable part of the Greek (Byzantine)

<sup>1</sup> Vryonis 1971: 133–42; D. M. Nicol 1993: 122–47; Laiou 1972: 76–93; Cahen 2001: 230–3.

population remained under the rule of the Turkic *beys*, and later the Ottomans. Hence the title ‘Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century’: I wanted to underline the simple but not quite accepted fact that the key to the survival of Byzantium lay in its relations with the neighbouring *nation* (the Turks) and not the *states* (the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm or the Īlhānid state in Īrān), though both the Seljuks of Rūm and the Īlhāns were political masters of the Turks. For the Byzantines managed to harmonize their foreign affairs with these states and did not expect any serious threat on the part of the Seljuks or the Mongols in the thirteenth century. I thus separate the notions ‘Turks’ and ‘Turkish’, on the one hand, from ‘Seljuks’, ‘Seljuk’ and ‘Mongols’, ‘Mongolian’, on the other: the first was a nation, while the other two were the political units which absorbed various ethnic groups, not necessarily of Turkish origin.

The terms ‘Seljuks’ and ‘Seljuk’ mean, first and foremost, the Seljuk *state*: the ruling dynasty, the state officials, and the army. Likewise, the terms ‘Mongol’ and ‘Mongolian’ mean the Mongol Empire, with the Īlhānid state as its subdivision in Īrān; the Mongol officials installed in the Sultanate of Rūm; and the Mongol army. Though some Mongol tribes occupied various places in Asia Minor, these were largely in Eastern and Central Anatolia. Thus, as far as western Anatolian affairs are concerned, I have been able to restrict the meaning of ‘Mongol’ and ‘Mongolian’ to ‘something or someone relating to the Mongol state’.

The meaning of the terms ‘Turks’ and ‘Turkish’ must be differentiated from the term ‘Seljuks’ and ‘Seljuk’. The ‘Turks’ were the Turkish-speaking population of the Sultanate of Rūm, both nomadic and sedentary. Though one can find another term in the sources, namely the ‘Turkmens’ (*Türkmens*), as a designation of the nomadic Turks (and I have sometimes reproduced this name), it was, nevertheless, much more convenient for me to write ‘the nomadic Turks’. It should be noted that both terms (‘Turks’ and ‘Turkmens’) were to some extent interchangeable in the thirteenth century: one and the same nomadic unit could have been called either ‘Turks’ or ‘Turkmens’, depending on the word choice of the author. For example, the nomadic Turkic confederation al-Yīwā’iyya (Īwā’ī), which was defeated by the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburni (1220–31) near Lake Urmia (Urmīyya, Kaputan) in AH 623 (2 January–21 December 1226), was called ‘the Turks’ (*al-atrāk*) by al-Nasawī and ‘the Turkmens’ (*al-turkmān*) by Ibn al-Athīr.<sup>2</sup>

The difference between the two terms (‘Turkmens’ and ‘Turks’) did not lie in their language or ethnic divisions,<sup>3</sup> but in their habitat: while the name

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 467–8; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 277–8; Nasawī, p. 149 (Arabic text), p. 166 (Russian translation). Likewise, the Turks of Denizli were called either ‘the Turks’ or ‘the Turkmens’ in the sources. Cf. also the title *ilīg turkmān*, which was reproduced as *ilīg turkān* in: Juwaynī, ii, pp. 15, 88; Juvainī (Boyle), pp. 288, 355.

<sup>3</sup> The Turkmen language as such (including the language of the groups of the Turkmens in Asia Minor and ‘Irāq), began in the end of the thirteenth century at the earliest: Charyarov and Nazarov 1997: 412–26; cf. Schönig 1998: 261.

'Turks' was applied to both the sedentary and the nomadic population, the Turkmen were almost always nomads.<sup>4</sup> The term 'Turkmens' is scarcely mentioned in the Anatolian Persian sources of the thirteenth century. Such limited usage of the term 'Turkmens' in our sources reflects the historical and geographical situation in Western Anatolia, where the nomads almost always dwelt side by side with the sedentary population, mostly because of the geographical features of the peninsula, in which the lowlands, the essential part of the nomadic habitat, were too small in size and number. Both societies, nomadic and sedentary, could not have functioned properly without economic cooperation and as such never aimed at the ultimate destruction of each other. As a result, we hardly ever find territories in Asia Minor which were entirely occupied by the nomads. The symbiosis between the nomads and the sedentary population in Anatolia is different from that in Mongolia or Central Asia, where the nomadic element was much more dominant. In Asia Minor, even in the no man's land of the boundary zone, one could have found a mixture of populations: nomadic, semi-nomadic, and sedentary.<sup>5</sup> I continue, following my sources, to call the Turkish-speaking population of Asia Minor 'the Turks', trying wherever possible to classify the sort of the Turks mentioned.

The adjective formed from the noun 'Turk' is 'Turkish'. However, one should take into account the linguistic situation in Asia Minor in the thirteenth century. The spoken Turkic language, which G. Doerfer appropriately called 'Das Voroşmanische' (literally '[the] pre-Ottoman [language]'),<sup>6</sup> was different from modern Turkish, and even from Ottoman Turkish. Unfortunately, there is no established term in English for the Turkic language in Asia Minor of this period. When I use the adjective 'Turkish', I am referring to the Anatolian Turks and their language before the foundation of the Ottoman state, and not to Modern or Ottoman Turkish. The latter is always specified as 'Ottoman'. In so doing I have tried to distinguish the heterogeneous Turkic population of Asia Minor of the thirteenth century and its language, in which various phonetic, lexical, and grammatical forms from both Western and Eastern Oghuz language groups are strangely mixed, from grammatically more compact and precise Ottoman.<sup>7</sup>

Relations between Byzantium and the Turks, even in the thirteenth century, have often been considered as part of Byzantine-Ottoman relations. Many eminent and expert scholars have given their primary attention to the early years of the Ottoman *beylik* or at least to the beginning of the Aegean emirates.<sup>8</sup> However the scantiness of sources did not permit them to reach

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hendy 1985: 114–15.

<sup>5</sup> Korobeinikov 2010: 224–38.

<sup>6</sup> Doerfer 1976: 81–131.

<sup>7</sup> Guzev 1997: 116–26.

<sup>8</sup> To list but a few: Köprülü 1935, 1992; Wittek 1934, 1938; Cahen 2001; Kafadar 1995; Lindner 1983, 2007; Imber 1990; Zachariadou 1983, 1991; Turan 1971; Zhukov 1988; Lowry 2003.

reliable results, through no fault of their own.<sup>9</sup> As far as the thirteenth century is concerned, the sources are the chief difficulty.

In 1300–1402, from the conquest of Western Asia Minor to the battle of Ankara between the *amīr* Timur Gurgan (1370–1404) and the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I Yıldırım (1389–1402), the Ottoman state and the Aegean emirates rapidly developed from nomadic confederations with a rudimentary state apparatus and primitive taxation into efficient states with excellent military organization. The Turkish historical tradition of these political units appeared only at the end of the period, i.e. at the end of the fourteenth century at the earliest. Scholars like P. Wittek, R. P. Lindner, and C. Kafadar who tried to reconstruct early Ottoman history in the 1290s using the Ottoman sources, were forced to use data written much later, in the 1390s–1480s, and largely based on oral tradition. Meanwhile the non-Ottoman sources (mostly Persian and Arabic) contemporary with the establishment of the Ottoman emirate are still unexplored. These do not contain much information about the foundation of the Ottoman and Aegean *beyliks*, but are indispensable for the history of the boundary zone in Western Asia Minor at the end of the thirteenth century. That is why I have tried to avoid as much as possible any discussion of the rise of the early Ottoman state, as this event largely belonged to the fourteenth century. Similarly, I have avoided any discussion of the so-called *ghāzī*-thesis, i.e. on the nature of the early Ottoman state and the scholarly debates over the problem of the *ghāzī*-warriors as the chief force in the conquest of the new lands for the Ottoman sultans.<sup>10</sup> No source composed from the thirteenth to the first half of the fourteenth century describes the Turks of Western Anatolia as *ghāzīs*, while many sources, especially Byzantine and Persian, mention the frontier Turks of the period as nomads. I will explore these topics later, in a separate monograph on Byzantine-Turkish relations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The focus on the thirteenth century has also influenced my attitude to the sources. I have preferred to use *contemporary* sources, i.e. those composed between 1200 and 1350. Moreover, as far as these sources are concerned, I have chosen only those which gave me first-hand information. For example, one of the most important sources for the history of Asia Minor in the 1260s, the chronicle *Zubdat al-fikra* of the Mamluk historian Rukn al-Dīn Baybars (d. 1325), was reproduced in other Mamluk historical writings, first in the *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* by al-Nuwāyri (1279–1333), and then in the *'Iqd al-jumān fī ta'rīkh ahl al-zamān* by al-'Aynī (1361–1451), the *Ta'rīkh*

<sup>9</sup> For example, Wittek used Byzantine and Persian sources in order to study the history of the *beylik* of Menteşe from the end of the thirteenth century onwards. However, he mostly focused on the early Ottoman sources. Wittek's work was severely criticized because he had 'created a theory before having the data'. Cf. Heywood 2002c; 2002d; 2002b.

<sup>10</sup> On the discussion, see Kafadar (1995) and Lindner (1983, 2007), who are most informative.

*al-duwal wa al-mulük* by Ibn al-Furāt (1334–1405), and the *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulük Miṣr wa al-Qāhira* by Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1470).<sup>11</sup> Of these, only the chronicles of al-Nuwayrī and al-‘Aynī have been used here, and only in cases where they gave additional information, independent of that of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars.

The Ottoman sources have also been used, but to a lesser extent than in the works of Lindner and Kafadar. I have always collated the Ottoman chronicles' data with sources from the thirteenth century, be the latter Byzantine, Arabic, or Persian. I hope that this method will have helped to avoid erroneous conclusions.

<sup>11</sup> Richards, *Introduction*, in Baybars al-Manṣūrī 1998: xxi–xxv. On Rukn al-Dīn Baybars, see Chapter 1.

# Chapter 1

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## The Sources

The history of the thirteenth century is one of great ethnic movements—the continuation of the Crusades, the Mongol invasion, and, finally, the establishment in Asia Minor and Egypt of new Turkic states: the Mamluk Sultanate in Syria and Egypt and the various Turkish *beyliks* in the former Byzantine lands in Anatolia. The last two movements were less visible but more important for their consequences for the history of Anatolia than the Crusades and the Mongol advance. The reason for this is that Asia Minor and Egypt went through a new stage of Turkic ethnic penetration into the Mediterranean, which ended with the foundation of the Turkic realms. These changed profoundly the picture of the region for many years to come. The rule of the Mamluks in Egypt, who were conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, but still retained their possessions and power, was ended in 1811 by Muhammed 'Ali (1805–48), while the Ottoman Empire, which grew out of the Turkish emirates in Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century, lasted until 1922.

The Turks in Asia Minor destroyed old cultures, but, unlike their victims, they did not possess a highly developed written cultural tradition of their own at the time of their penetration and initial settlement. Therefore, the most informative sources about the Turkish conquest of Western Asia Minor in the thirteenth century are Greek (Byzantine), Persian, and Arabic texts.

The Byzantine and the Oriental sources belong to two different historiographical traditions. The chief models for the Byzantine historians were two great Ancient Greek historical works—the *Histories* of Herodotus of Halicarnassus (Bodrum) (d. c. 420 BC), which he wrote using the elements of various genres (genealogical history, political history, mythical history, memories of fine sayings, biographical writings, and general history), and the *Histories* (sometimes called the *History of the [Peloponnesian] War*) of Thucydides (d. c. 400), a masterpiece of political history. Imitation, good or bad, of these two works produced the genre of so-called ‘classicizing history’. Aelius Theon of Alexandria, a rhetor of the first century AD, describes a historian’s training:

We shall read Herodotus first, despite the fact that he covers so much, because of his great simplicity of style. From his work we shall move to Theopompus and

Xenophon, then to Philistus and Ephorus, and finally to Thucydides.<sup>1</sup> Training will be the same as in the case of reading the orators. Avoid doing what some teachers do, leaving aside the brilliance and sublimity in Thucydides, while cutting him down into an imitation full of obscurities and stressing whatever is abstruse and difficult in his writing. Do not imitate only one model but all the most famous of the ancients. Thus we shall have copious, numerous, and varied resources on which to draw. It is wrong to limit imitation to a single author.<sup>2</sup>

Another rhetor of the second half of the fourth century AD, Aphthonius the Sophist, included an *enkomion* on Thucydides, whose eloquent style he called ‘the fairest thing’ and compared it with Herodotus.<sup>3</sup> The works of both Aelius Theon and Aphthonius formed an important part of the rhetorical corpus so influential in Byzantium. The Byzantine models for imitation in historical narrative were few, carefully selected, and belonged to the distant past of Classical Greece.<sup>4</sup>

Conversely, Oriental historiography was much younger. The Arabs’ earliest historical works, written in the eighth century AD, were biographies of the Prophet;<sup>5</sup> while Persian historiography in its new, Muslim shape, began during the brilliant period of the reign of the Sāmānid dynasty in Transoxania (Mā warā'a al-Nahr, Maverannahr) and Khurāsān in 819–997.<sup>6</sup> They never elaborated such an antiquarian system of genres and models of historical narrative as did the Byzantines.<sup>7</sup>

## BYZANTINE SOURCES

There are only three major Greek sources dealing with the Turks in the thirteenth century: the *History* (*Χρονικὴ συγγραφή*) by George Akropolites, the *Historical relations* (*Συγγραφικῶν ἴστοριῶν [πρώτη]*) by George Pachymeres, and the *Roman History* (*Ιστορία Ρωμαϊκή*) by Nikephoros Gregoras.

The work of Akropolites covers the period 1203–61.<sup>8</sup> Akropolites’ *History* is noteworthy for its deep knowledge of the situation at the Nicaean court.

<sup>1</sup> On these authors, see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, pp. 529–30 (Ephorus of Cyrene, c. 405–330 BC), 696–8 (Herodotus), 1163–4 (Philistus of Syracuse, c. 430–356 BC), 1505–6 (Theopompus of Chios, c. 378/7–after 320 BC), 1516–21 (Thucydides), 1628–31 (Xenophon, c. 430–350 BC).

<sup>2</sup> *Progymnasmata*, trans. Kennedy (2003), p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Progymnasmata*, trans. Kennedy (2003), pp. 108–10.

<sup>4</sup> Hunger 1969–70: 26–9. <sup>5</sup> Robinson 2003: xiv–xv, 19. <sup>6</sup> Meisami 1999: 1–46.

<sup>7</sup> On Arabic historical tradition (especially the universal histories) from the rise of Islam until the ninth century, see Duri 1962: 46–53, Khalidi 1994. On the Persian historical tradition which emerged in the tenth century, see Meisami 1999.

<sup>8</sup> On Akropolites and his work, see: Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 3–101; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 14–44.

Without Akropolites we would know little about the Nicaean–Seljuk contacts. However, Akropolites' work is not a chronicle, which means that he organizes the whole text as a combination of topics in a *general* chronological sequence. He thus was in some ways different from his great predecessor Niketas Choniates whose *History* (*Χρονικὴ διήγησις*) of Byzantium in 1118–1206/7, written in the reign of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) and finished in Nicaea in 1207–17, was based on the principles of logical coherence within a particular set of events, often at the expense of chronological accuracy.<sup>9</sup>

An example of Akropolites' preference for logical clarity over strict chronology can be seen in chapters 40 and 41. In these, Akropolites reports on the peace treaty between John III Batatzes (1221–54) and Tzar Kaliman (1241–6), son of John II Asen (1218–41) of Bulgaria,<sup>10</sup> after which the emperor marched to Thessalonica against the Emperor John Doukas (1237–41) of Epiros (the city was taken by the Nicaeans later, in December 1246).<sup>11</sup> In both chapters Akropolites refers to the Mongol–Seljuk war which ended in the battle at Köse Dağı on 6 Muharram AH 641 (26 June 1243), in which the Seljuks suffered a humiliating defeat.<sup>12</sup> The battle was a watershed in the history of the Seljuks of Rüm, as the Sultanate lost its independence. In chapter 40 Akropolites writes about the victory of the ‘Tatar people’ over ‘the Muslims’, which was so thorough that Theodore Laskaris, son and heir apparent of John III, informed his father about the outcome of the battle. The news forced John III to return to Nymphaion. In chapter 41 Akropolites continues: ‘As we said, the army of the Muslims was destroyed by the Tatars’.<sup>13</sup> Do chapters 40 and 41 relate simultaneous events?

There are three dates which help establish the chronology in both chapters. The first is the date of the death of Tzar John II Asen on 24 June 1241 in the chronicle of Aubrey de Trois Fontaines,<sup>14</sup> the *terminus a quo* of John III

<sup>9</sup> An example of such chronologically tortuous ‘set of events’ concerning the Seljuks of Rüm in 1155–77 can be found in Chapter 3 of the reign of Manuel I Komnenos in Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 116–25. On Choniates as a writer, see Hunger 1978: i, 431–41; Simpson 2006: 196–221 and 2009: 13–34, esp. 16–17; Kazhdan 2005: 288–326, esp. 319; Bibikov 1989: 123–8.

<sup>10</sup> Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1773a.

<sup>11</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 65, 1.4–67, 1.1; Zhavoronkov 2001: 69–71. Zhavoronkov repeats his conclusions in Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 79, 229, note 557. Cf. Bredenkamp 1996: 252–61. On the fall of Thessalonica in December 1246, see Akropolites, i, pp. 79, 1.8–85, 1.2; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 85–8, 234–8, notes 607–34; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 235–46.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 517; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 227, 335, note 199.

<sup>13</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 67, ll.1–5, 68, ll.20–21.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium’, p. 950; Bozhilov 1985: 86, N 7. Zhavoronkov (2001: 72–4) believes, after Philippe Mouskes’s *Chronique rimée*, that John II Asen’s death took place *after* the deaths of the Popes Gregory IX (1227–41) and Celestine IV (1241) on 21 August and 10 November 1241 respectively. However, Philippe Mouskes wrote that the *news* of John II’s death arrived from Constantinople, which suggests that the news spread across Western Europe sometime after 24 June 1241, obviously at the time of Gregory IX’s death on 21 August of the same year (Mouskes: 1836–38: ii, p. 673, ll.30740–50).

Batatzes' campaign against Thessalonica.<sup>15</sup> The other two dates can be found in chapter 41, which describes the events on the Nicaean eastern frontier in 1242–3. Akropolites begins his account with the journey of the Emperor John III Batatzes from Thessalonica to Nymphaion, where he spent the winter season [of 1241–2], and then to Lampsakos, where the emperor remained during the summer and autumn [of 1242]. In winter the emperor moved to Pegai, but on his way there he was caught by cold weather on 18 December 1232 (the correct date was 1242).<sup>16</sup> This is our second date confirmed by the sequence of the seasons (winter, spring, summer, and autumn) in Akropolites, who adds that the Emperor was in Nymphaion until the beginning of the spring [of 1243]. Then Akropolites again describes the defeat of the Seljuks by the Mongols (which was doubtlessly the battle at Köse Dağı on 26 June 1243, our third date) and the alliance concluded by John III Batatzes and the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II (1237–45) at the end of 1243.<sup>17</sup> Both dates (of the battle and the following alliance) are in accordance with other dates in chapter 41.

As far as the sequence of John III Batatzes' movements is concerned, the chronology in Akropolites has no faults, despite the mistake in the date of the exceptionally cold weather in Pegai in 1242. However, his mention of the battle at Köse Dağı as a chronological milestone in both chapters is puzzling, as his own calculations of the winter and summer seasons show a time span of two years. Chapters 40 and 41, therefore, describe events in and around the Empire of Nicaea in 1241–43, but the course of the contemporaneous Mongol–Seljuk war, far from the Nicaean borders, was 'reduced' by Akropolites to the battle at Köse Dağı. The war began with the capture of Erzurum by the Mongols at the end of 1242.<sup>18</sup> No other trustworthy source mentions a battle between the Seljuks and the Mongols, which so alarmed John III when at Thessalonica in 1241.

Did Akropolites, who abruptly ends his *History* in mid-sentence in 1261 and who did not manage to revise his text,<sup>19</sup> make a trivial chronological mistake? The suggestion cannot explain why he so meticulously lists the winter and summer seasons between two mentions of apparently one and the same battle. Hence the need for another, more plausible suggestion,

<sup>15</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 65, ll.4–8.

<sup>16</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 67, l.26–68, l.19. The text reads: 18 December AM 6741 (*sψμα'*) [1232]. This is obviously a mistake in the manuscript; its editor, A. Heisenberg, offered a correction: AM 6751 (*sψνα'*) [1242] instead of AM 6741 (*sψμα'*): Akropolites, i, p. 68 (critical apparatus) and *notae*, p. 306.

<sup>17</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 68, l.20–70, l.12; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1776; Zhavoronkov 2001: 70–1.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 234–6; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 222–4; *Tārikh-i äl-i Saljūq*, pp. 91–2; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 48, with the somewhat imprecise date: AH 639 (12 July 1241–30 June 1242); Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, p. 75; Cahen 2001: 70.

<sup>19</sup> Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 31–2.

namely that Akropolites does not want to describe the war. From this point of view, chapters 40 and 41 are masterpieces of a well-balanced narrative; the balance is deliberately achieved at the expense of the chronology. Had Akropolites paid attention to the details of how the Mongols destroyed the army of the Seljuk sultan, he would have followed his predecessor Choniates whose ‘chronological digressions’ make his *Xρονικὴ διήγησις* so tortuous. Instead, Akropolites inserts a paragraph in which he most unoriginally (and unjustly) ascribes the Mongol victory to the moral decadence and drunkenness of the Seljuk sultan (a picture of a Muslim ruler as a drunkard was a traditional anti-Muslim commonplace in Byzantine and, from a wider perspective, Christian literature).<sup>20</sup>

Thus, in 1241 Theodore Laskaris, John III’s heir apparent and the future emperor, could have informed his father only about the possible Mongol–Seljuk battle-to-be (as, since 1240, the Mongols appeared in dangerous proximity to the eastern frontier of the Sultanate), not the battle that had just taken place. This *quid pro quo* allowed Akropolites to avoid lengthy explanations in chapter 40. His geographical arrangement is clear: chapter 40 is entirely dedicated to Balkan affairs, while chapter 41 describes events in Asia Minor. The peculiarity of Akropolites’ method, in always preferring geographical and logical clarity to chronology, has sometimes misled even his modern translators.<sup>21</sup>

Usually, each topic in Akropolites depicts events which took place over one or several years; moreover, sometimes Akropolites primarily focuses on events in which he participated. He usually avoids detailed description of the situation beyond the Nicaean borders in Asia Minor, as I have tried to illustrate with the example of the battle at Köse Dağı and the Mongol–Seljuk war in 1242–43. Similarly, Akropolites does not mention the campaigns of the Emperor John III Batatzes against the Seljuks in 1225–31.<sup>22</sup> With regard to the important events of 1257 and the Nicaean–Seljuk anti-Mongol alliance,

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Akropolites (Macrides), p. 222, note 8.

<sup>21</sup> Zavoronkov, on the basis that the battle mentioned in both chapters was indeed the one at Köse Dağı, disregarded other chronological indicators in Akropolites and re-dated the death of John II Asen and the cold winter storm in Pegai to 1242 and 1244 respectively, contrary to the traditional dates (2001: 69–74). Macrides suggested that there were two Mongol–Seljuk battles in Akropolites: one in 1241 (in chapter 40), and the other in 1243 (at Köse Dağı, in chapter 41). However her reference to the battle in 1241 cannot be accepted, as her source, Vincent of Beauvais (1624: iv, book 30, chapter 147, p. 1283), plagiarized from the earlier work of Simon de Saint-Quentin, who correctly stated that it was in 1242 when the Mongol–Seljuk war began. The same date can be found in the earlier (and more trustworthy) editions of Vincent of Beauvais (Akropolites (Macrides), p. 219, note 18; Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, p. 75; Vincent de Beauvais 1474: lib. xxx, capitulum cxlvii, fol. 333r, and 1494: lib. 30, capitulum 147, fol. 416v).

<sup>22</sup> Langdon 1992: 1–4.

Akropolites speaks mostly about the war between Nicaea and Epiros,<sup>23</sup> without giving much attention to oriental affairs at that time.

This can easily be explained. Akropolites (1217–1282)<sup>24</sup> himself was a Nicaean noble, a relative of the Imperial dynasty of the Palaiologoi<sup>25</sup> and held high posts in the Empire. He was born in Constantinople in 1217, as he himself writes.<sup>26</sup> His parents belonged to an aristocratic family: Akropolites ascribes to the Emperor John III Batatzes words about the ‘noble kin’ of the Akropolitai,<sup>27</sup> though they emerged at the end of the eleventh century as fiscal officials of middle rank.<sup>28</sup> In 1233, at the age of 16, Akropolites was sent by his parents from Constantinople to Nicaea.<sup>29</sup>

He soon had a prominent career. A year after his arrival at Nicaea (1234), he entered the famous school of Theodoros Hexapterygos,<sup>30</sup> and then (c. 1237 or 1238) that of Nikephoros Blemmydes.<sup>31</sup> Akropolites was appointed *logothetes tou genikou* ('secretary of the state households') by 1246.<sup>32</sup> At the beginning of the reign of Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58), sometime in 1255, he received the rank of *megas logothetes* ('prime minister'), which he held till his death in 1282.<sup>33</sup> He continued to hold the office even when he established his famous school in Constantinople at the beginning of the 1260s.<sup>34</sup>

After the re-conquest of Constantinople by Michael VIII, Akropolites became an eminent diplomat: he was a member of the Byzantine embassy to the Council of Lyons in 1274,<sup>35</sup> and Imperial ambassador to the Empire of Trebizond in 1281–82,<sup>36</sup> after which he died.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 138, l.21–150, l.24.

<sup>24</sup> On his life, see Georgios Akropolites (1217–1282), *Die Chronik*, trans. W. Blum (1989: 1–48); Macrides, ‘Akropolites, George’, in *ODB*, i, pp. 48–9; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 14–44; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 5–28; *PLP* 518.

<sup>25</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 164, ll.19–20.

<sup>26</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 46, ll.12–15.

<sup>27</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 49, ll.18–19.

<sup>28</sup> Macrides, ‘Akropolites, George’, pp. 48–9; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 6–7.

<sup>29</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 46, ll.12–20.

<sup>30</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 49, ll.6–10; Zhavoronkov 1986: 126; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 8–9.

<sup>31</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 50, ll.2–8; Blemmydes probably refers to Akropolites in his famous *Autobiographia* (Nicephorus Blemmydes, I, 49, ll.3–4).

<sup>32</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 78, l.25–79, l.3; Hunger 1978: i, p. 442. On the office of *logothetes tou genikou*, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, p. 176, ll.15–16. The suggestion that Akropolites held the rank of *megas logariastes* ('great treasurer') between c. 1239–46 (Akropolites, ii, p. 1, l.1; *PLP* 518) is now rejected: Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 20–1. On the office of *megas logariastes*, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, p. 182, l.26.

<sup>33</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 124, ll.14–18 (date: 1255); pp. 139, l.25–140, l.3; Pachymeres, i, pp. 369, ll.14–21 (date: 1265); Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 18–19; Zhavoronkov 1986: 126–7; 1991: 63; Hunger 1978: i, p. 442; *PLP* 518. Cf. another opinion: Macrides, ‘Akropolites, George’, p. 49: Akropolites became *megas logothetes* at the beginning of the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82). Macrides later agreed that 1255 was indeed the date of Akropolites’ appointment as *megas logothetes*: Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 22–3.

<sup>34</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 369, ll.14–21; 409, ll.23–25.

<sup>35</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 490–3.

<sup>36</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 655, ll.18–24; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 2050.

<sup>37</sup> Zhavoronkov 1986: 127; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 23–4; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 14–16.

His *History* describes the period between 1203 and 1261, in which the year 1233 is a watershed;<sup>38</sup> after this, Akropolites bases his account more and more on his own biographical material. As a witness, he is very trustworthy, despite the attempt to vindicate Michael VIII Palaiologos, who usurped the throne.<sup>39</sup> This, as well as his tendency to describe in greater detail the events in which he took part, makes his *History* to some extent ‘incomplete’. Sometimes a very careful analysis of his text is needed in order to extract reliable information.

His language is simple, though he prefers classical words and avoids unnecessary reference to contemporary *realia*.<sup>40</sup> His *termini technici* are very precise (cf. ἀμυραχούρης [*amīr-i akhūr*],<sup>41</sup> πεκλάρπακις [*beglerbegi*, var. *beylerbeyi*],<sup>42</sup> σουλτάν [*sultān*]<sup>43</sup>); more interesting is that he sometimes provides his readers with a translation of these terms<sup>44</sup> or an antiquarian synonym, like ὁ δὲ περσάρχης σουλτάν (‘the sultan, master of the Persians’).<sup>45</sup> Though his translations are not always exact, his understanding of the *realia* of the Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm is much better than that of Choniates. For example, Akropolites did not make the mistake Choniates did with the name of the city of Ak-saray (or Aksaray, lit. ‘white palace’). Choniates failed to understand the *Rūmī* Greeks’ (*Rūmī* were the Greek subjects of the Seljuk sultan) spelling of the Turkish name of Aksaray as τὰ Αξαρά, the contracted form of which is Τάξαρα (‘the city of Aksaray’), and mistakenly inserted an additional article: ὁ Μασούτ... παρενέβαλεν εἰς τὰ Τάξαρα, ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ πάλαι λεγομένη Κολώνεια ([Sultan] Mas’ūd entered the city of Aksaray, which is ancient Koloneia by its name’).<sup>46</sup> Akropolites preserves the correct form τὰ Αξαρά.<sup>47</sup>

The *History* of Akropolites was the main source of the *Synopsis* of Theodore Skoutariotes,<sup>48</sup> another member of the Byzantine embassy to the Council of Lyons (1274), who was later appointed metropolitan of Kyzikos.<sup>49</sup> However, Skoutariotes enriched the account of Akropolites with some unknown sources.

<sup>38</sup> Zhavoronkov 1991a: 64.

<sup>39</sup> Zhavoronkov 1991a: 64.

<sup>40</sup> Hunger 1978: 446. On the classicizing features of the *History* of Akropolites, see: Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 51–4.

<sup>41</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 138, l.2.

<sup>42</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 138, ll.12, 15.

<sup>43</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 14, l.9; 15, ll.4, 5, 9, 18, 20, 27; 16, ll.12, 15, 17, 24; 17, ll.1, 4, 7, 9, 11; 27, l.8; 68, l.21; 69, ll.1, 19, 25; 70, ll.2, 8; 71, l.16; 137, l.7; 143, l.26; 144, l.15; Moravcsik 1958: ii, pp. 286–7.

<sup>44</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 138, ll.1–2: ἀνὴρ δέ τις τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις περιωνύμων, τὴν ἀξίαν ἀμυραχούρης – μεγάλη δέ τοῦτο παρὰ Πέρσαις (‘a certain person from the Persian nobility, *amīr-i akhūr* by the dignity, which is a great one among the Persians’); Akropolites, i, p. 138, ll.11–12: τῷ μεγίστῳ στρατοπέδαρχῃ τῶν Περσικῶν στρατευμάτων, ὃν πεκλάρπακιν οὔδασσιν οἱ Πέρσαι καλεῖν (‘to the *megas stratopēdarches* of the Persian armies, whom the Persians call *beylerbeyi*’).

<sup>45</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 143, ll.25–26. Akropolites uses the term περσάρχης (‘the master of the Persians’) along (not necessarily together) with σουλτάν: Akropolites, i, pp. 11, l.2; 14, l.19; 125, ll.8, 11; 135, l.15; 136, ll.24, 27; 143, l.26; 144, l.10.

<sup>46</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 53, ll.45–46. Here, Koloneia means Colonia Archelais, Garsaura.

<sup>47</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 137, l.11.

<sup>48</sup> Skoutariotes (Sathas), vii, pp. 1–556; Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), i, pp. 275–302.

<sup>49</sup> Hunger 1978: i, pp. 477–8; PLP 26204.

The *History* has recently been translated, with excellent commentaries, by P. I. Zhavoronkov<sup>50</sup> and R. Macrides,<sup>51</sup> I have used both translations but given my own translations whenever appropriate.

One of the pupils of Akropolites was George Pachymeres, whose account is the most important source for our study. Unfortunately, we know very little about him. He was born in Nicaea in 1242 and arrived at Constantinople in 1261, when the capital was recaptured by the Nicaeans.<sup>52</sup> In 1265 he was *notarios* at the Patriarchal court.<sup>53</sup> He had a successful ecclesiastical career as *diakonos* (deacon) of St Sophia, *didaskalos tou Apostolou* ('doctor Apostoli'), a person responsible for commenting on the Acts) in 1277, and *hieromnemon* (a lawyer responsible for candidates for ordinations) in 1285, while by the end of the thirteenth century, when he was writing his *Historical Relations*, he had received the position of *protekdkikos* ('defensor ecclesiae', ecclesiastical advocate) and the civil post of *dikaiophylax* ('defender of the law', an Imperial judge in the ecclesiastical affairs).<sup>54</sup> He died around 1310.<sup>55</sup>

His massive work, the two volumes of the history of the reign of Michael VIII and Andronikos II (1282–1328) *Palaiologoi*, describes the period between 1254 and 1308,<sup>56</sup> thus continuing the *History* of his teacher Akropolites. Like Akropolites, Pachymeres introduces autobiographical notes into the text<sup>57</sup> and shows his attitude to the events he describes.<sup>58</sup> However, unlike Akropolites, Pachymeres did not hold any high position in the state hierarchy and was less experienced in political affairs, though he knew members of the ruling dynasty. He was a friend of the Patriarchs John Bekkos of Constantinople, Theodosios Villehardouin (Prinkips) of Antioch, and Athanasios II of Alexandria, to whom Pachymeres sent two letters.<sup>59</sup> Pachymeres' works are notorious for their very sophisticated rhetorical style.

Pachymeres was a professional rhetor: he composed *Progymnasmata* (rhetorical exercises in composition) and 13 *meletai* on rhetoric.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, he consciously continued the work of Akropolites, whose famous promise to

<sup>50</sup> Akropolites (Zhavoronkov).

<sup>51</sup> Akropolites (Macrides).

<sup>52</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. xix–xx; 23, ll.3–8.

<sup>53</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 347, ll.27–28.

<sup>54</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. xix–xx, 23, ll.3–8; J. Darrouzès 1970: 532, l.9; 533, l.4; Hunger 1978: i, p. 447; Talbot, 'Pachymeres, George', in *ODB*, iii, p. 1550. On the offices of *didaskalos tou apostolou*, *hieromnemon*, *protekdkikos*, and *dikaiophylax*, see Darrouzès 1970: 109–10, 323–32, 368–73, 531, l.11.

<sup>55</sup> Hunger 1978: i, p. 447; Lampakis 2004: 21–38, 44; Angelov 2007: 260–3.

<sup>56</sup> Hunger 1978: i, p. 447; Lampakis 2004: 39–134.

<sup>57</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 23, ll.3–8.

<sup>58</sup> On the problem of the Byzantine authors' tendency for bias and personal intrusion into the subject of their historical narratives, see Scott 1981: 62–6.

<sup>59</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. xx, xxii.

<sup>60</sup> Talbot, 'Pachymeres, George', p. 1550; Lampakis 2004: 135–80.

write *sine ira et studio*<sup>61</sup> he repeated in his *prooimion*.<sup>62</sup> However, he did so in a very different way.

Pachymeres begins his work in the style of Thucydides, in the same Ionicized Attic.<sup>63</sup> Compare Pachymeres' words, *Γεώργιος Κωνσταντινουπολίτης... τάδε ξυνέγραψεν...* ('George, a Constantinopolitan, wrote these . . .'), with Thucydides' *Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Αθηναίων...* ('Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war waged by the Peloponnesians and the Athenians'<sup>64</sup>). But Pachymeres complicates the beginning of his work by introducing an autobiographical note, unlike Thucydides (as well as Akropolites). Moreover, Pachymeres has an idea of cyclical historical periods, which Thucydides does not have, but which Pachymeres shapes with the help of citations from Sophocles.<sup>65</sup>

Pachymeres is a paradoxical author when viewed within Byzantine literary conventions. On the one hand, his text is full of citations from Homer, Pindar, Plato, and Sophocles and he includes mythological *exempla* in his text.<sup>66</sup> It seems that when writing his *Historical Relations* he followed the advice of the rhetor Aelius Theon: 'Do not imitate only one model but all the most famous of the ancients'. Pachymeres' tendency to archaize is so extensive that he uses the obsolete lunar months of the Athenian calendar,<sup>67</sup> and he also applies the 'pagan' form *πρωτοθύτης* ('sacrificer-in-chief') to the patriarch.<sup>68</sup> Only Theodore II Laskaris used this word with the same meaning, probably because Abel, in Genesis 4: 1–8, the first person to bring an offering to God (and who was murdered out of jealousy by his brother Cain), was called *πρωτοθύτης* by Gregory (Gregorios) Antiochos at the end of the twelfth century.<sup>69</sup> Pachymeres is apt to make his text as complex as possible, using very rare terms from ancient poets which can be found only in, for example, the *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*,<sup>70</sup> Homer, or other ancient authors.<sup>71</sup> It has

<sup>61</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 4, ll.18–23; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 30, 105–6 and note 7.

<sup>62</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 25, ll.1–2.

<sup>63</sup> See on this style Horrocks 1997: 25–9; Lampakis 2004: 42–52.

<sup>64</sup> Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Smith, i, pp. 2–3.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Pachymeres, i, p. 23, ll.14–16: '... time (*chronos*) by its nature hides, but does not destroy everything. During cyclical periods (*συχναῖς κυκλικαῖς περιόδοις*), time necessarily brings into life all the things that had been hidden' and the words of Sophocles' Ajax, 646–7: *ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κάναριθμητος χρόνος | φύει τ' ἀδηλοὶ καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται*. *Strangely the long and countless drift of time | Brings all things forth from darkness into life* (tr. J. Moore: Sophocles, Ajax, ed. Dawe, p. 32; Sophocles, 'Ajax', eds. Grene and Lattimore, ii, p. 237).

<sup>66</sup> Hunger 1978 i, pp. 451–3.

<sup>67</sup> Like *ἐλαφηβολιών*, *γαμηλιών*, *ἀνθεστηριών*; cf. Pachymeres, v (Index), pp. 94, 129, 165. The same month names can be found in Thucydides, *passim*.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Hunger 1981: 46.

<sup>69</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 111, l.14; Theodorus II Ducas Laskaris, 'Epistula ad Georgium Acropolitam', ed. Tartaglia, p. 6, l.90; Theodori Ducae Lascaris, *Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. Festa, letter 108, l.12; Gregorios Antiochos, *Λόγος ἔτερος ἐπιτάφιος*, ed. Sideras, Oration 4, p. 108, l.7. I thank Dr Christos Simelidis for his consultation concerning the *πρωτοθύτης*.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Pachymeres, ii, p. 445, ll.11–12.

<sup>71</sup> Bibikov and Krasavina 1991: 281.

been suggested that this could have blurred all possible *realia* which did not correspond to Pachymeres' models,<sup>72</sup> but is not the case. Hence the paradox. His *termini technici*, as well as proper names, are free from any antiquarian forms. Pachymeres carefully reproduces the *realia* of the Nicaean and early Palaeologan Empire: he reproduces terms found in documentary sources, like the *prostagma* of the Nicaean emperors: ἀλλάγια,<sup>73</sup> βαίοντος (*baille*),<sup>74</sup> καβαλλάριοι (cavalrymen, usually of Latin origin [*caballarii*], in the Byzantine service),<sup>75</sup> καδηνάλιοι ('cardinals'),<sup>76</sup> etc.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, Pachymeres presents almost the whole *taxis* of Byzantine court dignitaries known from Pseudo-Kodinos, the fullest late Byzantine list of court ranks.<sup>78</sup>

In his careful reproduction of foreign spellings, Pachymeres distinguished himself from the long-established tradition of Greek historical prose according to which foreign names were changed into Greek. Indeed, Clearchus Solensis (late 4th to early 3rd century BC) complained about the difficult pronunciation of the name 'Jerusalem' ('Ιερουσαλήμ), from Hebrew 'Yerūshālāim', despite the evident allusion to the Greek word *ἱέρος*.<sup>79</sup> The division of the name 'Jerusalem' in Greek, *Hierosolyma*, into 'hieros' ('holy') and 'Solyma'<sup>80</sup> was first made by Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. AD 330–90), who thus put the 'unpronounceable' Jerusalem into the context of the Greek poetry.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, it was Homer who mentioned the 'hills of the Solymoi' (*Σολύμων ὁρέων*) of the 'Ethiopians', which his commentators thought to have been somewhere in Cilicia, Lykia, or Pisidia.<sup>82</sup> And it was the famous poet Choerilus of Samos (fl. last third of the fifth century BC) who wrote about the people of the

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Bibikov and Krasavina 1991: 281–2.

<sup>73</sup> τὸ ἀλλάγιον: Pachymeres, ii, p. 403, l.10; iv, p. 447, l.23. See on the institution of *allagion* or 'unit', 'troop contingent' Bartusis 1992: 31, 411 (index).

<sup>74</sup> ὁ μέγας βαίοντος: Pachymeres, v (Index), p. 49, n 18. On the office (*baille* was a rector in Venetian settlements on the Byzantine territory), see D. M. Nicol 1988: 181.

<sup>75</sup> ὁ καβαλλάριος: Pachymeres, i, p. 117, l.10; 119, l.11; ii, p. 425, l.11. On the term, see Bartusis 1992: 28.

<sup>76</sup> ὁ καδηνάλιος: Pachymeres, i, p. 279, l.2; ii, p. 463, l.7.

<sup>77</sup> Hunger 1978: 452–3; cf. Averintsev 1996: 286–7.

<sup>78</sup> Pachymeres, v (Index), pp. 47–53.

<sup>79</sup> τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ὄνομα πάνυ σκολιόν ἔστω, Ιερουσαλήμ γάρ αὐτὴν καλούσιν . . . ('The name of their [i.e. Jews'] capital is very curious [lit. 'crooked']: they call it Jerusalem'): Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ii, p. 323; Averintsev 1996: 43–4.

<sup>80</sup> In restoring the name as 'Solyma', I follow the Souda, which states that 'Solyma' was the city and 'Solymoi' were the people; cf. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Adler, entries 784 and 786; Suidas, *Lexicon graecum*, ed. Chalcondyles et al., §T.iii, p. [867] (the book has no original pagination); Estienne, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, viii, col. 512.

<sup>81</sup> Gregorius Nazianzenus, 'Carmina de se ipso' (Carm. II.1.13.178), in MPG, 37, col. 1241, ll.6–7: Πέτρῳ δ' ἵσα φέροιτο θεοκτόνος Ἰσκαρώτης | Καὶ Σολύμοις ἱεροῖσιν ἀλιτροτάτη Σαμάρεια. Cf. also Gregorius Nazianzenus, 'Carmina moralia' (Carm.I.2.2.419), in MPG, 37, col. 611, l.6; and the commentary by Zehles and Zamora 1996: 185 (I am grateful to Dr Christos Simelidis who drew my attention to this book).

<sup>82</sup> Homer, *Odyssea*, ed. von der Mühl, 5: 282–90; *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, ed. Dindorf, , Book 5 hypothesis-verse 282, l.4–285, l.2, p. 273, ll.15–18; Strabo, *Geographica*, ed.

'Solymian hills' (*γένος... ϕέρειν δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι*), the Jews, according to Josephus (b. AD 37/8) and according to Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. AD 260–339) one of those 'nations' led by Xerxes I, King of Persia (486–465 BC) against the Greeks in 481 BC.<sup>83</sup> Though Pachymeres follows Clearchus and Gregory of Nazianzus (he divides the name into two parts *metri causa*: *τοῖς ἵεροῖς προσβαλεῖν Σολύμοις*, the latter obviously being Choerilus' form *Σολύμοις*<sup>84</sup>), this did not prevent him from reproducing the most difficult foreign spellings.

Meineke, i, Book 1, chapter 2, section 10, ll.22–33, p. 27, ll.2–14. Cf. Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Merrill, p. 151:

Journeying from the Ethiopians then, the strong shaker of earth (Poseidon) saw him (Odysseus) far off from the peaks of the Solymoi, for he observed him sailing along on the sea; in his heart was the god most wrathful; angrily shaking his head, he said to himself in his spirit: 'Oh what shame, that concerning Odysseus the gods have entirely changed their minds while I was among the Ethiopian people! Now he is near the Phaiakians' country; for him it is fated there to escape the calamitous end of the woe that has dogged him. But I think I will yet drive him into quite enough evil.'

<sup>83</sup> Choerilus Samius, in *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, eds. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, p. 149, fragment 320, ll.1–5 (with the references to Josephus *Contra Apionem*, Book 1, sections 172–174, and Eusebius *Praeparatio evangelica*, Book 9, chapter 9, sections 1–2):

τῶν δ' ὅπιθεν διέβανε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι,  
γλώσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφίεντες,  
ϕέρειν δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατεή παρὰ λίμνη,  
αὐχμαλέοι κορυφάς, τροχοκουράδες· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν  
ἴππων δαρτά πρόσωπ' ἐφόρευν ἐσκληκότα καπνῷ.

English translation (by Thackeray, p. 233):

Closely behind passed over a race of wonderful aspect;  
Strangely upon their lips the tongue of Phoenicia sounded;  
In the Solymian hills by a broad lake their habitation;  
Shorn in a circle, unkempt was the hair on their heads, and above them  
Proudly they wore their hides of horse-heads, dried in the hearth-smoke.

It seems that Choerilus' description better fitted the ancient Arabs east of the Dead Sea rather than the Jews of Jerusalem, though Josephus called the latter *Solymites* (*Contra Apionem*, Book 1, section 248 (= Josephus, *Against Apion*, trans. Thackeray, pp. 264–5).

<sup>84</sup> Pachymeres, iv, p. 505, ll.7–9: [İlkhan Ghazan] πόλλ' ἄττα δεινὰ τὸν τῶν Ἱράβων σουλτᾶν εἰργάζετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀντοῖς τοῖς ἱεροῖς προσβαλεῖν Σολύμοις... ([İlkhan Ghazan] caused numerous dangers to the sultan of the Arabs, so that he was [on the verge] of attacking Jerusalem itself (lit. "Holy Solyma"); cf. the correct, undivided form in Pachymeres, iv, p. 677, l.21: *Ἴεροσολύμοις*. There are two different forms of the name 'Jerusalem' in Greek: *τὰ* (var: *ἡ*) *Ἴεροσόλυμα* and *ἡ Ιερουσαλήμ* (var: *Ἱερουσαλήμ*). The form *τοῖς ἱεροῖς σολύμοις* was obviously created from *τὰ Ιεροσόλυμα*. If the words *ὁ ἱερός* were 'borrowed' from another, rarer, form *ἡ Ιερουσαλήμ*, the second part of the divided name of Jerusalem in Pachymeres would have been *Σαλήμ*. The form *ἡ Σαλήμ* (cf. Genesis 14:18) should be distinguished from the phonetically similar, but orthographically different, name *τὸ Σαλείμ* (var: *Σαλίμ*) (indeclinable), a town near Scythopolis in northern Samaria. St John baptised people in the vicinity of *τὸ Σαλείμ* (John 3:23); see *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, ed. Danker, pp. 470–1 (lemma *Ἴεροσόλυμα*), 911 (lemmata *Σαλείμ* and *Σαλήμ*).

It should be also noted that the Greeks changed foreign names in order to adjust these to Greek *καλλιφωνία* (which might have been considered similar to *ἐπιμέλεια καὶ κάλλος*, ‘carefully wrought style and beauty’, recommended in the Byzantine rhetorical corpus<sup>85</sup>). Apart from Clearchus, who was not satisfied with the Greek form of the name ‘Jerusalem’, other examples can also be found. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived in the first century BC, did not dare to cite the names of the Roman gods, though he was an admirer of Roman power.<sup>86</sup> The same is true of Anna Komnena (who died between 1153 and 1155), who wrote: ‘For all my desire to name their (i.e. Crusaders’) leaders, I prefer not to do so. The words fail me, partly through my inability to make the barbaric sounds—they are so unpronounceable—and partly because I recoil before their great numbers.’<sup>87</sup> The difference is that Dionysius carefully replaces the Latin names of gods with Greek ones (Cronos instead of Saturn, Hephaestos instead of Vulcan, Artemis instead of Diana, etc.), while Anna was forced to reproduce the names of the Crusaders (as well as those of the Seljuks), as there were no Greek equivalents for these.

Thus, the *History* of Pachymeres, despite its difficult rhetorical style and tortuous syntax, is one of the most reliable sources for Byzantine–Turkish relations. One should not forget that Pachymeres started his career as a scribe (*notarios*), that is to say, a composer of official documents. He shows great skill in connecting his high rhetorical style with the documents he used. Even the citation from Sophocles, mentioned at the beginning of Pachymeres’ *History* occurs in the *chrysobullos logos* of 1259 of the Iviron monastery.<sup>88</sup> One might also guess that where no parallel existed in Ancient Greek sources, Byzantine authors, and Pachymeres in particular, followed Hermogenes of Tarsus (fl. 2nd century AD), the ‘father’ of Byzantine rhetoric, on purity of style: ‘The diction that is appropriate to purity is everyday language that everyone uses, not that which is abstruse or harsh-sounding’.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Hermogenes, *Opera*, ed. Rabe, pp. 296–311; Hermogenes, *On Types of Style*, tr. Wooten, pp. 54–64, esp. p. 62 (cf. Averintsev 1996: 273):

From the preceding discussion it should be evident what kind of word order is needed to produce Beauty. First, it must avoid the clashing of vowels [hiatus] (ἀνευ συγκρούσεως τῶν φωνηγέτων). Secondly, the word order should produce metrical configurations that are very similar to meter. Thirdly, the meter suggested must fall into feet that are appropriate to the passage and to the kind of style that we are aiming at.

<sup>86</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, tr. Cary, i, II, 50, 3 (pp. 454–7): Τάτιος δὲ Ἡλίῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ Τέρε, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐστίᾳ καὶ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ Ἔνυαλίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ὃν χαλεπὸν ἔξειπεν Ἐλλάδι γλώττῃ τὰ διόρματα. (‘And Tatius [built temples] to the Sun and Moon, to Saturn and to Rhea, and, besides these, to Vesta, Vulcan, Diana, Enyalius, and to other gods whose names are difficult to express in the Greek language.’); Averintsev 1996: 44.

<sup>87</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, x: 4, p. 315, ll.56–59; Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, tr. Sewter, pp. 324–5; Dagron 1994: 222.

<sup>88</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 22, n 2.

<sup>89</sup> Hermogenes, *On Types of Style*, p. 10; Hermogenes, *Opera*, p. 229, ll.8–9.

Chronology in Pachymeres is difficult, as Failler has shown in several articles.<sup>90</sup> Pachymeres organizes his material in short chapters, each chapter representing one particular topic (for example: ‘How Palaiologos was honoured [by the title] of *megas doux*’ for the events in 1258<sup>91</sup>). Problems arise, however, as Pachymeres usually includes events occurring two or more years before the topic under discussion.

Pachymeres’ *Historical Relations* were continued by Nikephoros Gregoras, a famous polymath and philosopher. Born in 1290/91 or 1293/94 in Herakleia Pontike, Gregoras came to Constantinople in c. 1314–15 to study logic and rhetoric with the future patriarch John XIII Glykys, and philosophy and astronomy with Theodore Metochites. In 1321 he was introduced to the Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos, to whom he wrote three *enkomia*. During the civil war between Andronikos II and his grandson Andronikos III in 1321–8 Gregoras took the side of the old emperor, but when Andronikos III (1328–41) came to power, Gregoras remained in the emperor’s favour. During the second civil war (1341–7) between the young Emperor John V Palaiologos (1341–91) and John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54), Gregoras was a partisan of the latter. However, his fortunes soon changed, since John VI Kantakouzenos took the side of St Gregory Palamas, the greatest theologian in late Byzantine history, whose Hesychastic theological system Gregoras opposed. Having taken monastic vows, Gregoras was, nevertheless, condemned and excommunicated by the local Church Council in Constantinople in 1351. He was put under arrest in the monastery of Chora, where he spent the next three years in isolation, until the restoration of the Emperor John V Palaiologos in 1354. Gregoras continued his polemics against those who practised Hesychasm (and in particular his old enemy, the ex-emperor John VI Kantakouzenos). He died in Constantinople between 1358 and 1361.<sup>92</sup>

The three volumes of the *Iστορία Πωμαϊκή* consist of 37 ‘books’ (chapters); the first seven ‘books’<sup>93</sup> cover the period 1204–1318.<sup>94</sup> Unfortunately, these seven books are the most unoriginal. Their chief sources are Akropolites and Pachymeres, whom Gregoras repeated in an abridged form.<sup>95</sup> He omits many events (for example, the capture of Thessalonica by John III Batatzes in 1246).<sup>96</sup> However, Gregoras sometimes uses contemporary sources, like those

<sup>90</sup> Failler 1980: 5–103; 1981: 145–249; 1990: 5–87; 1982: 187–99; 1984: 249–63; 1991: 171–95; 1993a: 237–60; 1994: 69–112; 1997: 221–46.

<sup>91</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 96–9.

<sup>92</sup> Talbot, ‘Gregoras, Nikephoros’, in ODB, ii, pp. 874–5; PLP, 4443, fasz. 2, pp. 234–7; Hunger 1978: i, pp. 453–7; Bibikov and Krasavina 1991: 283–4; van Dieten 1975: 1–2.

<sup>93</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 1–279.

<sup>94</sup> The chronology in Gregoras was restored in the Modern Greek translation by Moschos (1997). Cf. van Dieten 1975: 12. The first eleven ‘books’ of Gregoras were composed in around 1349; his primary purpose was polemics against Palamas.

<sup>95</sup> Hunger 1978: i, pp. 459.

<sup>96</sup> Hunger 1978: i, pp. 459–65.

for the embassy of Theodore Metochites and John Glykys to Cyprus and Cilician Armenia in 1294.<sup>97</sup> Gregoras' work is important from two points of view. First, he often gives a different version, especially of contemporary events, and, secondly, he tries to explain various aspects of Byzantine history. These 'inserts' by Gregoras deserve attention, since they represent the opinions of a contemporary Byzantine writer. Both points (different versions and additions in Gregoras) can be illustrated. It is Gregoras who gives a different version of the names of the Turkish rulers who conquered Byzantine Asia Minor at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>98</sup> The earlier version belonged to Pachymeres.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, it is Gregoras who tries to describe the changes in the Byzantine–Seljukid frontier zone.<sup>100</sup> Finally, it is Gregoras who gives the fullest account of the Catalan Company in Asia Minor and Greece in 1304–11, especially in Thrace.<sup>101</sup>

In short, the Greek sources, while quite comprehensive as far as the history of the Nicaean (then Byzantine) Empire is concerned, do not give the full story of Byzantine–Seljukid (Turkish) relations. The chronology is problematical, as is the possible distortion of the narrative arising from Byzantine authors' adherence to rhetorical tradition. Thus, the need for the study of the Oriental sources is unavoidable.

## ORIENTAL SOURCES

The Oriental sources are the most informative for the period under examination, especially those written in Persian and Arabic. From the point of view of historical methodology, Persian and Arabic historical, and later Muslim Turkic, writings had common roots and formed a unity—Islamic historiography. Here the springboard was Arabic historical tradition. It began with the *hadīth*, literally accounts of what the Prophet Muḥammad said or did, and the *akhbār*, or pieces of historical information, reports; both types of historical writings included the so-called *isnād*, or chain of transmitters, and as such contained the elements of historical verification. When united chronologically, the autonomous narrative units (*hadīth* and *akhbār*) served as a nucleus for annalistic history, the *ta'rīkh* (var. *tārīkh*); the best example is probably the famous *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk* by al-Tabarī (d. 923).<sup>102</sup> Al-Tabarī's work

<sup>97</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 193, l.14–195, l.8; Hunger 1978: i, p. 459; Nikephoros Gregoras, tr. Moschos, pp. 203–4; Dölger, *Regesten*, 4, N 2156b, pp. 18–19.

<sup>98</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 214, l.1–215, l.2.

<sup>99</sup> Pachymeres, iv, p. 425, ll.4–12.

<sup>100</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 137, l.22–138, l.22.

<sup>101</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 217, l.14–254, l.2.

<sup>102</sup> Robinson 2003: 15–17, 55–60, 74–9, 83–97; Khalidi 1994: 17–82.

was soon ‘translated’ into Persian in an abbreviated form by the Sāmānid *wazīr* Abū ‘Alī Bal’amī (d. 974 or 992), who, according to Meisami, ‘transformed Ṭabarī’s discrete account into continuous narrative’.<sup>103</sup> This was the beginning of Persian annalistic history in the new Islamic environment created by the Arab conquests that so profoundly changed Īrān.<sup>104</sup>

Further development of historical thought was influenced by the notions of *adab* (‘civility’, ‘courtesy’, ‘humanity’, ‘literature’), which allowed collections of various news and events, not necessarily verified by the *isnād*;<sup>105</sup> *hikma* (‘wisdom’, ‘sagacity’; ‘rational sciences’, ‘philosophy’; but in Persian *hikmat* rather suggested ‘didactic wisdom’)<sup>106</sup> and *siyāsa* (‘management of affairs of state’, ‘art of statecraft’) which developed into the *Fürstenspiegel* (‘princely mirror’) genre;<sup>107</sup> both *hikma* and *siyāsa* were often considered as parts of the more general notion of *adab*. As Tarif Khalidi correctly stated, ‘histories written under the influence of *adab* display more clearly than ever the *persona* of their historian-author, his programme and purpose in writing’.<sup>108</sup> The amalgamation of genres gave a Muslim historian unusual freedom of choice to include in his narrative any sources he considered important. Khalidi’s statement was based on careful analysis of the Arab sources, but his conclusions are also true for the medieval Persian *adabī* historians.

As far as the history of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm is concerned, a major difference between Arabic and Persian sources should be underlined. The difference is mostly geographical. The most important Persian sources were composed in Asia Minor or in that part of Īrān close to Anatolia. The Arabic sources are more dispersed. Some of them were written in Egypt and Syria under the Ayyubids and then the Mamluks; some of them, like al-Nasawī’s, were composed by non-Arabs, educated members of the chancery in Central Asia or Īrān. The documentary sources have often survived in Arabic or in Arabic translations from Persian, or in Persian.

It is beyond the scope of my study to describe *all* the Oriental sources which I use. One should remember that the Arab authors, even if they did not follow the *isnād* chain, were very apt to rewrite the evidence of their predecessors, which is why I have occasionally cited Mamluk sources of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, but only in rare cases, when these give additional information. The purpose of the present chapter is limited to giving a general picture of oriental historiography in the thirteenth century only as far as Asia Minor is concerned.

<sup>103</sup> Meisami 1999: 9, 23–37.

<sup>104</sup> Petrushevsky 2006: 36–43.

<sup>105</sup> Gabrieli, ‘Adab’, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, i, pp. 175–6; Khalidi 1994: 83–130.

<sup>106</sup> Goichon, ‘Hikma’, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, iii, pp. 377–8; Khalidi 1994: 131–81.

<sup>107</sup> Khalidi 1994: 182–204.

<sup>108</sup> Khalidi 1994: 113.

## PERSIAN SOURCES

Three major works in Persian deserve our primary attention, for they were composed in the Rūm Sultanate. These are the chronicles of Ibn al-Bībī (or Ibn Bibī in Persian tradition), Āqsarāyī (or Āqsarā’ī; Aksaraylı in the modern Turkish spelling) and *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq* by an anonymous author.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ja’farī al-Rughadī, known by the name of Ibn al-Bībī al-Munajjima (son of the ‘lady’ astrologer) (?—died after 1284/85) was *munshī* (secretary) and *mālik-i dīwān al-tughrā*, the head of the chancery of the Secretariat of State of the Seljuks of Rūm. His father Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Tarjumān ('Translator') acted as a *munshī* at the court of Jalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazm-shāh. After the death of Jalāl al-Dīn, he worked as secretary in the Seljuk chancery at Konya from AH 631 (1233–4).<sup>109</sup> Ibn Bībī belonged to the descendants of the Persian bureaucrats of Central Asia, who migrated westwards after the collapse of the state of the Khʷārazm-shāhs in 1219–21 under the Mongol onslaught. Ibn Bībī was himself an *émigré*—he was not a native of Rūm. According to his *nisba* ‘al-Rughadī’, he was born in the city of Rughad in Māzandarān. His family left Balkh for Nishāpūr in AH 617 (8 March 1220–24 February 1221) and, after a slow journey away from the Mongol threat, came to Damascus in 1231 and then to Rūm in AH 631 (7 October 1233–25 September 1234).<sup>110</sup>

Ibn Bībī suggests in the *Introduction* that he was advised to write the history of the Seljuks of Rūm by the famous historian ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Aṭā Malīk [Juwaynī], whom he knew in person.<sup>111</sup> His chronicle describes events in Rūm between 1192 and 1280. It should be noted that the most reliable part of the chronicle starts from around 1200. Ibn Bībī’s work survives in two different forms. We possess the full authentic version of the chronicle, *al-Awāmir al-‘alā’iyya fī l-umūr al-‘Alā’iyya* (composed in 1281, and certainly before the death of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Aṭā Malīk Juwaynī on 4 Dhū al-Hijja AH 681 (5 March 1283))<sup>112</sup> and the shortened *Mukhtaṣar* ('The abridgement'),<sup>113</sup> which was written by an anonymous author between 4 Sha'bān AH 683

<sup>109</sup> Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 2–4; H. Duda, ‘Ibn Bibi’, in *EP*<sup>2</sup>, iii, pp. 737–8.

<sup>110</sup> Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 3–4; Melville 2006: 137–9.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 6. On ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Aṭā Malīk Juwaynī, his life, and work, see Section 4 on *Rhetoric*.

<sup>112</sup> İbn-i Bībī, *El-Evāmirü'l-'Alā'iyye fī l-umūri'l-'Alā'iyye, önsöz ve fihristi hazırlıyan*, ed. Erzi, 1956 (the publication of a photocopy of the manuscript; see Abbreviations, *sub nomine* ‘Ibn Bibi (AS)’); İbn-i Bībī, *El-Evāmirü'l-'Alā'iyye fī l-umūri'l-'Alā'iyye*, eds. Lugal and Erzi, 1957 (only the first volume was edited); on the date of composition, see Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 4–7; Melville 2006: 138.

<sup>113</sup> See Abbreviations, *sub nomine* ‘Ibn Bibi’.

(16 October 1284)<sup>114</sup> and Shawwāl AH 684 or 687 (December 1285 or November 1288).<sup>115</sup>

The difference between the two versions, the *al-Awāmir al-‘alā’īyya fil-umūr al-‘Alā’īyya* and the *Mukhtaṣar*, is that the latter is written in a simpler style of language, in contrast to the complicated figured (or chancery) style of Ibn Bibī.<sup>116</sup> All important information in the *al-Awāmir al-‘alā’īyya fil-umūr al-‘Alā’īyya* is preserved in the *Mukhtaṣar*, which has been translated into German by Herbert Duda. However, Duda also lists the cases in which the full-version *al-Awāmir al-‘alā’īyya* contains additional information.<sup>117</sup> I prefer to use the *Mukhtaṣar* for my study, though in many cases I also cite the fuller version of Ibn Bibī.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the chronicle of Ibn Bibī had been translated into Ottoman Turkish by Yazıcıoğlu Ali (Yazıçıoğlu ‘Alī), or Yazıcızâde Ali, for the Sultan Murad II (1421–51). Yazıcıoğlu Ali’s work can hardly be described as a straightforward translation of Ibn Bibī. The text is influenced by Rashīd al-Dīn,<sup>118</sup> and Yazıcıoğlu Ali also drew upon various *manāqibnāmes* (heroic deeds of Muslim saints)<sup>119</sup> as well as on documents from the Ottoman chancery, of which he was a member.<sup>120</sup> The *editio princeps*, which was based on manuscripts in Leiden and Paris and published by M. T. Houtsma in Ottoman characters,<sup>121</sup> ends with events between the 1220s and the 1230s. Even so, this edition contains important additions to Ibn Bibī.<sup>122</sup> A. Bakır has recently published the fuller version, on the basis of ten extant manuscripts, in modern Turkish characters.<sup>123</sup> His *editio critica* now allows scholars to collate the extant Persian text of Ibn Bibī with the early Ottoman translation of Yazıcıoğlu Ali.

Mahmûd ibn Muḥammad Karīm al-Dīn Āqsarāyī (Āqsarā’ī, Aksaraylı) (born mid-thirteenth century—died between 1323 and 1327/33) finished his

<sup>114</sup> The date of the execution of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Juwaynī, the brother of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Atā’ Malik Juwaynī, mentioned as dead in the *Mukhtaṣar* (Ibn Bibī, p. 321; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 308).

<sup>115</sup> Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 10; Melville 2006: 139.

<sup>116</sup> On the chancery style in Persian historiography of the preceding period (eleventh and twelfth centuries), see Meisami 1999: 293.

<sup>117</sup> Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 327–47.

<sup>118</sup> Wittek 1952: 644–6.

<sup>119</sup> On the genre of *manāqib*, see Pellat, ‘Manāqib’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vi, pp. 349–57. Yazıcıoğlu Ali inserts into the text of Ibn Bibī some pieces from the *manāqibnāme* of Sarı Saltık (the 1280s); Wittek 1952: 652.

<sup>120</sup> For example, he restores the history of the sons of the Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II (1246–56; 1257–61) with the help of the documents to which his position gave him access (Wittek 1952: 652).

<sup>121</sup> See Abbreviations, *sub nomine* ‘Ibn Bibī (Yazıcıoğlu Ali)’.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Yazıcıoğlu Ali’s variant of early Ottoman history, which he incorporated into the chapter about the Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I (1219–37): Ibn Bibī (Yazıcıoğlu Ali), pp. 217–18, 353.

<sup>123</sup> See Abbreviations, *sub nomine* ‘Ibn Bibī (Yazıcızâde Ali)’.

work *Musāmarat al-akhbār wa musāyarat al-akhyār* in 1323. Like Ibn Bibī, he was a *munshī* (secretary). His *cursus honorum* included the post of administrator of the *waqfs* of Rūm (*tawliyyat-i awqāf-i mamālik*);<sup>124</sup> he also possessed the fort at Sālima and was a commandant (*kūtwāl*) of Aksaray.<sup>125</sup>

Though his narrative runs from the time of the Great Seljukids until the reign of Mughīth al-Dīn Toghrl (III) ibn Arslān (1175–94), the last of the Great Seljuks of 'Irāq,<sup>126</sup> in reality the work describes the history of the Rūm Seljukids after the death of the Sultan Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II in 1246. Āqsarāyī has earned a reputation for the difficulty of language, but his work is extremely important for the last years of the Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm (1246–1308). The work ends with the events of 1323. Āqsarāyī was a member of the *dīwān* of the Sultanate and was close to Mujīr al-Dīn Amīr-shāh, one of the most influential members of the Seljukid government in the 1270s–90s. Āqsarāyī appears not to have had access to the work of Ibn Bibī: he simply does not mention him.<sup>127</sup>

The third important Seljukid source is *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, composed around 1299, though the arid continuation goes on until 1363.<sup>128</sup> The chronicle was written by a citizen of Konya.<sup>129</sup> Unlike Āqsarāyī and Ibn Bibī, it does not contain features of the so-called figured (chancery) style,<sup>130</sup> which is characteristic of educated authors and which usually implies knowledge, if not direct citation, of official sources.<sup>131</sup> Indeed, the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* is written in very simple Persian, but contains the chronology of the Seljuk Sultanate, whose capital was Konya.

Despite different writing styles, the three Seljukid sources in Asia Minor have one thing in common: they are so-called 'dynastic' or 'local' histories<sup>132</sup>—in our case, the history of the Seljukid dynasty. For example, the anonymous *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* is the story of the dynasty of the Seljuks, which the author begins with a certain Loqmān, father of Saljūq, the founder of the dynasty. The incomplete list of the Great Seljuks ends with the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Mas'ūd ibn Muḥammad [ibn Malik Shāh ibn Alp Arslān]

<sup>124</sup> Aksarayi, p. 304.

<sup>125</sup> Aksarayi, p. 306; Melville 2006: 145–6.

<sup>126</sup> Aksarayi, pp. 25–6. On the Sultan Toghrl ibn Arslān, see Houtsma and Bosworth, 'Toghrl (III)', in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, x, pp. 554–5.

<sup>127</sup> On Āqsarāyī and his work, see Storey 1972: ii, pp. 1251–2; J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, 'al-Āqsarāyī', in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, i: Supplement, fasc. 1–2, p. 59; Melville 2006: 145–50; *Die Seltschuken-geschichte des Akserayī*, tr. İslitan, 1943.

<sup>128</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 133–4; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 95 (in this edition I hereafter refer to the facsimile pages of the Persian MS).

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Uzluk's introduction: *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. viii–ix; Cahen 2001: 282; Melville 2006: 150–3.

<sup>130</sup> Meisami 1999: 293–4.

<sup>131</sup> For example, Āqsarāyī cites the letter of the Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II (1249–57): Aksarayi, pp. 38–9; see also on the more general view on Seljukid historiography, with its didacticism and the influence of the *Fürstenspiegel* genre, Hillenbrand 2001: 74–6.

<sup>132</sup> Meisami 1999: 9–13.

(1134–52).<sup>133</sup> However, the final part of the chapter includes such names as the Caliphs al-Mustarshid (1118–35) and al-Muqtafi (1136–60), Ildegiz, the *atabeg* of Ādharbāyjān, and the two last Khwārazm-shāhs—‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad II (1200–20) and his son Jalāl al-Dīn.<sup>134</sup> This inconsistency is puzzling, for it is known that the Khwārazm-shāhs were bitter enemies of the Great Seljuks. The last Great Seljuk Ṭoghrl (III) ibn Arslān was slain in battle against the Khwārazm-shāh Tekesh (1193–1200).<sup>135</sup> The son of the Sultan Ṭoghrl (III), Berqyaruk, was held hostage at the court of the Khwārazm-shāh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad II and performed in a *naūba* (a musical ceremony) of *Dhū al-Qarnain* ('Two-horned', the nickname for Alexander the Great), while greeting the Khwārazm-shāh, the 'Second Alexander'.<sup>136</sup> He and his brother were killed on the orders of Terken-*khātūn*, the mother of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad II, in March 1220, when she was leaving Khwārazm because of the danger posed by the Mongols.<sup>137</sup> These facts are not mentioned in the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, but the struggle of the last Khwārazm-shāh against the Mongols is praised: an anti-Mongol attitude is characteristic of all three Anatolian Seljukid sources. The most important and detailed information in the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* begins with the description of the reign of the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I (1192–6, 1205–11).<sup>138</sup> However, the chronicle is relatively short and, overall, contains less information than Ibn Bibī's or Āqsarāyī's.

It is the work of Ibn Bibī that most closely corresponds to the genre of 'local history'. According to Melville, Ibn Bibī's work 'could be described as a cross between a dynastic history, with its emphasis on the ruling Seljuk family, and a personal memoir, with its rather inconsistent coverage of events, the product of the author's own experiences'.<sup>139</sup> In the first page, Ibn Bibī promises to write the history of the Seljukid dynasty, though he also mentions the dynasties of Mengüçek-, Artuk- and Dānişmendogulları.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, Ibn Bibī begins his narrative with the reign of the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I,<sup>141</sup> thus avoiding the history of the Great Seljuks or the Seljuks in Rūm in the twelfth century. Ibn Bibī's primary hero is the Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I (1219–37), to whom he devotes approximately one third of his work.<sup>142</sup> Like Āqsarāyī, Ibn Bibī cites official documents: for example, he reproduces the abridged Persian translation of the Mongol *yarlıgh* which was given by the

<sup>133</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 40–78; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 6–35.

<sup>134</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 72–8; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 30–5.

<sup>135</sup> Morgan 1988: 42.

<sup>136</sup> Nasawī, pp. 26–7 (Arabic text), p. 60–1 (Russian translation).

<sup>137</sup> Nasawī, p. 48 (Arabic text), p. 78 (Russian translation).

<sup>138</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 83 ff.; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 40 ff.

<sup>139</sup> Melville 2006: 137–8. <sup>140</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 2; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 16–17.

<sup>141</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 3; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 17.

<sup>142</sup> Ibn Bibī, pp. 82–208; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 90–199.

Mongol embassy to the Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I in AH 633 (16 September 1235–3 September 1236). The Mongol *termini technici* (*pāiza*, ['tablet of office'],<sup>143</sup> *yarlīgh* ['royal edict'],<sup>144</sup> *ōrdū*, ['Horde']),<sup>145</sup> the Buddhist dating ([‘this document was written in the year of Monkey’], the Monkey being the symbol of the ninth year of the 12-year animal calendar)<sup>146</sup> with a Turco-Mongol word *bichīn* ['monkey'],<sup>147</sup> and the correct form of the names of the Mongol emissaries (Tūdaūn and Urumtāy) leave no doubt that this was an authentic document from the archive of the Sultanate.<sup>148</sup>

Let me now illustrate the principal difficulties which complicate the scholarly analysis of these sources.

## 1. Chronology

Both Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī usually place events in chronological order, but very often without dates. Some sporadic dates appear on the pages of the *Mukhtaṣar* and *Musāmarat al-akhbār* when the death or accession to the throne of this or that sultan is mentioned or important events (like the capture of Sinope/Sinop in 1214) are underlined.<sup>149</sup> Unfortunately, this is not enough to provide us with a full chronology of Seljuk history.

## 2. Didacticism

C. Hillenbrand points out the importance of the *Fürstenspiegel* genre for Seljukid historiography, which

aims to present exemplary history and in particular to show the nature of true kingship . . . Kings are chosen by God for the good of mankind. They are endowed with divine charisma (*farr-i ilahi*) and they dispense justice in accordance with God’s decrees.<sup>150</sup>

This statement can be fully applied to Seljuk historiography in Anatolia. For example, Ibn Bibī includes a special chapter in which he praises the Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I (1211–19), who became an ally of the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris (1208–22) after the Seljuk defeat near Antioch on the Meander

<sup>143</sup> Doerfer 1963–75: i, pp. 239–41 (116).

<sup>144</sup> Doerfer 1963–75: iv, pp. 153–8 (1849).

<sup>145</sup> Doerfer 1963–75: ii, pp. 32–9 (452).

<sup>146</sup> It should be noted that the calendar was accepted by the Mongols (not necessarily Buddhist) *via* China.

<sup>147</sup> Doerfer 1963–75: ii, pp. 382–3 (821).

<sup>148</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 203; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 194–5.

<sup>149</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 45–7; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 66–7.

<sup>150</sup> Hillenbrand 2001: 75.

in 1211.<sup>151</sup> The title speaks for itself: ‘The story of the virtues of the character of the Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs the Victorious (*ghālib*)’. Āqsarāyī similarly regarded the Īlkhān Ghazan (1295–1304) as God’s messenger, who re-established Islam in Īrān.<sup>152</sup> A consequence of didacticism is the selection of material, so that not all the facts, especially those not in accordance with the author’s predilections, are included in the text. Moreover, as far as the task of historical writing was to convince a reader of the author’s arguments and position, the style became more influenced by rhetoric.<sup>153</sup> Both features (incompleteness of the material and rhetorical style) are discussed below.

### 3. Incompleteness

As I have noted above, facts were carefully chosen by medieval authors. Ibn Bibī omits any reference to the defeat of the Seljukid army in 1230 in the Empire of Trebizond or the subsequent peace treaty.<sup>154</sup> Likewise, Āqsarāyī conceals the rebellion of his *protégé amīr* Temürtash against the Īlkhān in AH 722 (20 January 1322–9 January 1323).<sup>155</sup> More interesting is that the predilections of Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī reflected their attitude towards the Christians of the Sultanate as well as the nomad Turks. Like their Byzantine neighbours,<sup>156</sup> both Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī demonstrate their animosity and contempt while describing nomadic societies. Ibn Bibī cites two *baits* (verses) of the *parwāna* Mu‘īn al-Dīn Süleymān, the uncrowned master of the Sultanate between 1261–77, who launched numerous campaigns against the rebellious border Turks.<sup>157</sup> The *parwāna* had compared the Turks of the *uj* with the impious people of Saba’ (Qur’ān, 34: 15–20) and even with the demons in the kingdom of Sulaymān/Süleymān (Solomon) (Qur’ān, 2: 101–2). Ibn Bibī also mentions that the *ṣāhib-diwan* Shams al-Dīn [Juwaynī], the brother of the famous historian ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Aṭā Malik Juwaynī and the great *wazīr* in the Īlkhānid state, often recited this *parwāna*’s verses.<sup>158</sup> Both allusions (to the Sabaeans and to the demons in the kingdom of Solomon) are negative in Muslim eyes. Thus the Turks were not recognized as true Muslims by the Seljukid and Īlkhānid governments, and Ibn Bibī fully shares this point of view. Likewise, Āqsarāyī describes the Turks as ‘demon-like impious [men] who came out wholly from the way of fairness’.<sup>159</sup> The negative attitude to the

<sup>151</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 45; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 55–8. Cf. Akropolites, i, p. 17, ll.16–19.

<sup>152</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 186–7.

<sup>153</sup> Hillenbrand 2001: 75.

<sup>154</sup> Shukurov and Korobeinikov 1998: 178–200.

<sup>155</sup> Cahen 2001: 226.

<sup>156</sup> Akropolites describes the border ‘Turkomans’ as the ‘[nation] which makes (*lit. uses*) no treaties and hates the Romans’—by contrast with the ‘Persians’ [the Seljukid government, which was under strong Persian influence] with whom the ‘Romans’, i.e. the Byzantines, should conclude an advantageous alliance: Akropolites, i, p. 136, l.10–16.

<sup>157</sup> Cahen 2001: 180–207.

<sup>158</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 321.

<sup>159</sup> Aksarayī, p. 173.

border Turks makes a careful selection of historical material necessary. For example, we do not have the names of the Turkish tribes in Anatolia, though the contemporary work of Rashīd al-Dīn in Īrān suggests that they played an important political role.<sup>160</sup> As for the Christians, Ibn Bibī almost totally ignores them. Fortunately for modern historians, Āqsarāyī was less indifferent to such matters. He mentions (usually with indignation) the cases of Christian influence on the Seljukid court.

#### 4. Rhetoric

Both *Mukhtaṣar* and *Musāmarat al-akhbār* were written in a very sophisticated style. Thus, the question of the reliability of their rhetorical discourse arises. Several preliminaries are now in order.

Arabic and Persian historiography of the thirteenth century did not possess a long-standing antiquarian tradition: both Arabic and Persian historical traditions were relatively new and, as I have already mentioned, much younger than the Byzantine. This means that *termini technici* are usually precise in these sources. Moreover, the Persian language, which saw a great influx of Arabic words, preserved its ability to absorb many other foreign words. Turkish and Mongol infiltration into Persian reached their peak in the thirteenth century and were so great that G. Doerfer has composed a special dictionary of these elements.<sup>161</sup>

The Arabic and Persian rhetorical corpus had little comparable to the corpus of Hermogenes. Though both traditions—Byzantine and Islamic (mostly Arabic)—had one and the same source, the famous *Ars rhetorica* of Aristotle,<sup>162</sup> it would be oversimplifying to think that Arabic and Persian cultures derived their theory of rhetoric entirely from Aristotle. As G. Kanazi states, the term *ṣinā’at al-kalām* ('the art of composition', which was equivalent to the Greek term *τέχνη* in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*<sup>163</sup>) was used long before the translation of Aristotle into Arabic in the so-called 'Kindi-circle' (the followers of the Islamic philosopher and polymath Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindi (d. c. 870)) in the third century AH.<sup>164</sup> The first important Arabic treatise on rhetoric, *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn* of al-Jāḥiẓ

<sup>160</sup> On Rashid al-Din, see below.

<sup>161</sup> Doerfer 1963–75: passim.

<sup>162</sup> Aristotle, *Ars rhetorica*, ed. Kassel; *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, eds. Cope and Sandys; Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica: the Arabic version*, ed. Lyons; Arisṭūṭalis, *al-Khaṭāba: al-tarjama al-‘Arabiyya al-qadīma*, ed. Badawī.

<sup>163</sup> Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica: the Arabic version*, ed. Lyons, ii (Glossary), p. 139. However, *ṣinā’at al-kalām al-rā'y* ('demonstration') in the Arabic version of Aristotle means γνωμολογέω ('to speak in maxims'): Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica: the Arabic version*, ed. Lyons, ii, p. 230; Vagelpohl 2008: 177, 262.

<sup>164</sup> Kanazi 1989: p. 27; Vagelpohl 2008: 39–61, 183.

(d. 868/9)<sup>165</sup> was composed in the first half of the third century AH,<sup>166</sup> at the time of, or shortly before, the translation of the *Ars rhetorica*.<sup>167</sup> The Arabic rhetorical tradition that followed al-Jāḥīz established complete harmony (*mutalā’im*, the art of proper expressions in the most beautiful mode of pronunciation) as the chief criterion for a successful *kalām*,<sup>168</sup> which obviously contradicts Aristotle's logical approach.<sup>169</sup> Moreover, the first canon in *balāgha* ('eloquence')<sup>170</sup> was not established until the thirteenth century by Sakkākī (d. 1226 or 1229), in his famous treatise *Miftāḥ al-‘ulūm*,<sup>171</sup> which was later developed by Qazwīnī the Khaṭīb of Damascus (d. 1338). It was Qazwīnī's work, *Talkhiṣ*, that became the classic textbook on rhetoric throughout the Islamic world, with countless commentaries on the text.<sup>172</sup> Even in these very sophisticated rhetorical treatises, the second important component of rhetoric, *faṣāḥa* ('clarity', 'purity of language'),<sup>173</sup> was often left much less explained than *balāgha*, as the Arabs had little interest in the first two of the three branches of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the deliberative and the judicial. They rather concentrated on the third branch, which was dedicated to style.<sup>174</sup> In other words, the problem of 'how to speak' overwhelmed the basic question 'what to speak about, which arguments to use' (provided that the basic rules of logic are preserved).<sup>175</sup> As Hussein Abdul-Raof elegantly stated:

Rhetoric is defined by Arab rhetoricians as the compatibility of an eloquent discourse to context (*muṭābaqat al-kalām limuqtadā al-hāl ma'a faṣāḥatihi*) and is attributed to cognition and to elegant discourse. It is the highest level of

<sup>165</sup> Jāḥīz, *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*, (1988).

<sup>166</sup> Kanazi 1989: 38.

<sup>167</sup> Kanazi 1989: 27. That Jāḥīz was independent of Aristotle is confirmed by the fact that he does not mention the Greek philosopher. Cf. indices in: Jāḥīz, *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*.

<sup>168</sup> Kanazi 1989: 103; cf. Vagelpohl 2008: 85–9.

<sup>169</sup> Aristotle regarded rhetoric as part of logic, as a tool for collecting arguments, placing these in the best order, and thus making the speech or piece of writing most convincing: Aristotle, *Ars rhetorica*, ed. Kassel, 1404a, ll.1–12; *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, eds. Cope and Sandys, iii, pp. 6–8; Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, tr. Kennedy, pp. 218–19; Averintsev 1996: 135, cf. also the Arabic variant, *Aristotle's Ars rhetorica: the Arabic version*, ed. Lyons, i, pp. 172–3. On the aesthetic approach of the Arabs to the art of rhetoric and their limited use of Aristotle, see 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb asrār al-balāgha*, ed. Ritter, pp. 3–5 (introduction). On the misunderstanding of the chief categories of Aristotle on the part of Arab scholars, see Eco 2004: 85–7.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Kanazi 1989: 70. As Vagelpohl (2008: viii, note 1) correctly stated: 'In medieval Islam, the rhetorical tradition ... did not refer to "oratory" or "public speaking" in general. It meant a specific form of philosophical theorizing based on Arabic translations of Greek rhetorical writings, particularly Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. The term for "indigenous" forms of oratorical activities such as Arabic literary style and practical genres such as preaching were called *balāgha* whereas "Hellenizing" philosophical rhetoric was taught and studied under the label *khaṭāba*'.

<sup>171</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-‘ulūm* (Beirut, 1987); Schaade and von Grunebaum, 'Balāgha', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, pp. 981–3.

<sup>172</sup> al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb asrār al-balāgha*, ed. Ritter, pp. 6–7; Schaade and von Grunebaum, 'Balāgha', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, p. 982.

<sup>173</sup> Kanazi 1989: 70.

<sup>174</sup> al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb asrār al-balāgha*, ed. Ritter, p. 4; Vagelpohl 2008: 106–15.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. Kanazi 1989: 73–105, esp. pp. 103–5.

discourse when the lexical items are selected and ordered accurately in a given proposition. Arab rhetoricians also argue that rhetoric is concerned with the order system (*al-nazm*<sup>176</sup>), whereas the elegance of discourse (*jamāl/husn al-kalām*) is concerned with the impact of a speech act upon the addressee's behaviour. Therefore, rhetoric is concerned with the semantics of stylistics because one of its major objectives is the clarification of the features of effective discourse.<sup>177</sup>

In practice, this theoretical approach led to a rather complicated figured style greatly influenced by poetry: for example, Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī believed that prose-writing should rhyme, with the Qur’ān as the best example.<sup>178</sup> Moreover, poetry, like chancery documents, served evidentiary (as well as didactic) purposes.<sup>179</sup> The Persians were fully aware of these theories and used Arabic theoretical works.<sup>180</sup> That is why the pages of Persian sources are full of poetical citations, and Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī were no exceptions.

The relatively new literary language and the lack of a strong rhetorical canon (with an overwhelming number of figures and tropes)<sup>181</sup> led to flexibility in genre and style. Such a thing as *mimesis* (*μίμησις*, imitation) was rare in Oriental sources of the thirteenth century. The influence of one author on another appeared in the choice of language rather than in technique of composition.<sup>182</sup> Al-Nasawī, a Persian in origin, praises Ibn al-Athīr’s universal chronicle, *al-Kāmil*, for its trustworthiness.<sup>183</sup> However, al-Nasawī did not follow Ibn al-Athīr while composing his own memoirs about the life of the last Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburni. He preferred another genre (*sīra* ‘way of life, biography’)<sup>184</sup> and wrote in very complex Arabic in contrast to the simple language in Ibn al-Athīr. Likewise, I have failed to find any close verbal patterns shared by Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī. Ibn Bibī mentions ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Atā Malik Juwaynī as the chief ‘inspiration’ for his own work, but in reality the *al-Awāmir al-‘alā’iyya fil-umūr al-‘Alā’iyya* of Ibn Bibī and the *Tārikh-i Jahān Gushā* of Juwaynī are very different in style, genre, and composition. This means that nothing stands between the works of Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī, the chief Rūm historians, and their sources. In other words, the works written according to rhetorical rules (even to a minimal degree) are the most reliable.

<sup>176</sup> Generally, the notion of *al-nazm* means ‘composition’ or, indeed, ‘poetry’.

<sup>177</sup> Abdul-Raoф 2006: 16. <sup>178</sup> Kanazi 1989: 136–7.

<sup>179</sup> Meisami 1999: 291–2; 1997: 303–9.

<sup>180</sup> Luther 1990: 93; de Bruijn, ‘Balāghāt’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, iii, pp. 571–2.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Kanazi 1989: 144: the chapter on figures is the longest in the rhetorical treatise of Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī.

<sup>182</sup> I also do not mention the cases of direct borrowing of text from earlier chronicles, which was a common feature of annalistic historiography. Cf. the study of the Mamluk sources: Little 1970.

<sup>183</sup> Nasawī, p. 2 (Arabic text), p. 40 (Russian translation).

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Raven, ‘Sīra’, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, ix, pp. 660–3.

Let me illustrate this statement, but looking at the Seljukid sources for Rūm. Āqsarāyī writes:

Although reliable information [in] the histories of the events [which happened within] months and years is impossible after a certain amount of days, and the mysterious and secret world is the entirety and reality of the Creator of the earth and sky Who is the [only] unchangeable, according to the public and the concealed [branches] of ancient knowledge, nevertheless an obligation was laid down in this composition (*talfiq*) to make any part [of the chronicle] from chapters (*fasl*), and a chapter from units (*wasl*) of the abridged text. [This book] describes the causes of alterations and effects of changes and decline, [mentioning] a few [important] from a lot [of events].<sup>185</sup>

One might think that Āqsarāyī is summarizing someone else's chronicle. Nothing could be further from the truth. Āqsarāyī did not know about the text of Ibn Bibī,<sup>186</sup> nor does he mention any other historical writings in Rūm. Thus, his aim was to adapt the raw historical material, his *documentary* sources, to the form of a well-balanced and pleasant narrative. He even names his narrative as *talfiq*, which has a double meaning: 'a collection' and 'the adorning of one's speech'. One should not forget that various chancery documents and letters which were written in *saj'* (rhymed prose) were also a part of eloquence.

It should be noted that thirteenth-century Persian prose style is notorious for its 'heaviness'. It stands between the simple prose of early Persian literature and the elegant Persian classical prose of the fourteenth century, when the stricter norms of eloquent style and composition were established. In the thirteenth century, when the rhetorical canon still had not taken its final form, prose writings, and even official documents, were greatly influenced by poetry.<sup>187</sup> Indeed, the first great Persian work completed in the Sultanate of Rūm, and dedicated to the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I in AH 601 (29 August 1204–17 August 1205), the *Rāḥat al-sudūr wa-āyat al-surūr* by Rāwandi, which claimed to be a history and in reality was an edifying compilation in the style of *adab* (of little historical value), began with verses, which was unusual for a historical work.<sup>188</sup> When Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (d. c. 1177/78 or 1182/83), the head of the chancery of the Khwārazm-shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad I Atsız (1127/28–56), wrote a treatise *Hadā'iq al-sihr fī daqā'iq al-shi'r* on poetics and poetical embellishments, he carefully listed

<sup>185</sup> Aksarayi, p. 36.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. one fact: according to Āqsarāyī, the first flight of the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II to the Empire of Nicaea was in AH 656 (8 January–29 December 1258), while Ibn Bibī gives a reliable date: shortly after 23 Ramaḍān AH 654 (14 October 1256): Aksarayi, pp. 41–2; Ibn Bibī, pp. 287–9; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 273–5. Here I disagree with Melville (2006: 149), who suggests that Āqsarāyī was aware of Ibn Bibī's work.

<sup>187</sup> Tamimdarī 2007: 110–13.

<sup>188</sup> Meisami 1999: 237–54.

*inter alia* the types of *saj'*. Most notably he did not make a distinction between *saj'* in prose and in poetry, considering the usage of *saj'* in both genres equally important and interchangeable.<sup>189</sup>

Thus, despite all the difficulties that the works of Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī pose to the historian (poor chronology, didacticism, incompleteness, sophisticated rhetorical style), these sources are nevertheless very reliable, because real, historically documented, and carefully chosen facts stand behind their text. This is a rather paradoxical conclusion. Common opinion regards ‘excessively rhetorical’ works as less reliable than those written in simple language,<sup>190</sup> but simplicity is in practice often a sign of an uneducated and thus less of a trustworthy author (for example the author of the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*), while the rhetoric of the educated writer helped him adapt and insert into the narrative pieces of chancery documents which had been composed according to the same rhetorical patterns. Ibn Bibī might have employed the rhymed chronicle *Saljūqnāmah* by Amīr Aḥmad Ṭūsī Qānī’ī (fl. c. 1240), which does not survive, but this suggestion cannot explain the rich data of other parts of Ibn Bibī’s work as well as his knowledge of Arabic chancery style. As for Āqsarāyī, his reading was immense and included the histories of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbīhi (d. 940),<sup>191</sup> al-Sūlī (d. c. 950),<sup>192</sup> and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201).<sup>193</sup> He was well aware of the latest developments in Arab prose style.<sup>194</sup>

Unfortunately, the poor chronology of Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī, which cannot be compensated for by the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* or other minor chronicles,<sup>195</sup> forces me to turn my attention to other Oriental sources from outside Asia Minor.

Of these, the most informative are the Persian sources composed in Īrān. Unlike Persian historiography in Asia Minor, Persian authors in Īrān were very adept at creating universal histories, which often contain important news about Asia Minor. The period of Mongol domination of Īrān was the golden age of Persian literature. ‘Atā Malik Juwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, Waṣṣāf, Ḥamad Allāh Mustawfi Qazvīnī, and Qāshānī are widely known as the creators of a new chapter in the history of Persian culture. Among them, ‘Atā Malik Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn are the most important, since they both worked in the thirteenth century.

‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Atā Malik Juwaynī was in all probability born in 1226 in the district of Juwayn in Khurāsān. His family was illustrious and can be traced all

<sup>189</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt, *Hadā’iq al-sihr fī daqā’iq al-shi’r*, ed. and tr. Chalisova, pp. 239–41 (Persian text), 100–2 (Russian translation).

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Spuler 1962: 132: ‘The style, the arrangement of facts, was often more important than the historical truth [in Persian historiography of the fourteenth century]’. Strong objections to this point of view can be found in Luther 1990: 90. Cf. Little 1970: 32–3.

<sup>191</sup> Robinson 2003: 118.

<sup>192</sup> Robinson 2003: 75.

<sup>193</sup> Robinson 2003: 59, 169, 178.

<sup>194</sup> Melville 2006: 144, 147–8.

<sup>195</sup> İstanbul’un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler, ed. Turan, 10–15, 64–95.

the way back to the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809). Juwaynī's grandfather, *şâhib-dîwân* (chief minister) Shams ad-Dīn Muhammad, was in the service of the ill-fated Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad Khwārazmshāh, whom he accompanied on his flight from Balkh to Nishapur (Nishāpūr) in 1220.<sup>196</sup> However, Juwaynī's father, Bahā' al-Dīn, became a Mongol official: he was appointed as *şâhib-dîwân* by Chin-Temür, the Mongol governor of Khurāsān. The appointment was confirmed by the Great Khān Ögedei in 1235–36.<sup>197</sup>

Juwaynī started his career when he accompanied his father to Tarāz/Talās (modern Jambul in Kazakhstan) in 1248 with amīr Arghūn, the ruler of the Mongol lands west of the river Jayhūn (Amū Daryā, Āb-i Āmūyah).<sup>198</sup> Bahā' al-Dīn died around 1253, remaining a *şâhib-dîwân* until his death.<sup>199</sup> In 1255 Juwaynī was taken into the service of Hülegü, the future first Ilkhān. He was a member of the chancery and in 1259 was appointed governor of Baghdad. He died, while still in post, on 5 March, 1283.<sup>200</sup> Ibn Bibī notes that his father enjoyed good relations with the grandfather of Juwaynī, the *şâhib-dîwân* Shams ad-Dīn Muhammad al-Mustawfī; likewise, Ibn Bibī himself maintained close contacts with Juwaynī.<sup>201</sup> There was friendship for generations between bureaucrats of Khwārazmian origin.

Juwaynī wrote his great work the *Tārikh-i Jahān Gushā* between 1252/53 and 1260.<sup>202</sup> It was not an easy task, and he did not manage to correct all the dates in his *History*. However, this was the first full record of the Mongol conquests written by a Persian author. Bartold considered the works of Juwaynī, along with those of Ibn al-Athir and al-Nasawī, to be the main sources for the Mongol invasion.<sup>203</sup>

Juwaynī's work consists of three volumes, of which the most important is the second, dedicated to the history of the Khwārazm-shāhs, especially of the last Khwārazm-shāh, Jalāl ad-Dīn Mankburnī. Though Juwaynī rarely mentions Rūm, his account is of vital importance for the history of the establishment of Mongol power in Irān, the end of the state of the Khwārazm-shāhs, as well as the history of institutions, since both the Sultanate of Rūm and the state of the Khwārazm-shāhs had a common ancestor in the Great Seljukid Sultanate. Juwaynī was one of the chief sources of Rashīd ad-Dīn.

Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb Faḍl Allāh b. 'Imād al-Dawla, Abū al-Khayr, was born in Hamadān. He was the son of a Jewish apothecary and originally trained as a physician (*ṭabib*). In that capacity he entered the service of the Mongol court during the reign of the Ilkhān Abaqā (1265–82). Around the age of 30 he converted from Judaism to Islam.

<sup>196</sup> Nasawī, p. 222 (Arabic text), p. 236 (Russian translation).

<sup>197</sup> Juwaynī, ii, p. 219–24; Juvaini (Boyle), pp. 484–8.

<sup>198</sup> Juwaynī, ii, p. 248–50; Juvaini (Boyle), pp. 511–12.

<sup>199</sup> Juwaynī, ii, p. 256–8; Juvaini (Boyle), pp. 519–21.

<sup>200</sup> Juvaini (Boyle), p. xxxvii. <sup>201</sup> Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 6.

<sup>202</sup> Juvaini (Boyle), pp. xxxvii–xxxix.

<sup>203</sup> Bartold 1963: i, pp. 84–8; 1968: 38–41.

Rashīd al-Dīn did not achieve high political office until AH 697 (1298), during the reign of the Īlkhān Ghazan, when, after the fall of Ṣadr al-Dīn Zanjānī, he was appointed associate to Ṣadr al-Dīn's successor, Sa'd al-Dīn Sāwajī. He remained *wazīr* for the rest of his life, though always with a colleague; he was never sole chief minister.

During the reign of Öljeitü's son and successor, Abū Sa'īd (1316–35), the intrigues of Tāj ad-Dīn 'Alī Shāh, Rashid al-Dīn's last colleague, brought about Rashīd al-Dīn's overthrow. He was charged with having poisoned Öljeitü (1304–6), and together with his son Ibrāhīm was executed in AH 718 (1318).<sup>204</sup>

He wrote first the *Ta'rikh-i Ghāzānī* and presented it to the Īlkhān Öljeitü. Öljeitü asked Rashīd al-Dīn to continue the work so as to provide a history of all the peoples with whom the Mongols had come into contact. The full text, which he began to write in AH 700 (28 September 1299–15 September 1300) and finished ten years later, in AH 710 (31 May 1310–19 May 1311),<sup>205</sup> consisted of four parts: (1) the Mongol and Turkish tribes;<sup>206</sup> the Mongols, from the death of Chinggis Khān (1206–27) to the death of Ghazan; (2) a history of Öljeitü (of which no copy is known); (3) the *Shu'ab-i panjāna* [the *Five genealogies* of the Arabs, Jews, Mongols, Franks, and Chinese, surviving as Topkapı Sarayı ms. 2932]; (4) the *Suwar al-aqālim*, a geographical compendium of which no copy survives.<sup>207</sup>

Rashīd al-Dīn was an outstanding scholar who used many sources while composing his work: Chinese, Kashmīri, Uighur, Mongolian, Hebrew, Arabic, Tibetan, and Frankish. We can identify some of these, of whom the most celebrated is *Ch'eng-hsiang* (*chīngsānk* in the Persian transcription) Bolad (Pūlād), the representative of the Great Khān at Tabriz from 1287 until his death in 1313.<sup>208</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn knew Bolad in person. Another of Rashīd al-Dīn's sources was the lost 'Golden Register' (*Altan Debter*), the Mongol archive of the time of Chinggis Khān and his descendants.<sup>209</sup>

Rashīd al-Dīn's work on the Mongols, especially the history of the Īlkhānid state, is noteworthy for its excellent chronology and frequent use of official

<sup>204</sup> Morgan, 'Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabib', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, viii, pp. 443–4; Allsen 2001: 75.

<sup>205</sup> Tiesenhausen 1941: ii, p. 27.

<sup>206</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn, *Die Geschichte der Oğuzen des Rašīd al-Dīn*, ed. Jahn; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Oghūz-nāme*, tr. Shukurova. On the Turkish Oghuz tribes, see: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Oghūz-nāme*, MS Topkapı Sarayı, Bagdad Köşkü 282, fol. 597a; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, MS Bodleian Library, Elliott 377, fol. 342; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, MS Kitāb-khāna-i Majlis-i Shūrāy-i Islāmī (Tehran), 1108, fol. 19v. Cf. Abū al-Ghāzī, *Şecere-i Terākime (Rodoslovnaia Turkmen)*, ed. Kononov, pp. 30, l.506–37, l.620; pp. 50–4 (Russian translation).

<sup>207</sup> Morgan, 'Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabib', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, viii, pp. 443–4.

<sup>208</sup> Tiesenhausen 1941: ii, p. 27; Allsen 2001: 72–80.

<sup>209</sup> Allsen 2001: 88–91: there also was another document under the same name, which was a compendium of ritual texts for the Cinggis Khān cult.

sources. I have used various editions of Rashīd al-Dīn, including those edited and translated in Moscow and St Petersburg.<sup>210</sup>

## ARABIC SOURCES

These include the most important and reliable sources. Though mostly composed in Egypt and Syria, they record events in Anatolia, and sometimes help to establish the correct chronology. The most eminent historian is 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Hasan 'Alī Ibn al-Athīr, whose great compilation, *al-Kāmil fi al-tārīkh* marked a watershed in Arabic annalistic historiography. The source is 'distinguished by the well-balanced selection of its vast material, by its clear presentation, and by the author's occasional flashes of historical insight'.<sup>211</sup> *Al-Kāmil* is an annalistic history from the beginning of the world to the year AH 628 (9 November 1230–28 October 1231) and from this point of view represents a very popular type of 'universal history', like Tabari's.<sup>212</sup> Unfortunately we know very little about the life of Ibn al-Athīr. He was born on 4 Jumādā I AH 555 (13 May 1160) in Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar. He and his family moved to Mosul (al-Mawṣil) in 1180, where he received an excellent education. Though he spent most of his adult life in Mosul as a private scholar, from time to time he served the ruler of Mosul and as an ambassador visited Baghdad repeatedly. Near the end of his life, in AH 626–628 (1228–31) he was an honoured guest of the *atabek* of Aleppo (Halab) and visited Damascus. Ibn al-Athīr died in Sha'bān or Ramaḍān in AH 630 (May–June 1233).<sup>213</sup>

In the fourteenth century, the work of Ibn al-Athīr was continued by Abū al-Fidā' (1273–1331), the Ayyubid prince of Ḥamā.<sup>214</sup>

The next important source is the work of al-Nasawī. Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad *al-munshi'* al-Nasawī was born in the castle of Khurandiz in the district of Nasā (west of Marw) in Khurāsān. We do not know the date of his birth. He belonged to a family that had served in the state of the Khwārazm-shāhs for generations. He came to prominence in AH 615 (1218–19).<sup>215</sup> Al-Nasawī acted as master of Khurandiz

<sup>210</sup> See Abbreviations, *sub nominibus* 'Rashid al-Din', 'Rashid al-Din (Rawshan-Müsawī)', 'Rashid al-Din (Arends)', and 'Rashid al-Din (Thackston)'. On the Russian translation, see Morgan 2000: 20–2.

<sup>211</sup> Rosenthal, 'Ibn al-Athīr', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, iii, p. 724; cf. Hillenbrand 2001: 79–80.

<sup>212</sup> On the various types of historical writings, see: Meisami 1999: 9–14.

<sup>213</sup> Brockelmann 1943: i, p. 345; Rosenthal, 'Ibn al-Athīr', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, iii, p. 734.

<sup>214</sup> Abū al-Fidā', ed. Dayyub; Gibb, 'Abū'l-Fidā', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, pp. 118–19; Little 1970: 42; Brockelmann 1949: ii, p. 45–6; 1937–49: ii, p. 44.

<sup>215</sup> Nasawī, pp. 37–8 (Arabic text), p. 70 (Russian translation).

in 1220–21 when the Mongols besieged the castle.<sup>216</sup> However, the civil war in Khurāsān, the Mongol threat, and the plague forced him to leave his hereditary possessions. He entered the service of the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburnī in AH 622 (1225) when the latter returned from India. Al-Nasawī became private secretary (*kātib al-inshā'*) of the sultan and remained in that position until 1231 when Jalāl al-Dīn was killed.<sup>217</sup> He then took service under the ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn, al-Malik al-Muzaffar Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn al-‘Ādil ibn Ayyūb (1220–44).<sup>218</sup> However, he lost favour and was imprisoned. Al-Nasawī was soon released and then went to Barakat-khān, one of the heads of the Khwārazmians after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn. Al-Nasawī became *wazīr* of Barakat-khān and the *nā’ib* (deputy) of the latter in the fortress of Harrān.<sup>219</sup> He died in Aleppo (Halab) in AH 647 (16 April 1249–4 April 1250).<sup>220</sup>

Al-Nasawī's work, the *Sīrat al-sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburnī*, is the best description of the Mongol campaign against the state of the Khwārazm-shāhs in 1219–21<sup>221</sup> as well as of the state of Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburnī on the western lands of the Khwārazm-shāhs in 1225–31, in close proximity to the eastern borders of the Rūm Sultanate.<sup>222</sup> Al-Nasawī preferred rhymed prose (*al-saj'*) though when describing the most important events, he simplified his language.<sup>223</sup> This was partly because Arabic was not his mother tongue: he was Persian and mentions his ‘ungrammatical language of *al-‘ajam*, the *luknat a‘jamīyya*’<sup>224</sup>—an example of *humilitas* (cf. the Qur’ān, 31: 19–20)—since his sophisticated Arabic is completely free of mistakes. His work is extremely important, as he was an educated author who participated in the events which he later described. The *Sīrat al-sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburnī* was frequently used by other historians from the middle of the thirteenth century, the first of whom was Abū Shāma.<sup>225</sup>

The history of the Rūm Sultanate from the second half of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth century can be restored with the help of various historical writings in Arabic which were composed in the Mamluk Sultanate, of which the most informative is the work of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars.

Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Mansūrī al-Dawādār (?–4 September 1325) was a Mamluk general and historian. We do not know the date of his birth, since he

<sup>216</sup> Nasawī, pp. 71–3 (Arabic text), pp. 97–9 (Russian translation).

<sup>217</sup> Nasawī, pp. 133–4 (Arabic text), pp. 149–50 (Russian translation).

<sup>218</sup> On him, see: Hillenbrand, ‘Mayyāfāriqīn’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vi, p. 931.

<sup>219</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 223; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 213.

<sup>220</sup> Buniatov, *Introduction*, in Nasawī, ed. Buniatov, pp. 27–8; Jackson, ‘al-Nasawī’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vii, pp. 973–4; Brockelmann 1943: i, p. 319 (mentioned as *Sīrat as-sultān Ḥalāladdīn Mankobirtī*), 1937–49: i, p. 552.

<sup>221</sup> Bartold 1963: i, p. 86, 1968: 38–9.

<sup>222</sup> Nasawī, pp. 131–274 (Arabic text), pp. 148–290 (Russian translation).

<sup>223</sup> Buniatov, *Introduction*, in Nasawī, ed. Buniatov, pp. 29–30.

<sup>224</sup> Nasawī, p. 3 (Arabic text), p. 41 (Russian translation).

<sup>225</sup> Jackson, ‘al-Nasawī’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vii, p. 974.

was a *mamlūk* ('slave') of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (1279–90). He had already been purchased by AH 663 (1265), since in this year he participated in the campaign of the Sultan Baybars I (1260–77) against the Syrian Franks.<sup>226</sup> After Qalāwūn became sultan (in 1279), he appointed his slave Baybars al-Manṣūrī governor of the province of al-Karak (in AH 685 (1286)). The new sultan, al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil (1290–3), removed Baybars from this post in AH 690 (1291). Baybars al-Manṣūrī returned to Egypt and took part in the siege of Acre in the same year, the siege of Qal'at al-Rūm the following year, and the expeditions against the Mongols. When in Muḥarram AH 693 (December 1293) al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I b. Qalāwūn was elected sultan, Baybars was given the 'command of 1000' (*taqdimat alf*) and was entrusted with the office of *dawādār* (chief of the chancery).<sup>227</sup> Baybars' career was linked with the fate of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I, who was sultan in 1293–4, 1299–1309 and 1310–41. On 17 Jumādā I AH 711 (1 October 1311) Baybars was appointed the sultan's deputy in Egypt (*nā'ib al-saltāna*), second only to the sultan. He was soon deposed (in August 1312) and even imprisoned in Karak, the castle near the Dead Sea, but was released in July–August 1317. He was restored to the court as *ra's al-maysara*. He died on the eve of Thursday 25 Ramadān AH 725 (4 September 1325) at the age of about eighty.<sup>228</sup>

Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī completed two chronicles: the first, *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta'rīkh al-Hijra*, is an Islamic history from earliest times until the beginning of the fourteenth century; the other, *Kitāb al-tuhfa al-mulukiyya fil-dawla al-turkiyya*, deals with the history of the Mamluk sultans and covers the period AH 647–709 (1249–1310) with brief additions for the year AH 721 (1321).<sup>229</sup> It is commonly thought that the *Kitāb al-tuhfa* is the shortened version of the *Zubdat al-fikra*, though a simple comparison shows that *Kitāb al-tuhfa* contains many additional details.<sup>230</sup> Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī cites unique documents on the period of *interregnum* in the Rūm Sultanate (1249–1261), such as the rescripts of the Great Khān Möngke (1251–59).<sup>231</sup> The chronicler may have received these documents from the Golden Horde, with which the Mamluk state maintained close relations. It is Rukn al-Dīn

<sup>226</sup> Ashtor, 'Baybars al-Manṣūrī', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, p. 1127.

<sup>227</sup> Ashtor, 'Baybars al-Manṣūrī', p. 1127; Richards, *Introduction*, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ed. Richards, pp. xvi–xvii.

<sup>228</sup> Ashtor, 'Baybars al-Manṣūrī', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, pp. 1127–8; Richards, *Introduction*, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ed. Richards, pp. xviii–xix; Brockelmann 1949: ii, p. 44; Brockelmann 1937–49: ii, p. 43; Little 1970: 4–5.

<sup>229</sup> Richards, *Introduction*, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ed. Richards, p. xix; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Kitāb al-tuhfa al-mulukiyya fil-dawla al-turkiyya*, ed. Ḥamdān.

<sup>230</sup> Richards, *Introduction*, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ed. Richards, pp. xix–xx; Little 1970: 5–6.

<sup>231</sup> Cf. Baybars, *Zubdat al-Fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 26–30.

Baybars who gives us the fullest account of the Mamluk-Mongol diplomatic missions.<sup>232</sup>

The data in the *Zubdat al-fikra* was reproduced in other Mamluk sources,<sup>233</sup> first in the *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* by al-Nuwayrī (1279–1333)<sup>234</sup> and the *'Iqd al-jumān fī ta'rīkh ahl al-zamān* by al-'Aynī (1361–1451).<sup>235</sup>

## OTTOMAN SOURCES

The Greek, Arabic, and Persian sources form a ‘core’ of information about the history of Asia Minor in the thirteenth century. However, there are other sources of minor importance: Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, and Turkish (Ottoman). Of these, the Ottoman sources form a special group. The chief problem is the lack of Turkish sources in the thirteenth century, though one might have expected that the Turks would have produced chroniclers of their own. The first (now lost) Turkish chronicle of Yakhshī Faqīh was composed between 1389 and 1402, long after the period in question.<sup>236</sup> There were at least two contemporaneous, but independent Ottoman historical traditions. Yahşı Fakih/Yakhshī Faqīh, whose chronicle covers the years 1389–1402,<sup>237</sup> and his successors belong to the first group, while the second group includes the poem *İskendername* by Ahmedî, which was composed by 1410, the writings of Şükrullâh Zâki (1456–9), Karamani Mehmed paşa, Mehmed Konevi (fl. c. 1480), as well as Ruhi who wrote in the 1490s.<sup>238</sup>

The chronicle of Yahşı Fakih survives in the text of 'Âşikpâşazâde (d. c. 1502), who started writing in AH 889 (1484) when he was 86 years old, as he himself admits.<sup>239</sup> Hence the supposed date of 'Âşikpâşazâde's birth in AH 803 (22 August 1400–10 August 1401).<sup>240</sup> If so, the composition of *Tevârîkh-i ăl-i 'Osmân* should be traced back to the 1480s, most likely to the second half of the decade. 'Âşikpâşazâde might have ended his chronicle with

<sup>232</sup> Tiesenhausen 1941: 76–123.

<sup>233</sup> Richards, *Introduction*, Baybars al-Manṣûrī , ed. Richards, pp. xxi–xxv.

<sup>234</sup> Little 1970: 24–32; Chapoutot-Remadi, 'al-Nuwayrī', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, viii, pp. 155–60.

<sup>235</sup> Marçais, 'al-'Aynī', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, pp. 790–1; Little 1970: 80–7. I have used the Cairo edition of al-'Aynī by Muhammed Amin: Badr al-Din Mahmud al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jumān fī ta'rīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. Amin. The edition contains the part of the chronicle for the years AH 648–707 (1250–1307).

<sup>236</sup> İnalçık 1962: 152–5.

<sup>237</sup> Ménage 1962: 172–3, 1963:50–4; İnalçık 1962:152–5; Zachariadou 1991: 38–44, 116–213.

<sup>238</sup> Ménage 1964: xiv–xv; İnalçık 1962: 155, 159–67.

<sup>239</sup> 'Âşikpâşazâde, *Menâqib ve Tevârîkh-i ăl-i 'Osmân*, MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin or. oct. 2448, fol. 56a; 'Âşikpâşazâde *Tarihi*, ed. Öztürk, pp. xviii, 49.

<sup>240</sup> AH 889–86 years = AH 803, cf. Babinger 1972: ii, pp. 315–16; Ménage 1962: 174–5.

events of the year 1482,<sup>241</sup> or indeed 1485,<sup>242</sup> but one of his manuscripts continues until AH 908 (1502).<sup>243</sup>

The chronicle of 'Āşikpāşazāde became the nucleus of the greatest early Ottoman historical writing, the *Kitâb-i Cihân-nûmâ* of Mehmed Neşri, who worked in the 1490s.<sup>244</sup> His historical writing is devoted to general Turkic history from the legendary Oğuz khans and the Seljukid sultans to the Ottomans. *Cihân-nûmâ* ends with the death of the Sultan Mehmed II Fatih (1481). The chronicle includes three groups of independent sources: the chronicle of 'Āşikpāşazāde, the short Turkish chronicles (*Tarihi Takvimler*), and, for the years 1402–13, the so-called *Aḥwâl-i Sultân Mehemed* ('Affairs of Sultan Mehmed').<sup>245</sup> Thus, Neşri combined two Ottoman historical traditions, that of Yahşı Fakih and that of Ahmedî.

The early Ottoman historical writings should be used with caution: they were composed at the end of the fourteenth century at the earliest. However, they are the only sources which cast some light on the *realia* of the frontier zone in the thirteenth century and provide some information for the first years of the existence of the Ottomans.

Generally, as far as the thirteenth century is concerned, the Byzantine sources and the Persian historical writings composed in Rûm form the core of the historical data. And while the Byzantine authors aimed at exactness and transformed their sources into a lucid narrative, thus underlining the deep political and social processes in the Empire of Nicaea and Byzantium, with a clear manifestation of the author's position and a critical attitude to the emperor himself (the elements of *Kaiserkritik* can be found in all Byzantine historical writings of the thirteenth century)<sup>246</sup> the Persian sources, at once encyclopedic and heterogeneous, and very selective in the data used, provide a modern historian with an opportunity to suggest or indeed restore their sources and to study many lost features from everyday life in the Sultanate.

<sup>241</sup> See the *stemma* in İnalçık 1962: 155.

<sup>242</sup> 'Āşikpāşazāde, *Menâqib ve Tevârikh-i ăl-i 'Osmân*, MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin or. oct. 2448, fol. 313b; *Āşikpāşazâde Tarihi*, ed. Öztürk, pp. xxx–xxxvii, 286.

<sup>243</sup> *Āşikpāşazâde Tarihi*, ed. Öztürk, pp. xxxi–xxxvii, 337–54.

<sup>244</sup> Ménage 1964: xiii.

<sup>245</sup> Ménage 1964: xiii–xv, 1962: 175–8; Kastritsis 2007: 15, 28–33, 2009.

<sup>246</sup> Angelov 2007: 258–9.

# Chapter 2

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## The Nicaean Paradox

The consequences of the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 were profound. The invaders founded the Latin Empire, with its chief centres at Constantinople and Thessalonica. The rest of the former Byzantine lands became the basis for three Greek states: the Nicaean Empire in Byzantine Asia Minor, the Despotate of Epiros in the Balkans, and the Empire of Trebizond in Pontos. All three states claimed to be the true heirs of Byzantium. How did the events of 1204 impact on the position of the Byzantine world in the Mediterranean and on the Nicaean Empire in particular?

While there were several pretenders to the Byzantine heritage, the international prestige of the newly founded Greek states was very low and cannot be compared with that of the former Byzantine Empire. In the eyes of the Byzantines, their state was the true Roman Empire, and they were *P̄ωμαίοι*, and as such the descendants of the Romans. This Byzantine concept suffered a severe blow after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. The Empire disappeared.<sup>1</sup> The new Greek states might separately regard themselves as the continuation of Byzantium in exile, but such a status could only be confirmed by other states.

The loss of Constantinople, the heart of Byzantium, became a good pretext for Western powers to demonstrate their contempt for the Greek world. At the beginning of 1208 Theodore I Laskaris wrote a letter to Pope Innocent III (1198–1216). The emperor asked the pope about his reconciliation with Henry of Hainault (1206–16), the Latin Emperor of Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> The reply of the pope is noteworthy. He named Theodore I as ‘nobili viro Theodoro Laskaro’ ('noble man Theodore Laskaris') with the title ‘nobilitati tuae’ ('your nobleness'), thus declining to recognize the Imperial title of the Nicaean emperor. He also advised Theodore I to submit to the Latin emperor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Queller and Madden 1997: 172–203.

<sup>2</sup> Innocent III, ‘Epistula XLVII. Nobili viro Theodoro Lascaro’, in *MPL*, ccxv, cols. 1372–1375; Zhavoronkov 1974: 101–2.

<sup>3</sup> Innocent III, ‘Epistula XLVII. Nobili viro Theodoro Lascaro’, in *MPL*, ccxv, col. 1374.

On 21 May 1237 Pope Gregory IX wrote a letter to Emperor John III Batatzes. Like Innocent III in 1208, the pope addressed the emperor as ‘nobili viro Vatacio’,<sup>4</sup> while John of Brienne (1229–37), the regent co-emperor for Baldwin II (1237–61) and Latin emperor of Constantinople,<sup>5</sup> receives the full title: ‘karissimo (*sic*) in Christo filio nostro Johanni Imperatori Constantino-politano’ (‘the most beloved in Christ our son John, the Emperor of Constantinople’). Gregory IX threatens to organize a Crusade to help the Latin Empire (therefore against Nicaea)<sup>6</sup> and advises John Batatzes ‘impendere auxilium, consilium, auxilium et favorem’ (‘to expend his help, advice, help and favour’) to the Latin Empire and ‘to not contrive any danger or loss to that Empire’.<sup>7</sup>

There exists a reply from the Emperor John III Batatzes to Pope Gregory IX,<sup>8</sup> expressed in bitter and sharp words. The emperor objects to the papal refusal to address him with the title of emperor:

Why shouldn’t this [your letter] acknowledge what is customary in the letters [addressed] to my Imperial Majesty? [Your letter reads] as if [my Majesty] is nameless and unknown, and even as forgotten and uncertain despite our deeds and greatness of our power . . . Your Holiness adorns himself with arrogance, and makes judgment about all.<sup>9</sup>

Then the emperor proclaims the traditional Byzantine political doctrine:

You demand the recognition of the privileges of your throne on our part. However, we will not demand your acknowledgement of our right to rule and possess Constantinople. [The right] had its origin in the times of Constantine the Great, and after him was succeeded (*lit. travelled*) for a long time by [generations of] the rulers from our family, and continued one thousand years, until the

<sup>4</sup> The same words ‘nobili viro’ were applied by the pope to Count Richard of Cornwall in a letter dated 24 November 1238: Norden 1903: 752. In papal eyes the Nicaean emperor and the Count of Cornwall were equal in rank.

<sup>5</sup> He had died in March 1237, but the Pope was not aware of this.

<sup>6</sup> Norden 1903: 751–2.

<sup>7</sup> Norden 1903: 751–2. It should be noted that John of Brienne made a truce with John III Batatzes in 1236: Hendrickx 1988: N 181, p. 122. Moreover, in March–December 1237 the Latin Empire concluded a military alliance with the Tzar of Bulgaria and the Cumans (‘Scythes’), the traditional allies of the Nicaean Empire: Akropolites, I, pp. 54, 1.3–55, 1.9; Hendrickx 1988: NN 187–8, pp. 125–6. In other words, in 1237 the Latin Empire enjoyed a short period of peace. However, as the Latin emperor was 82 years old and the heir apparent (and co-emperor from 1228), Baldwin of Courtenay, was at that time in France (Hendrickx 1988: NN182–211, pp. 122–37), the pope might have wished to protect the vulnerable Latin Empire from a possible Nicaean attack. Hence his attempt to interpret the relations between the Empire of Nicaea and the Latin Empire of Constantinople as those between a vassal and a suzerain. The general background to the pope’s aggressive style was evident: the ‘diplomatic contempt’ expressed in relation to the ‘second-ranking Empire of the Greeks’.

<sup>8</sup> Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1757. The Pope’s letter is dated 21 May 1237; therefore, the emperor’s reply had to arrive at Rome some time after that, probably in the summer or autumn of 1237. Zhavoronkov 1974: 109.

<sup>9</sup> Sakellion 1872: 372–3; Pieralli 2006: 122–3, ll.10–15.

moment when it was inherited by us. To begin with, the forefathers of our Imperial Majesty from the family of Doukai and Komnenoi, not to mention others, were ruling over the nation of the Hellenes; it was they who were from my family and who held the realm of Constantinople for many hundred years. And the Church of Rome and its prelates called them the emperors of the Romans (*Ρωμαίων αὐτοκράτορας*). Why do we not seem to you [to be worthy] to rule and to reign? Why was John of Brienne (ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πρετούνας Ἰωάννης)<sup>10</sup> accepted by you as an emperor? Whence has he received the Empire of the pious and great Constantine? And who, [do you think,] has the right to this [realm]? It is incredible, but your honourable head praises unjust opinions and greedy hands and regards as rightful piratical and bloodthirsty possession, according to which [i.e. the right to possess] the Latins stole the city of Constantinople in the past and [then] made war upon us with such crudeness as even the Muslims did not [demonstrate] when they came upon the countries of Syria and Phoenicia...<sup>11</sup> We, while having been forced to move to this place [i.e. Nicaea], nevertheless have the immovable and unchangeable right to reign and to rule, by the grace of God; since this [person] should be recognized (*lit. 'named'*) as an emperor who reigns and rules over the nation, the people and population (*ἔθνους...*, καὶ λαοῦ, καὶ πλήθους), and not over stone and timber, of which the walls and towers [of Constantinople] consist.<sup>12</sup>

One might assume that it was because the pope was hostile to Nicaea at that time, after the failure of the negotiations over the union of the Churches in Nicaea (1234), that these words were addressed to Gregory IX. However, here is a rare example when the point at issue was not the differences between the Churches, but the title of the Nicaean emperor: the popes had tried to change diplomatic language.

<sup>10</sup> John of Brienne died on 23 March 1237: Hendrickx 1988: N 183, p. 123. Thus, the letter from John III Batatzes was composed after his death, as the pope's letter, the source of John III's reply, was written only two days before 23 March 1237 and must still have been on its way to Nicaea. Moreover, in the original Greek statement about John of Brienne the chief verb ('accepted') was expressed in the perfect tense: ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πρετούνας Ἰωάννης βασιλεύς σοι κεχειροτόνηται. However, there was no emperor present in the Latin Empire in 1237, as Baldwin II of Courtenay was still in France (Hendrickx 1988: N 183); hence the mention of the recently deceased John of Brienne as emperor of Constantinople in John III's letter.

<sup>11</sup> The same idea, namely that the 'Arabs', i.e. Muslims, were better than the Latins, can be found not only in Choniates (*Historia*, p. 576, ll.79–91) but also in the popular anti-Latin polemics of the time: *Περὶ τοῦ ὅπως ἵσχυσε καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Λατῖνος*, MS Synod. Greek 368 (Vlad. 240), fol. 293r; MS Synod. Greek 207 (Vlad 250), fol. 440v; Archimandrite Arsenii (Ivaschenko), *Tri stat'i neizvestnogo grecheskogo pisatelia*, p. 90. The *editio princeps* by Nikephoros (Kalogeras) cannot be trusted as it was based on MS Synod. Greek 207 (Vlad. 250), the seventeenth-century copy of the earlier manuscript, Synod. Greek 368 (Vlad. 240), written in the second half of the thirteenth century: Nikephoros (Kalogeras), *Περὶ τοῦ ὅπως ἵσχυσε καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Λατῖνος, passim*; Archimandrite Arsenii (Ivaschenko), *Tri stat'i neizvestnogo grecheskogo pisatelia*, p. iii; Fonkich and Poliakov 1993: 87–8; Fonkich 1968: 280–7, 2003b: 240–52.

<sup>12</sup> Sakellion 1872: 374–5; Pieralli 2006: 124–5, ll.41–67.

The accusations which John III levelled at the participants in the Fourth Crusade were reminiscent of the bitter words which Innocent III himself addressed to the Crusaders in 1205:

They, who were believed to be seeking things not for themselves but for Jesus Christ, showed no mercy for reasons of religion, age or sex, staining with the blood of Christians swords that they should have used on pagans. They committed acts of lewdness, adultery and fornication in the sight of all, and they exposed both matrons and virgins, even those dedicated to God, to the filth of the low-born. It was not enough for them to empty the imperial treasures and to plunder the spoils of princes and lesser folk, but rather they extended their hands to church treasures and, what was more serious, to their possessions, even ripping away silver tablets from altars and breaking them into pieces among themselves, violating sacristies and crosses, and carrying away relics.<sup>13</sup>

There was however a difference: despite all the atrocities that the Crusaders committed in Constantinople, the papacy recognized the Latin emperors as heirs to the Byzantine emperors of old. The papal chancery preserved the titles of the Latin emperors which were Latin modifications of the traditional titles of the Byzantine emperors: 'By the grace of God the most faithful emperor in Christ, crowned by God, always august and governor (autocrat) of the Romans' (*Dei gratia fidelissimus in Christo imperator a Deo coronatus Romanorum (et) moderator et semper augustus*).<sup>14</sup> One can compare these titles with those of Isaac II Angelos (1185–95, 1203–4) who signed in 1188 as: 'Isaac, the faithful emperor in Christ God, the ruler crowned by God, powerful, sublime, always august and autocrat of the Romans'.<sup>15</sup>

The only Western sovereign who recognized the imperial title of the Nicaean emperors was Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1215–50), German emperor from 1220, an enemy of Pope Gregory IX,<sup>16</sup> the protector of the Greek church in Southern Italy<sup>17</sup> and an ally of John III Batatzes from 1229.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Innocent III, 'Epistula CXXVI. Petro, tituli Sancti Marcelli apostolicae sedis legato, presbytero cardinali', in *MPL*, ccxv, col. 701; Andrea 2000: 166 (I accept Andrea's translation).

<sup>14</sup> Van Tricht 2011: 62–79. See however Lock 1995: 161–74.

<sup>15</sup> Dölger and Karayannopoulos 1968: 159, n. 48: Υσαάκιος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς βασιλ(εύ)ς θεοστεφῆς ἄναξ, κραταίος, ὑψηλὸς ἀεὶ αὐγονοτος καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Τρωμαίων. Cf. Korobeinikov 2004a: 53–74.

<sup>16</sup> Abulafia 1988: 164–70, 194–201.

<sup>17</sup> Herde 1970: 21–2. For example, in 1232 Pope Gregory IX permitted the Greek rite of baptism at the request of Marino Filagneri, the bishop of Bari, and Nicholas-Nectarios, abbot of the monastery of San Nicola di Casole near Otranto, though earlier, in 1231, the pope had prohibited this rite. The bishop of Bari had asked Frederick II to act as a mediator in the talks with the pope. Probably, the emperor's position, which was favourable to the Greeks, forced the pope to change his mind. Apart from the surviving papal letters (cf. Tauto 1950: 225, 229, 234), the only source for these events is the Old Church Slavonic translation of the description of the mission of Nicholas of Otranto to the pope: Turilov and Lomize 1996: 251–7.

<sup>18</sup> Dendias 1937: 410; Huillard-Bréholles 1852–61: vi, pt. 2, p. 921; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1721a; J.-M. Martin 2002: 473–5; Merendino 1975a: 371–83.

However, the German emperor never addressed John III as ‘Emperor of the Romans’, for, as he believed, it was he, Frederick II, who had the right to have been named ‘Roman emperor’. Frederick II styled himself ‘Fridericus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator semper augustus, Jerusalem et Sicilie rex’<sup>19</sup> or, in the translation into Greek, Φρεδερίκος θεοῦ χάριτι Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἀειαύγονος, Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Σικελίας βασιλεὺς<sup>20</sup> (‘Frederick, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans, always august, King of Jerusalem and Sicily’). The same title of ‘Emperor of Romans’ was recognized by the Greek subjects of Frederick II in Italy: we find the Byzantine formula Φρόδερικοβι βλέψερνομου Ριμπλένομъ самодръжъцуоу (‘to Frederick, the faithful autocrat of the Romans’) in the Church Slavonic translation of John Grassos’ treaty about the mission of Nicholas-Nectarios of Otranto to the Pope in 1232.<sup>21</sup> No doubt, the lost Greek original had the Byzantine form, which was applied to Frederick II: Φρεδερίκος ὁ πιστὸς [ἐν Θεῷ] αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. The surviving authentic Arabic letter of Frederick II to al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218–38), the Sultan of Egypt, dated 23 August 1229, also contains the Byzantine Imperial formula in Arabic: القيسار المظيم (*al-qayṣar al-mu'azzam*, ‘the great caesar/emperor’, μέγας βασιλεύς),<sup>22</sup> which was alongside قيسار الروم (*qayṣar al-Rūm*, ‘the caesar of the Romans’) the Byzantine emperor’s usual designation in Oriental sources.<sup>23</sup>

Indeed, Frederick II, who used Byzantine titles for himself, nevertheless names John III Batatzes as ‘John, the most illustrious Emperor of the Greeks’ (*Vatatio seu Calojohanni, imperatorem Graecorum illustri; Ιωάννη τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Γραικῶν βασιλεῖ*).<sup>24</sup> In other words, Frederick II regarded himself as the only descendant of the Roman emperors and denied any Byzantine claim to be ‘Romans’.

The only Latin sovereign who addressed John III Batatzes as ‘Emperor of the Romans’ was King Henry I (1218–53) of Cyprus in 1232–39.<sup>25</sup> Archives in Venice have preserved the Latin translation of a Nicaean chrysobull (*chrusobolum verbum*) of Theodore I Laskaris. The chrysobull was originally the

<sup>19</sup> Huillard-Bréholles 1852–61: vi, pt. 2, p. 791.

<sup>20</sup> MM, iii, p. 69; Merendino 1975b: 336.

<sup>21</sup> Turilov and Lomize 1996: 252; on other ‘Byzantine’ titles of Frederick II, see J.-M. Martin 2002: 479–80.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Beihammer 2002: 22–5.

<sup>23</sup> al-Hamawī, ed. Dūdū, p. 190; al-Hamawī, ed. Griaznovich, p. 187b. On the date and problem of the authenticity of the letter, see al-Hamawī, ed. Griaznovich, pp. 14–15 (introduction). It is interesting to note that in the Arabic document, composed in 1242 in Palermo by the chancery of Frederick II, the German emperor was mentioned without the title *al-qaysar al-mu'azzam*. This suggests that in 1229 Frederick II specially inserted the Byzantine formula into his letter addressed to the Sultan of Egypt: Collura 1961: 123.

<sup>24</sup> Huillard-Bréholles 1852–61: vi, pt. 2, pp. 772, 790, 937; MM iii, pp. 69, 72, 75; Merendino 1975b: 322, 332, 336; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1803.

<sup>25</sup> Beihammer 2007: letters 26 and 27, pp. 177–8. I am grateful to Dr Beihammer for sending his book to me.

imperial charter, usually in the form of a grant, signed by the emperor himself in purple ink and verified by the golden seal (*boulla*). The chrysobull of Theodore I, composed in 1219, granted trade privileges to the Venetian community of Constantinople. The most interesting part of the document is its beginning, the so-called *intitulatio*, or the translated titles of Theodore I: ‘Theodore, faithful emperor in Christ God, always august and governor (autocrat) of the Romans, Komnenos Laskaris’ (*Teodorus, in Christo Deo fidelis Imperator et moderator Romeorum et semper augustus, Comnanus Lascarus*). Theodore I’s signature at the end of the chrysobull received a slightly different translation: ‘Theodore, faithful emperor in Christ God and governor (autocrat) of the Greeks, Komnenos Laskaris’ (*Teodorus, in Cristo Deo fidelis Imperator et moderator Grecorum Comnanus Lascarus*).<sup>26</sup> As the extant document is the Latin translation of the chrysobull (the ratification of the treaty between Theodore I and the Venetian *podestà* Jacopo Tiepolo, which would have taken the form of exchanging the versions of the treaty), the translation of the titles cannot be regarded as evidence that La Serenissima recognized Theodore I as ‘Emperor of the Romans’. The other part of the treaty, the original Venetian document given to the Nicaean emperor, which should have listed his titles according to the views of the Republic of Venice, is not extant and we therefore cannot know the Venetian attitude to the emperors in Nicaea. It seems that Venice, or at least its community in Constantinople, recognized the imperial title of Theodore I, but the Republic could hardly have called him ‘Emperor of the Romans’, as the doge himself was ‘Master of the one fourth and the one eighth parts of the whole Roman Empire’ (*quartae partis et dimidiae totius imperii Romanie dominator*) after 1204.<sup>27</sup>

Relations between the Empire of Nicaea and the East were on a different footing. In the official Seljukid chronicle of Ibn Bibī, which is based on archival sources,<sup>28</sup> the emperors of Nicaea continue to be called قیاصره روم [qayāsira-i Rūm, ‘the caesars of the Romans’],<sup>29</sup> لشکری [Lashkarī, Laskaris],<sup>30</sup> فاسلیوس [fāsiliyūs, βασιλεύς],<sup>31</sup> and ملک الروم [malik al-Rūm, ‘the Emperor of the Romans’].<sup>32</sup> Unlike Western rulers, the Seljuks recognized the emperors in Nicaea as the emperors of the Romans. Meanwhile, other pretenders to the

<sup>26</sup> Tafel and Thomas 1856–7: ii, pp. 205–7; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1703.

<sup>27</sup> Lock 1995: 144.

<sup>28</sup> For example, he cites the treaty in 1214 between the Sultanate of Rūm and the Empire of Trebizond. Ibn Bibi (AS), pp. 153–4; Ibn Bibi, p. 57–8; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 67.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 76; Ibn Bibi, p. 24; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 36.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), pp. 60, 102–11, 277, 625, 626; Ibn Bibi, pp. 19, 36–9, 119, 289, 290; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 32, 47–50, 123, 275, 276.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), pp. 81–2, 130, 637–9; Ibn Bibi, pp. 26, 46, 296–8; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 38–9, 57–8, 282–5.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), pp. 132–3, 635, 637–9; Ibn Bibi, p. 46, 297; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 58, 283.

same title, the emperors of Trebizond, were never mentioned as *malik al-Rūm*, *qayṣar al-Rūm*, or *fāsīlīyūs* in the Seljukid sources. Ibn Bibī describes with contempt the first Emperor of Trebizond, Alexios I Grand Komnenos (1204–1222). He calls him *Kīr Aliks, takwūr-i Jānit* ('The Lord Alexios, *takwūr* of the Pontos/Jānit'),<sup>33</sup> where the title *takwūr* (from the Armenian թագավոր, *t'agawor*, 'king') certainly ranked below that of the emperor, is identical to the title of the King of Cilician Armenia, whom Ibn Bibī also calls *takwūr/takfūr*.<sup>34</sup> This is the only mention of the title of the emperors of Trebizond in Ibn Bibī, apart from one short piece where the chronicler writes about the incursion of George I Grand Komnenos (1266–80) against Sinop in 1277. Depicting the events of 1277, Ibn Bibī disdainfully calls the Emperor of Trebizond *Jānitī* ('who is from the Pontos').<sup>35</sup>

Another important chronicler in the Rūm Sultanate, Āqsarāyī, also demonstrates a respectful attitude towards the Nicaeans. He usually names the Nicaean emperor as the *malik al-Rūm*.<sup>36</sup> However, he gives the name and title of Theodore I Laskaris as *fāsīlīyūs Lashkarī*, the *basileus* Laskaris<sup>37</sup> and likewise, he calls Michael VIII Palaiologos *fāsīlīyūs* as well as *malik al-Rūm* in 1264.<sup>38</sup>

As for the names of the Nicaean Empire in Āqsarāyī, the chronicler uses the construction *diyār-i İstambūl* ('the land of Constantinople') as if the Nicaean emperors possessed the Byzantine capital.<sup>39</sup> In general, Āqsarāyī is even more conservative than Ibn Bibī and uses the traditional designations for Byzantium when he mentions the Nicaean Empire.

Apart from Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī who were contemporary with the Nicaean Empire and the principal chroniclers of Rūm, references to Nicaea are quite rare in other oriental sources. However, one of them should be mentioned. This is the chronicle of Ibn Nazīf al-Hamawī, the Ayyubid historian, who refers to the Nicaean–Seljukid conflicts in the 1220s<sup>40</sup> as well as the Nicaean embassy to al-Malik al-Kāmil in AH 624 (22 December 1226–11 December 1227).<sup>41</sup> I shall analyse these events later, but now merely point out that al-Hamawī calls the Nicaean emperor الـاـشـكـرـي [al-Ashkarī, Laskaris] and once *sultān al-Rūm al-Ashkarī*.<sup>42</sup> This is a very rare expression, since Muslim chroniclers did not usually refer to a Christian sovereign with the title of sultan, as the latter was the highest Muslim rank (apart from that of the

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Bibī (AS), pp. 147–54; Ibn Bibī, pp. 54–8; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 64–8.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 114; Ibn Bibī, p. 40: *Lifün takfūr* (Levon the *t'agawor*); Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 51.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 729; Ibn Bibī, p. 333; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 321b; Shukurov 2001a: 47–51.

<sup>36</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 42, 49, 70, 75. <sup>37</sup> Aksarayī, p. 32.

<sup>38</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 75–6. <sup>39</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 42, 49, 70.

<sup>40</sup> On these conflicts, see Chapter 4 below.

<sup>41</sup> al-Hamawī, ed. Dündü, p. 149; al-Hamawī, ed. Griaزnevich, p. 166a; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1713a, 1763a.

<sup>42</sup> al-Hamawī, ed. Dündü, p. 113; al-Hamawī, ed. Griaزnevich, p. 151a.

Caliph). It is noteworthy that like Ibn Bibī, al-Hamawī avoids calling the Emperor of Trebizond *sultān al-Rūm*, *malik al-Rūm* or *fāsīlīyūs*.<sup>43</sup>

The question arises, why did the East did not change its language of diplomacy with reference to Byzantium (the Empire of Nicaea) after the fall of Constantinople in 1204? One may assume that the eastern countries were more indifferent to the Byzantine claim to be heir to the Roman Empire than the West. However, despite the ‘indifference’, the emperors of Trebizond, who also claimed to be descendants of the Roman caesars, were not recognized as such in the Islamic kingdoms of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the Sultanate of Rūm and the state of the Ayyubids did not automatically sanction the international status of the Empire of Nicaea as heir to Byzantium. To all appearances, the use of the old Byzantine titles for the Nicaean emperors was the result of careful scrutiny on the part of Muslim secretaries and chroniclers in the Middle East. We have, therefore, to put forward another idea, namely that despite the catastrophe in 1204, the Nicaean Empire was considered by the Muslims to have been as strong, influential, and powerful a state, as Byzantium had been under the Komnenoi. It is necessary to examine the nature of this Nicaean paradox.

\* \* \*

The Nicaean Empire emerged in the Asian territories of Byzantium at a time of disaster. The Greek states which were formed from the remnants of Byzantium in 1204 started from scratch. There was no army, no finances, no strong government in the Greek lands at that time:

During the confusion [caused by] the conquest of Constantinople, there appeared other rulers (*ἱγμόνες*) from everywhere, and [the most] eminent of them brought countries under their own power. Some of them took it on themselves, others were called by the inhabitants to defend the territory. So Theodore, who was called Morotheodoros,<sup>44</sup> ruled over the city of Philadelphiea; another, by name Sabbas,<sup>45</sup> ruled Sampson<sup>46</sup> and its surrounding territory; David, brother of Alexios, ruler of Trebizond, who proclaimed himself Grand Komnenos, subdued the whole of Paphlagonia. . . .<sup>47</sup>

To this list should be added Manuel Maurozomes, Nikephoros Kontostephanos (both were active in the Upper Maeander, the modern Büyük Menderes<sup>48</sup>),

<sup>43</sup> See the preceding note. Cf Shukurov (2001a: 172–83), who reconstructed the letter which was sent by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars I to the Emperor Andronikos II Grand Komnenos (1263–66) of Trebizond in 1264. The sultan did not call the emperor *malik al-Rūm*.

<sup>44</sup> Theodore Mankaphas of Philadelphiea.

<sup>45</sup> Sabbas Asidenos. On him, see Savvides 1987: 246–51.

<sup>46</sup> Ancient Priene. See Jerphanion 1935a: 257–67; Carile 1965: 246.

<sup>47</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 12, ll.5–15.

<sup>48</sup> On Manuel Maurozomes, see Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 626, ll.47–52 and 72–75, 638, ll.65–69; Cheynet 1996: 469; Savvides 1987: 231–45. On Nikephoros Kontostephanos, see MM iv, p. 291; Cheynet 1996: 155, note 221.

and Leo Gabalas of Rhodes.<sup>49</sup> There were thus several independent rulers in Asia Minor, and Theodore I Laskaris, the founder of the Nicaean state, was merely one of them. He was, however, able to unite all the Byzantine territories in Anatolia, except those conquered by the Latins or occupied by the Empire of Trebizond.

Can we talk of a new shape of the Empire? What resources were activated by the Nicaean emperors in their struggle for the Byzantine inheritance? In 1081, when Byzantium was at a dead end after the civil war in 1071–81, the reforms of Alexios I (1081–1118) saved the Empire. What reforms did Theodore I and his successors make in order to restore the Empire at this time, after the catastrophe in 1204? According to Angold:

In the process, not only was a new political system established [in the Nicaean Empire], but a new administrative structure evolved. Trends in administration and changes in the shape of society that can be traced back well before 1204 crystallized under the pressures produced by the fall of Constantinople. This helps to explain much of the vitality of the Byzantine Empire in the thirteenth century, but from the start there were flaws that contained the seeds of decay.<sup>50</sup>

The essence of the reforms of Alexios I lay in the simplification and centralization of the state apparatus, which thus became closer to the emperor. The *logothetes ton sekreton* became the chief supervisor, or, to be more precise, in Magdalino's words, 'a supreme judge in fiscal affairs', which later, after the death of Alexios I, was transformed into the post of 'prime minister'.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, there were notable changes in the Byzantine power structure. During the crisis of 1071–81 (or more broadly, between the death of Basil II (976–1025) and Alexios I's ascent to the throne),<sup>52</sup> the principal changes consisted not only of the fact that the *stratiotikon genos* ('the military' or 'the generals') had won over the *politikon genos* ('the bureaucrats'),<sup>53</sup> but that the whole corps of aristocratic families, led by the Komnenoi, had come to power, connected to each other by matrimony.<sup>54</sup> The Komnenoi used matrimonial connections in order to unify the territories under the rule of the emperor: for example, Gregory, the son of Theodore Gabras, was forced by Alexios I to marry Maria Komnene, the emperor's niece and the daughter of

<sup>49</sup> Savvides 1987: 301–41.

<sup>50</sup> Angold 1975: 10.

<sup>51</sup> Magdalino 1996: 155; Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 71; Oikonomidès 1976: 131–3; Guilland 1971: 9.

<sup>52</sup> Cheynet 1996: 337–57.

<sup>53</sup> Cheynet 1996: 191–9.

<sup>54</sup> The best observation of the formation of the clans is in Cheynet 1996: 267–86; Kazhdan 1974: 259–60; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 146–7. According to Kazhdan, the families which were included in the clan of the Komnenoi constituted 60 per cent of the total number of aristocratic families in Byzantium. Cf. also Magdalino's statement: 'Kinship and lordship had always been features of imperial government, but Alexios [I], so to speak, built them into the constitution' (Magdalino 1996: 148).

Isaac Komnenos.<sup>55</sup> By this marriage Alexios I tried to restore imperial control over Trebizond, of which the ruler was Theodore Gabras. Later the Komnenoi were able to maintain their power by various measures, among which three should be mentioned: first, the connection to the Komnenoi clan by means of marriage links;<sup>56</sup> secondly, the granting of a high title at court;<sup>57</sup> and thirdly, subjugation by force.

There is the problem, however, of why the system established by Alexios I ended in the crisis of 1185–1204. There are two mutually exclusive answers. The first was advanced by Kazhdan:

The consolidation of the semi-feudal aristocracy at the end of the eleventh and in the twelfth century had political and social significance. The military and landed aristocracy was conscious of its privileged position and its hereditary superiority. Initially formed around the Komnenian house, it acted as a centripetal force that contributed to the temporary strengthening of the state. But in vain: the military nobility was demolished under Andronikos I. At the end of the twelfth century, the influence of the civil aristocracy, which was connected with the upper layers of the merchant and craft classes and with the intellectuals of Constantinople, again increased.<sup>58</sup>

The conclusion is based on another more detailed study by Kazhdan, *The Structure of the Upper Class in Byzantium from the eleventh to the twelfth century*, published in Russian and later translated into Italian. His arguments are noteworthy. Kazhdan points out the increasing role of the civil aristocracy during the period between 1180 (the death of Manuel I) and 1204: the civil aristocracy made up 39 per cent of the Byzantine élite, and this percentage is larger than in the middle of the eleventh century (36 per cent), when the *politikon genos* (the civilians) was very powerful. The revival of the use of eunuchs in military affairs also marks the process of de-aristocratization, of the growing importance of the nobles by rank (and not by blood).<sup>59</sup> Moreover, analysis of late Komnenian sources reveals some disregard for the aristocratic ideal,<sup>60</sup> for nobility of blood, to which the idea of self-made man (usually via stages in a civil career) is opposed.<sup>61</sup> In other words, the catastrophe of 1204 was predetermined by deep social changes in Byzantine society; the events during the reign of the Angeloi have a similar background to the civil war of 1071–81: the struggle between the civil and military aristocracy. The latter was consolidated into a closed body of powerful families around the ruling

<sup>55</sup> Cheynet 1996: 404–5; Annae Comnenae *Alexias*, eds. Reinsch and Kambylis, i, Book VIII: ix, p. 255, ll.29–34; Barzos 1984: i, pp. 77, 156, 198–9.

<sup>56</sup> Magdalino 1997: 209–11.

<sup>57</sup> Magdalino 1997: 212–13.

<sup>58</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 70.

<sup>59</sup> Kazhdan 1974: 219–20, 263; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 150–1.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the description of such an ideal in Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 104–19.

<sup>61</sup> Kazhdan 1974: 48–53; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 89–95.

Komnenian dynasty.<sup>62</sup> After Andronikos I (1183–85), who repressed the military nobility, the civil aristocracy came to power, or at least shared power, but was unable to rule effectively.

The second answer to the question about the crisis in 1185–1204 was given by Cheynet, who raised an objection to Kazhdan's theory. In dealing with the twelfth century, Cheynet's study focuses on the Komnenian clan. Cheynet states that the Angeloi belonged to the clan of the Komnenoi, but without the *charisme* of the latter.<sup>63</sup> During the reign of Andronikos I Komnenos and the Angeloi, the chief defect of the Komnenian system emerged: the struggle inside the clan, since the absence of a law on succession to the throne opened the way for pretenders from indirect lineage within the Komnenian ruling family. Cheynet's rejection of Kazhdan's opinion about the deep social changes during 1180–1204 is reasonable. The usurper Andronikos I, who subjected the aristocracy to repression, did so in an attempt to secure his throne, and his retainers were aristocrats themselves, as were his close relatives. In other words, Andronikos I used the same methods of governing as his Komnenian predecessors had.<sup>64</sup> The increasing role of the civil aristocracy during the reign of Isaac II Angelos does not mean that he restricted the privileges of the military aristocracy.<sup>65</sup> The same must be said about the reign of Alexios III Angelos. His efforts to use eunuchs as military officials can be explained by his fear of possible plots (according to Byzantine custom, the eunuchs could not lay claim to the throne).<sup>66</sup> Similarly, this emperor carried out an anti-merchant policy, since the heaviest taxation occurred in his reign.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, Alexios III was supported by the military aristocracy in the western provinces of the Empire, and it should be noted, Alexios III, who had no male heirs, at first appointed as his successor the *despot* Alexios Palaiologos, the husband of his daughter Eirene and the grandfather of Michael Palaiologos.<sup>68</sup> Another daughter of Alexios III, Anna, married Theodore Laskaris, the future Nicaean emperor from 1208–22.<sup>69</sup> After the death of Alexios Palaiologos (1203) the *despot* Theodore Laskaris, was appointed as the heir of Alexios III.<sup>70</sup>

Pace Kazhdan, the reign of the Angeloi did not see the breakdown of traditional Komnenian policy: indeed, the Angeloi ruled with the support of a limited number of aristocratic families connected to each other by matrimony. Alexios III even tried to strengthen this support, linking his daughters with the Palaiologoi, the Laskarids, and the Doukai.<sup>71</sup>

One can see the chief problem of the Komnenian reorganization as the struggle inside the Komnenoi clan: 'The most distinctive, as well as the most

<sup>62</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 69–70.

<sup>63</sup> Cheynet 1996: 434–40.

<sup>64</sup> Cheynet 1996: 432–3.

<sup>65</sup> Cheynet 1996: 438–9.

<sup>66</sup> Cheynet 1996: 442.

<sup>67</sup> Cheynet 1996: 444–5.

<sup>68</sup> Cheynet 1996: 443.

<sup>69</sup> Cheynet 1996: 443.

<sup>70</sup> Cheynet 1996: 443–4, 460.

<sup>71</sup> Cheynet 1996: 444.

fatal, characteristic of the Komnenian empire was the identification of the state with the imperial family'.<sup>72</sup> This remained the weak point of the structure, as was revealed during the crisis of Andronikos I who intrigued against Manuel I for many years,<sup>73</sup> just as his father had against John II (1118–43). It should be noted that the internal clashes were extremely dangerous, as they might have caused a foreign invasion at any moment, since the Komnenian family was linked with Western dynasties. This actually occurred at the end of 1201, when Alexios IV Angelos (1203–4) arrived in the West, asking for support against Alexios III.<sup>74</sup> Alexios IV was the brother of Eirene, the wife of Philip of Swabia (1198–1208).<sup>75</sup> It is well known that the appearance of Alexios gave the Crusaders a good pretext to become involved in the Byzantine affairs and to change the route of the Fourth Crusade for Constantinople.

Another process should be mentioned: so-called 'decentralization', marked by the increasing role of provincial cities and towns and the trend towards 'separatism' (or independence) of the provinces.<sup>76</sup> However, Cheynet's study makes some corrections to this point of view. The process of disintegration started mostly after April 1204, after the fall of Constantinople.<sup>77</sup> This idea is supported by the modern tendency to show Constantinople as a great distribution centre for the aristocracy as a whole: the powerful leaders of the provinces were closely connected primarily with Constantinople and not with their own lands.<sup>78</sup> That is why the political crisis in Constantinople caused the process of disintegration that led Byzantium during the reign of the last Angelos to a sad end.

We have therefore to compare the traditional Komnenian policy with the innovations which were made by Theodore I Laskaris and his heirs. This comparison will guide us to a better understanding of the sources of the Nicaean Empire's inner stability.

The first and most important task for Theodore I Laskaris was to unite the Byzantine lands in Asia Minor. Cheynet argues that Theodore I ruled the eastern territories as, so to speak, a vice regent of Alexios III, whose son-in-law he was.<sup>79</sup> This statement, however, must be corrected. According to Akropolites, after the fall of Constantinople, the citizens of Nicaea rejected Theodore I, despite his high status.<sup>80</sup> It is debatable, whether Theodore I remained in Asia Minor from the autumn of 1203, as Oikonomidès<sup>81</sup> and then Cheynet

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Magdalino 2008: 657.

<sup>73</sup> Jurewicz 1970: 47–96.

<sup>74</sup> Brand 1968: 275–6; Queller and Madden 1997: 33.

<sup>75</sup> Queller and Madden 1997: 33. <sup>76</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 24–56.

<sup>77</sup> Cheynet 1996: 464.

<sup>78</sup> Whittow 1996: 62–6.

<sup>79</sup> Cheynet 1996: 143–4, 464.

<sup>80</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 10, ll.21–23.

<sup>81</sup> Oikonomidès 1992: N XX, pp. 22–8. A short chronicle states that Theodore Laskaris went to Nicaea before the fall of Constantinople. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, i, p. 74 (1).

suggest,<sup>82</sup> or whether he left Constantinople only a few days after its capture by the Latin Crusaders, as Akropolites states.<sup>83</sup> Then Theodore I left Nicaea for Prousa, which, together with south Bithynia, Mysia, and probably Smyrna, became his most important power base.<sup>84</sup>

It should be noted that, whatever position Theodore I held in 1203–4, after the fall of Constantinople he was merely one of the rulers who disputed power in Asia Minor, along with Sabbas Asidenos in Sampson, near Miletos,<sup>85</sup> and Theodore (or Morotheodoros) Mankaphas, who controlled Philadelphiea (where he rebelled in 1188–9<sup>86</sup> and where his estates were recorded in 1247<sup>87</sup>). Another independent ruler was Manuel Maurozomes, whose son-in-law was the Sultan Kay-Khusraw I himself.<sup>88</sup> In 1206, according to the agreement between Theodore I Laskaris and Kay-Khusraw I, Maurozomes received Chonai and Laodikeia.<sup>89</sup> It is interesting to see that with exception of Sabbas Asidenos (whose possessions were situated too far from the Nicaean–Seljukid border), the frontier rulers, Mankaphas (before 1204), whose Turkic origin was beyond doubt,<sup>90</sup> and Maurozomes, the Sultan's son-in-law, called

<sup>82</sup> Cheynet 1996: 143–4, 464.

<sup>83</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 10, ll. 14–17; Zhavoronkov (1977: 31) supported this point of view, but later he accepted Oikonomidès' opinion, cf. Choniates, 'Rech' tr. Zhavoronkov, p. 235, n 15.

<sup>84</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 10, l.26–11, l.1; Zhavoronkov 1977: 31–2. Nicaea is not mentioned in the *Partitio Romaniae*, which means that the city did not recognize any Byzantine authority (including Byzantine officials, like Theodore I) from 1203, i.e. from the flight of Alexios III from Constantinople onwards. Cf. Carile 1965: 217–18.

<sup>85</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 12, ll.5–15; Savvides 1987: 246–51; Ahrweiler 1965: 6–7, n. 27.

<sup>86</sup> Theodore Mankaphas, a native aristocrat of Turkic origin from Philadelphiea, rebelled during the reign of Isaac II Angelos, c. 1188. He secured the allegiance of the inhabitants of Philadelphiea and its environs, took the imperial title and minted silver and bronze coinage. Isaac II besieged Mankaphas in Philadelphiea in June 1189, but the advance of Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90) forced a compromise: Mankaphas gave up his imperial title, but retained control over Philadelphiea. Having been defeated by Basil Batatzes in 1193, Mankaphas fled to Sultan Kay-Khusraw I of Ikonion and asked for an army. Then he entered Byzantine territory and plundered the environs of Laodikeia and burned Chonai: Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 399, l. 54–400, l.1. He restored his power over Lydia and Philadelphiea by 1204: Choniates, *Historia*, p. 603, l. 31; Akropolites, i, p. 12, ll.5–15; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), p. 167, note 107; Ahrweiler 1965: 6–7; Zhavoronkov 1977: 34, n. 41; Brand, 'Mankaphas, Theodore', in *ODB*, ii, pp. 1286–7; *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and Whittemore Collection*, ed. Hendy, Vol. 4, pp. 392–5; Cheynet 1984: 45–7.

<sup>87</sup> Eustratiades 1930: 328, ll.16–24; *Testament for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia*, tr. Dennis, p. 1182.

<sup>88</sup> Kazhdan, 'Maurozomes', in *ODB*, ii, pp. 1319–21.

<sup>89</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 638, ll.62–69; Ibn Bibi, p. 23–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 36–9; Akropolites, i, p. 14, ll.20–23; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1668 b; Cheynet 1996: 469; Savvides 1987: 231–45.

<sup>90</sup> His family name was derived from the Turkic word 'mânqâfâ, mankafa', literally 'the glanders; a snotty one; a dull, stupid, awkward fool'. His Greek nickname 'Morotheodoros', 'Foolish Theodore', was a mocking Greek 'translation' of his family name by the contemporaries who, according to Choniates, noticed his 'hereafter failures to [fulfil] his aim' to become Emperor in Philadelphiea (Choniates, *Historia*, p. 399, ll.65–66; under the 'hereafter failures' Choniates suggested the events in 1204–5). The Mankafades family might have come to prominence in the

on Seljukid help. This means that all these usurpers suffered from a lack of military resources, despite their large private possessions. Subsequently, Theodore I Laskaris was also forced to ask for Seljukid military assistance, but, unlike others, he also undertook other important actions to gain the support of the Greek population. According to Nicetas Choniates:

Knowing that power is to be bought for money, and that money is not so worthy as power, you [i.e. Theodore I Laskaris] were not fearful to spend money, nor were you grudging about grants, and you did not seem to be [only] promising like Antigonos, called Doson,<sup>91</sup> but you, second to none of the ancient [rulers], always accomplished your pledges, and were generous and loved honour.<sup>92</sup>

In another place Choniates writes:

You travel to eastern cities [of the Empire] and negotiate with the inhabitants, you point out the dangers to come if they do not become your subjects as soon as possible. You rebuke some of them, you impose a penalty on others. In one case you debate in the crowd, in another case you receive privately the nobles and invite them to dine, and you show them your great experience and intricate knowledge [of the circumstances] in order to raise the low spirits of the Romans, since they regard the Latin spear as the sign from heaven, like a comet (lit. ‘the stretching out in meteors’).<sup>93</sup>

The conclusion, that Theodore I used his title of *despot* and his kinship with Alexios III to win the sympathy of the aristocracy as well as the citizens seems to be well established,<sup>94</sup> since this is confirmed by Akropolites<sup>95</sup> and by another statement by Choniates.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, Theodore I started his activity as a restorer of the Empire, seeking the support of the Byzantine aristocracy in Asia Minor. Angold suggests that the emperors of Nicaea were so successful in the restoration of Byzantium, because they managed to maintain a power balance in their relations with the aristocracy.<sup>97</sup> It is interesting to see which part of the aristocracy was linked with the Laskarids to form the élite of the Empire.

ninth or tenth century. See Redhouse 2006: p. 1663; Sevortian *et al.* 1974–2003: vii: *Obscheiturskie i mezhiurkskie leksicheskie osnovy na bukvy 'L', 'M', 'N', 'P', 'S'*, pp. 35–7; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 368; cf. Akropolites (Macrides), p. 122.

<sup>91</sup> Antigonos III Doson (229–221 BC), regent and king of Macedonia. διδόσων means ‘the one who will give; the always promising’.

<sup>92</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 135, ll. 22–26, cf. Choniat, ‘Rech’, tr. Zhavoronkov, p. 223.

<sup>93</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 131, ll. 17–23, cf. Choniat, ‘Rech’, tr. Zhavoronkov, p. 219. Cf. also: Zhavoronkov 1977: 32.

<sup>94</sup> Zhavoronkov 1977: 32; Cheynet 1996: 466–70.

<sup>95</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 10, l. 10–11, l. 4.

<sup>96</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 130, ll. 29–32; cf. Choniat, ‘Rech’, tr. Zhavoronkov, p. 218.

<sup>97</sup> Angold 1975: 62–3.

In 1204, however, Theodore Laskaris had to subdue his rivals in Asia Minor. Circumstances helped him. The Latin advance in Anatolia began on 1 November, the Feast of All Saints,<sup>98</sup> or, according to Choniates, in the 'leaf-shedding month' of 1204.<sup>99</sup> The Latin armies moved along three roads: Peter of Bracieux and Payen of Orléans sailed to Abydos (Çanakkale) and thence to Pegai (Karabiga); the emperor's brother Henry of Hainault moved to Gallipoli (Gelibolu) and Abydos on 11 November 1204, and from there he went to Adramittion;<sup>100</sup> later Macaire of Sainte-Menehould, Matthew of Wallincourt, and Robert of Ronsoi drove the Greeks out of Nikomedea.<sup>101</sup> Theodore Laskaris tried to resist them. The earliest and most dangerous expedition was that of Peter of Bracieux and Payen of Orléans, who quickly moved eastwards to Lopadion (Ulubad/Uluabat) and the fertile lands of Lentiana around the Lake Artynia (Uluabat Gölü); if they had succeeded the supply lines for Prousa and Nicaea would have been seriously threatened. Theodore I met the army of Peter of Bracieux at Poimanenon (Eski Manyas), south of the Lake Aphnitis (Kuş Gölü), on 6 December 1204. He was defeated and forced to cede the castles of Poimanenon, Lopadion, and Appolonia (Gölyazı).<sup>102</sup> Moreover, Peter of Bracieux and Payen of Orléans tried to besiege Prousa, but, having dispersed many troops among various fortresses, they now had no spare forces to continue the siege and were soon forced to order a retreat.<sup>103</sup>

It seems that shortly after the battle at Poimanenon, despite the seriousness of the situation, Theodore I Laskaris did not take part in the continuing struggle: neither in the *History*, nor in his *Speech*, written at the end of 1206<sup>104</sup> with a prolix title *The Speech published for presentation before the lord Theodore Laskaris, ruler of the eastern cities of the Romans, when the Latins took Constantinople and John of Mysia ravaged with the Scythians the western provinces of the Romans*,<sup>105</sup> did Choniates mention Theodore I in the further episodes of this war. It was the Prousaens who defended their own

<sup>98</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 305.

<sup>99</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 601, l.84. Cf. *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, eds. Merkelbach and West, Fragment 333: *φυλλοχόσ μῆν*.

<sup>100</sup> The city of Adramittion was granted as a fief to Henry of Hainault by his brother Baldwin I, Emperor of Constantinople and Count of Flanders sometime in October 1204: Hendrickx 1988: N 17, pp. 23–4.

<sup>101</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 305, 310, 312, 321; Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 601, 1.84–602, 1.7.

<sup>102</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 319–320; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 602, l.91–l.7; Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 132, ll.7–20.

<sup>103</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 602, l.8–603, l.30.

<sup>104</sup> On the date of the *Speech*, see: van Dieten 1971: 147.

<sup>105</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 129, ll.1–5: *Λόγος ἐκδοθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναγνωσθῆναι εἰς τὸν Λάσκαριν κύριο Θεόδωρον βασιλεύοντα τῶν ἔων Ρωμαϊκῶν πόλεων, ὅτε οἱ Λατῖνοι κατεῖχον τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ὃ δὲ ἐκ Μυσίας Ἰωάννης κατέτρεχε μετὰ Σκυθῶν τὰς δυσικὰς Ρωμαϊκὰς χώρας.*

city against Peter of Bracieux at the end of 1204. It was Constantine Laskaris, who fought on the orders of his brother Theodore I against Henry of Hainault at Adramittion (19 March 1205), where the Greeks were severely defeated again.<sup>106</sup> When Macaire of Sainte-Menehould, Matthew of Wallincourt, and Robert of Ronsoi entered Nikomedea in November–December 1204, they met no resistance;<sup>107</sup> but our source, Villehardouin, did not say who was the Greek master of Nikomedea. The best explanation of the absence of any mention of Theodore I's activity during the mortal struggle for Bithynia in the early spring of 1205 in both the laudatory pages of Choniates and the hostile account of Villehardouin was that Theodore was abroad in the Sultanate of Rûm, trying to seek military help.

At the beginning of 1205 neither Theodore I nor the Latins of Constantinople were able to make any further progress; and a short-lived military stalemate was established in Bithynia between Baldwin I (1204–5), the Latin emperor of Constantinople and Count of Flanders, and Theodore I Laskaris. However, on 14 April 1205 the Crusaders were defeated by Tzar John I Asen (1197–1207) of Bulgaria at Adrianople; and Henry's brother, Emperor Baldwin I, was taken captive (still a prisoner, he died of natural causes or was killed on the orders of the Tzar of Bulgaria in 1206). Even before the ill-fated battle at Adrianople, Baldwin I was forced to withdraw his troops from Asia Minor because of the Bulgarian threat.<sup>108</sup>

Theodore Laskaris immediately turned this event to his advantage. Before the battle at Adramittion, which exhausted his military resources, he concluded an alliance with the Seljuks. This happened in March 1205, when Theodore I visited the Sultanate in person.<sup>109</sup> This helped him to win over the sympathies of the Greek population,<sup>110</sup> as well as providing him with considerable protection against the Latins. With Seljukid help Theodore Laskaris conquered the lands which had been earlier occupied by the Latins.<sup>111</sup> He then became master of Philadelphiea, Kelbianon, the theme of Neokastra, and the lands along the River Maeander. Moreover, he subdued his two rivals, Theodore Mankaphas and Sabbas Asidenos.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 322–323; cf. Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 603, l.31–604, l.48.

<sup>107</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 312.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. the letter of Henry of Hainault to the Pope Innocent III, written in June 1205, about the battle at Adrianople. 'Litterae Henrici, fratris imperatoris', in *MPL*, ccxv, col. 706; Hendrickx 1988 : N 33, p. 32 (March 1205), 1969: 80.

<sup>109</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 10, l.26–11, l.4. This is proved by the *Enkomion*, written by Nicetas Choniates in the summer of 1206. He mentions the visit of Theodore I to the Seljuks: Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 132, ll.21–27; Zhavoronkov 1977: 33.

<sup>110</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 132, ll.28–33; Choniat, 'Rech', tr. Zhavoronkov, p. 220.

<sup>111</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 11, l.19–12, l.3.

<sup>112</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 12, ll.18–21.

Sabbas Asidenos, the ruler of Sampson, and Theodore Mankaphas had been defeated by Theodore Laskaris by May 1205, when Theodore was proclaimed emperor.<sup>113</sup> The title of *sebastokrator* and the lands near Miletos were granted to Sabbas Asidenos, near to territories which he had ruled before.<sup>114</sup> Theodore Mankaphas was most likely killed. In the *Speech*, written at the end of 1206, Nicetas Choniates writes about the rivals of the Nicaean emperor: ‘one had fallen down like Bel, another had been defeated as Dagon’.<sup>115</sup> As, of these two rebels, Sabbas Asidenos survived his defeat, it seems plausible that Choniates means Theodore Mankaphas by his reference to Bel;<sup>116</sup> and that might have meant that Mankaphas’s death occurred at the end of 1206, the date of the composition of the *Speech* (however, the end of 1206 is the *terminus ad quem*; the more likely date for Mankaphas’ death is May 1205, as the death of ‘Bel’ was mentioned in the ‘Speech’ just before Theodore I’s proclamation as emperor). Other rivals of the Nicaean emperor received different names in the same *Speech*: Manuel Maurozomes is called ‘new Ahithophel’, and David Grand Komnenos of Paphlagonia<sup>117</sup> is described as ‘false David’, a contradiction of what David Grand Komnenos wrote in one of his own seals<sup>118</sup> (here an allusion to King David the Prophet, one of the principal images of the Byzantine emperor).

Like Sabbas Asidenos, Theodore Mankaphas was probably a local landlord, since we find one of the representatives of this family who possessed lands near Miletos in a document dated 1207.<sup>119</sup> This means that the family’s lands were not confiscated by the Nicaean emperor.

<sup>113</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 11, ll.5–9, 12, ll.17–21.

<sup>114</sup> Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 14; MM, v, p. 257: *Περιπόθητε συμπενθερέ τῆς βασιλείας μου, πανευτυχέστατε σεβαστοκράτωρ, κύρῳ Σάβᾳ Άστρηνέ*; Angold 1975: 61; Zhavoronkov 1991b: 87.

<sup>115</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 134, ll.28–29; Choniatis, ‘Rech’, tr. Zhavoronkov, p. 222 and note 36.

<sup>116</sup> On Bel (‘lord’), a chief Babylonian deity, see Isaiah 46: 1, Jeremiah 50: 2, Jeremiah 51: 44. On Dagon (‘a fish’), a Philistine deity of fertility, see Judges 16: 23, 1 Samuel 5: 2–5, 7; 1 Chronicles 10: 10.

<sup>117</sup> On David Grand Komnenos of Trebizond, see Karpov 2007: 84–103; Shukurov 2001b: 125–36.

<sup>118</sup> David Grand Komnenos’s seal inscription, with King David the Prophet’s image, ‘unique in Byzantine sigillography’ (Bryer 1988–9), reads: *Δαβὶδ βασιλεὺ[ς] ἀσφαλὲς γραφῶν κύρος:-/ Δαβὶδ Κομνηνὸς βασιλεγγόνον [var. βασιλεκγόνον] γίνοντος, King David, ensure [lit. “be” or “become”, γίνοντος]*). The seal has been published and commented on many times: see *inter alia*: Zacos and Veglery 1972: part 3, N 2754a, pp. 1572–4; Likhachev 1991: seals LXXXI, 2 and 3 (M-4555 and M-4542), pp. 289–93; V. Laurent 1954: 152; Bryer 1988–9: 165–7; Karpov 2007: 109–10; PBW (accessed 10 March 2012) David 20103 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/id/person/152608>>, boulloterion 3059 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/id/boulloterion/3059>>. On the image of King David in relation to the representation of the emperor in the Byzantine art, see Grabar 2000: 112–13.

<sup>119</sup> MM vi, pp. 151–2; cf. BE, i, pp. 265, 272; ii, p. 137.

We can see in this a chief principle of Komnenian policy: the granting of high titles to powerful persons who were to be under the emperor's rule. The case of Sabbas Asidenos, now *sebastokrator*, was not exceptional. For example, Leo Gabalas, the independent ruler of Rhodes in 1204–40, was *megas drungarios* (admiral-in-chief of the fleet), *megas doux*, and son-in-law of the Emperor John III Batatzes. The title of *caesar*, the fourth-highest after the emperor himself, had been granted to Gabalas, despite his unsuccessful revolt in 1233.<sup>120</sup> His brother John Gabalas also received the title of *caesar*.<sup>121</sup> The great-niece of John III, Theodora, became the wife of Michael Palaiologos, in order to prevent him from seizing the throne.<sup>122</sup> Even the Mankaphades family was indirectly brought into the élite. Though a certain Basil Mankaphas is mentioned in the document without any title, he nevertheless had a nephew, George Eunuchos, who obtained the important title of *protobestiarios/protovestiarios* at the Nicaean court.<sup>123</sup> Thus the Nicaean emperors formed and consolidated the social élite using the traditional methods of the dynasties of the Komnenoi and Angeloi.

As for Manuel Maurozomes, Theodore I Laskaris was able to neutralize him through various actions. He resisted Maurozomes' invasion before May 1205.<sup>124</sup> After the recent onslaught by Maurozomes,<sup>125</sup> Theodore I Laskaris concluded a treaty with the Sultan Kay-Khusraw I before March 1206, according to which Manuel Maurozomes was to rule over Chonai, Laodikeia, and the lands on the Upper Maeander.<sup>126</sup> However, Theodore Laskaris very soon undertook a campaign against Maurozomes and finally defeated him. One can find evidence for this in the *Selention* of Nicetas Choniates, which was written in February 1208. Choniates states that Theodore I:

was engaged in close fight with the [person who] mingled with the heathen (i.e. with the Muslims, whom Byzantine authors often called pagans) and [who was] learned in their custom. He [Theodore I] exacted vengeance upon him and fettered him.<sup>127</sup>

The description can apply only to Maurozomes, who was father-in-law of the sultan, hence the expression 'mingled with the heathen'.<sup>128</sup> Laodikeia and Chonai remained Seljukid.

<sup>120</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 45, ll.20–21; Savvides 1987: 301–41. There are extant coins of Leo Gabalas with the inscription: *καῖσαρ ὁ Γαβαλᾶς, ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ βασιλέως* ('The *caesar* Gabalas, the emperor's servant'): Savvides 1987: 301–41.

<sup>121</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 86, ll.2–5.

<sup>122</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 100, l. 15–101, l.18; Angold 1975: 66.

<sup>123</sup> MM vi, p. 151–2, 157.

<sup>124</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll.47–56.

<sup>125</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 136, l.23–137, l.29; Choniat, 'Rech', tr. Zhavoronkov, pp. 224–5, n. 51, 55.

<sup>126</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 638, ll.62–69; Akropolites, i, p. 14, ll.20–23; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1668 b; Cheynet 1996: 469; Savvides 1987: 231–45.

<sup>127</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 127, ll.15–17.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 136, l.33–135, l.13; Choniat, 'Rech', tr. Zhavoronkov, p. 224.

In the year 1206 Nicetas Choniates was able to write in his *History* that in the East, meanwhile, the Prusaeans and Nicaeans, the dance- and song-loving (*οἱ φιλόμολποι*) Lydians, Smyrna and Ephesos, and the lands lying between them acknowledged Theodore I Laskaris as Emperor.<sup>129</sup>

If we prefer one of the manuscript readings in Choniates, in which *οἱ φιλάδελφοι*<sup>130</sup> ('the Philadelphians') was written instead of *οἱ φιλόμολποι* ('the song-loving ones'), this statement only confirms the information in *Akropolites*. The themes of Thrakesion, Neokastra, and Mylasa-Melanoudion fell under the sway of Theodore I. The uniting of the former Byzantine lands in Asia Minor (except those of the Empire of Trebizond) was accomplished.

Let us see how the Nicaean emperor established a balance of power in his relations with the aristocracy. But here an important note should be added. As has been mentioned, the reverse of the reforms of the Komnenoi was the conflict within the ruling clan. At that time, in the twelfth century the Komnenian élite became closed to newcomers.<sup>131</sup> The emperors could therefore no longer use non-noble retainers, whom they might have elevated to a prominent post, against the aristocracy which dominated Byzantine society. The top of the aristocracy, namely the emperor's relatives, sometimes his most dangerous rivals, became the emperor's major support. It is not surprising, therefore, that the 'anti-aristocratic' policy of Andronikos I Komnenos failed.<sup>132</sup> However, the Nicaean emperors were fortunate enough partially to avoid the danger. They knew no such catastrophes as the reign of Andronikos I or the 'chaos' under the Angeloi, when brother dethroned brother. This was achieved partly by the severe lesson of the catastrophe in Constantinople and the skilful measures of the Nicaean emperors who were able to put down revolts,<sup>133</sup> but also by objective reality. The élite became more open. According to Zhavoronkov, among the twelve highest Nicaean families there were only four (Laskarids, Palaiologoi, Kontostephanoi, and Batatzai) who came from the era of the Angeloi (1185–1204). An additional four Nicaean families belonged to clans who were high but not the highest in rank during the period 1185–1204 (Gabalades, Rhaoul-Ral(l)es, Tarchaneiotai, and Tornikai/Tornikioi).<sup>134</sup> The newcomers were the Philai, Strategopouloï, Asidenoi, and Mousalonnes.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, new families formed approximately one third of the Nicaean élite,<sup>136</sup> quite enough to give the Nicaean emperors additional support for their authority and for the stability of society. The situation when, in

<sup>129</sup> *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Magoulias, p. 350; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 638, ll.62–64.

<sup>130</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 638, *apparatus criticus*.

<sup>131</sup> Kazhdan 1974: 180; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 313, 316.

<sup>132</sup> Jurewicz 1970: 99–119; Angold 1975: 60–1. <sup>133</sup> Angold 1975: 60–79.

<sup>134</sup> Kazhdan 1974: 116, 118, 119; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 239, 241, 242.

<sup>135</sup> Zhavoronkov 1991b: 90. <sup>136</sup> Zhavoronkov 1991: 90.

1258, the dying Emperor Theodore II Laskaris made the non-noble *proto-vestiaros* George Mouzalon regent for the young John IV Laskaris (1258–1261),<sup>137</sup> thus ignoring the Palaiologoi, the second family after Laskarids themselves,<sup>138</sup> needs no comment.

The history of the struggle of Theodore I for the throne shows that the ‘openness’ of the Empire’s élite was created spontaneously. For example, among the four new families, one (the Asidenoi) was that of a local independent governor near Miletos, who was defeated by Theodore I. However, this process of including newcomers in the state élite must not be overestimated. The second-highest rank after the emperor himself, namely that of *despot*,<sup>139</sup> was granted only to the representatives of two dynasties: Laskarids and Palaiologoi.<sup>140</sup> The third-highest rank (that of *sebastokratores/sebastokratores*) shows the same picture: apart from Sabbas Asidenos, all *sebastokratores* were Laskarids,<sup>141</sup> Palaiologoi,<sup>142</sup> Batatzai,<sup>143</sup> Kontostephanoi,<sup>144</sup> or Tornikai.<sup>145</sup> These families including the Tornikai<sup>146</sup> belonged to the Komnenoi clan from the twelfth century. Moreover the emperors of Nicaea used their relatives, or at least the representatives of the families connected to the ruling dynasty by kinship, in the most important posts and in the most dangerous regions. For example, in 1211 when the Latins attacked the Nicaean Empire (the latter having recently defeated the Seljuks in battle at Antioch on the Meander),<sup>147</sup> the defence of the region of Smyrna, headed by George Laskaris,

<sup>137</sup> Angold 1975: 80–1; Geanakoplos 1959: 33.

<sup>138</sup> Only Palaiologoi, like the Laskarids, were *despotes*. No other family reached such a high rank. Zhavoronkov 1991b: 84–5.

<sup>139</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 133, ll. 3, 5, 7, 11; 274–5; 300, l.2; 305, l.2; 307, ll.2–3; 309, l.1; 319, l.5; 333, l.1 (20); 344, l.9; 347, l.2; Guilland 1959: 56–8, 1967: ii, pp. 3–4.

<sup>140</sup> Zhavoronkov 1991b: 84–5.

<sup>141</sup> George Laskaris, brother of Theodore I, (MM iv, p. 35); Alexios Laskaris, brother of Theodore I (Akropolites, i, p. 34, ll.21–27), Isaac Laskaris, brother of Theodore I (Akropolites, i, p. 34, ll.21–27).

<sup>142</sup> Constantine Palaiologos, brother of Michael VIII, became *sebastokrator* in 1259 (Akropolites, i, pp. 161, ll.4–8; 173, ll.10–11, Pachymeres, i, p. 153, ll.10–12).

<sup>143</sup> John Doukas Batatzes, the future emperor, his brother Isaac Doukas Batatzes, and Basil Komnenos Batatzes (Zhavoronkov 1991b: 86–7).

<sup>144</sup> Theodore Kontostephanos was *protosebastos* in 1243: Akropolites, i, pp. 66, l.21, 87, ll.18, 22. Cf. also *sebastokrator* Nikephoros Kontostephanos, mentioned in 1217: MM, iv, p. 291.

<sup>145</sup> Constantine Tornikes (Akropolites, i, p. 173, ll.6–9, Pachymeres, i, pp. 137, ll.22–23; 153, ll.12–13). Cf. Schmalzbauer 1969: 115–19.

<sup>146</sup> Constantine Tornikes married a woman from the clan of the Komnenoi. Darrouzès 1968: 108, ll.8–10; Kazhdan 1974: 172; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 304–5. In the thirteenth century the Tornikai increased their ties with the nobility: Demetrios Tornikes is mentioned in one of the Smyrna documents as *αὐταδέλφος* of the Emperor John III Batatzes (MM, iv, p. 193). As for the Kontostephanos family, in the twelfth century Stephen Kontostephanos married Anna, the daughter of the Emperor John II Komnenos: Cheynet 1996: 281; Barzos 1984, i, genealogical table between pp. 304–5.

<sup>147</sup> Prinzing 1973: 415–18.

*doux* of the theme of Thrakesion,<sup>148</sup> forced the enemy to retreat.<sup>149</sup> Another brother of Theodore I, Constantine Laskaris, might have defended the fortress of Lentiana in January 1212 against the Latin Emperor Henry I.<sup>150</sup> The *despot* Andronikos Palaiologos, the husband of Irene, the daughter of Theodore I, was also among those defending Lentiana against the Latins.<sup>151</sup> This defence allowed Theodore I to raise a new army and to defeat a detachment under Henry I, thus forcing the latter to retreat, because the Latin army was too small (according to Henry I, his troops consisted of only 260 knights<sup>152</sup>).

This picture is confirmed by reference to the *doukate* of Thrakesion. Ahrweiler lists the names of the *doukades* as follows:<sup>153</sup>

1. George Laskaris, the brother of Theodore I;<sup>154</sup>
2. Basil Chrysomalles, who was ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου;<sup>155</sup>
3. Michael Kadianos, who was probably a representative of a native Smyrna family, πανσέβαστος σέβαστος, οἰκεῖος<sup>156</sup> of the emperor, βεστιαρίτης;<sup>157</sup>

<sup>148</sup> MM iv, p. 35, 38, 40.

<sup>149</sup> Zhavoronkov 1976: 52–3.

<sup>150</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 28, ll.12–19; Zhavoronkov 1976: 53–4; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), p. 193, note 303.

<sup>151</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 26, l.16–21; 29, ll.5–7; Cheynet and Vannier 1986: n. 30, pp. 172–4.

<sup>152</sup> Prinzing 1973: 416, ll.131–138; Heisenberg 1922–3: Abh. 3; Zhavoronkov 1976: 52, note 38.

<sup>153</sup> Ahrweiler 1965: 138–48. I list only those *doukades* of the Nicaean period whose dates of office are certain. For example, there is a seal of Andronikos Dryonites, *doux* of Thrakesion, dated to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, now on display in the Byzantine Museum in Thessalonica. It is not clear whether this Dryonites was the Nicaean *doux* of Thrakesion. Most probably, he was one of the last *doukades* under the Angeloi (cf. Leontiades' analysis of the seal). Michael and Photios Dryonitai are attested in sources at the end of the twelfth century. The family was rich and noble but obviously did not belong to the upper strata of Byzantine aristocracy or the Komnenoi clan. As Andronikos Dryonites' dates of office are uncertain, I do not include him in my calculations. See: PBW (accessed 10 March 2012) Andronikos 20130, <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/id/person/151941>>; Leontiades 2006: 154–7, N 57; Lampros 1911: 17, 49. On the title *doux* (plural: *doukades*), see MM, iv, p. 322; Estienne, *Dictionarium*, iii, col. 1656; Trapp 1994–: fasc. 2, p. 408.

<sup>154</sup> MM iv, pp. 35, 37, 38, 40.

<sup>155</sup> Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 14; Ahrweiler 1965: 139. Neither Kazhdan (1974), Kazhdan and Ronchey (1997), nor the authors of PBW include the family of Chrysomalles in the list of the Byzantine aristocracy in the eleventh or twelfth century. Therefore, Chrysomalles is a new clan, which appears on the Byzantine scene in the thirteenth century. The seal of another Basil Chrysomalles is dated to the end of the thirteenth century. V. Laurent (1963–72), V, 1, N 248, pp. 173–4; Geer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomidès 1991–2001: iv, N 41, p. 114. On the office of ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου (lit. ‘the one responsible for the ink-pot’, ‘préposé au canicléé’, i.e. the secretary who signed the documents for the emperor, Secretary of State; the holder of the office had the thirteenth-highest rank in the palace hierarchy in the fourteenth century), see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 140, l.1; 300, ll.9–10; 320, l.29; 338, ll. 127–35.

<sup>156</sup> Οἰκεῖος means a close retainer of the emperor: Cheynet 1996: 289.

<sup>157</sup> MM iv, pp. 36, 50, 54, 145–6, 190, 247; Ahrweiler 1965: 139–40. During the reign of the Palaiologoi the rank of the *sebastos* became one of the lowest in the hierarchy. Cf. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, p. 139, l.30. For the title of βεστιαρίτης (from the βεστιάριον, ‘a cloakroom’), see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, p. 301, l.32; Bartusis 1992: 179, 271. The βεστιαρίτης held the eighty-first-highest rank in the palace hierarchy,

4. Alexios Krateros—*πανσέβαστος σέβαστος, παρακοιμώμενος* (chamberlain);<sup>158</sup>
5. John Doukas Kourtikes, *σύγγαμβρος* of John III Batatzes;<sup>159</sup>
6. Michael Phokas, *σύγγαμβρος* of John III Batatzes, *πανσέβαστος σέβαστος*;<sup>160</sup>
7. John Angelos, the uncle (*θεῖος*) of John III;<sup>161</sup>
8. Theodore Hikanatos;<sup>162</sup>

which was the lowest one. The Kadianoi family seem to have been from among the local gentry: a certain Kadianos was a landowner in Pyrgos near Smyrna in 1276: MM iv, p. 173; *PLP* 10109.

<sup>158</sup> MM iv, p. 291, vi, p. 177–9, 189–91. On the title of the *παρακοιμώμενος* (chamberlain), see Guilland 1944: 198–200; 1967: i, pp. 208–9. The family of the Krateroi is known from the reign of Basil II, cf. Kazhdan 1974: 126; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 251. According to Kazhdan, the Krateroi belonged to the second ranking nobles after the reforms of Alexios I—to the *sebastoi*. Kazhdan 1974: 114; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 236; on the rank of *sebastos/sevastos* see: Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 238. Blemmydes mentions the Krateroi (Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, I, 49, l.10; 50, l.6; 53, l.1).

<sup>159</sup> MM, iv, pp. 193, 214, 219, 243. The family, of Armenian origin, is known from 872 (Barzos 1984: i, p. 82), not from the reign of Basil II, as Kazhdan suggests: Kazhdan 1974: 108, 110, 143; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 125, 227–8, 248, 272. The Kourtikai were members of the Komnenian clan from the eleventh century: Basil Kourtikes was nephew (*ξάδελφος*) of George Palaiologos before 1081, whilst George Palaiologos himself was brother-in-law of Alexios I. Nicéphore Bryennios, *Histoire*, ed. Gautier, p. 303, l.27; Barzos 1984: i, p. 82. Later, in 1111, Theodora Komnene, the daughter of Alexios I and Eirene Doukaina, married Constantine Kourtikes, who had the title of *σεβαστοῦπέρταρος*. Barzos 1984: i, pp. 259–61, esp. p. 259, note 4. According to Kazhdan, the family of the Kourtikai was not high-ranking: one of them was able to achieve the post of *protoproedros* in the twelfth century (Kazhdan 1974: 115; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 231). The term *σύγγαμβρος* means ‘brother-in-law’.

<sup>160</sup> First mentioned in the *prostagma* of the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris in 1213, Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 13, 15 (= MM v, pp. 256–7); MM iv, pp. 5, 18, 19, 24–6, 46–8, 232, 279. This family was connected with the Laskarids: Theodosius Phokas, *megas doux*, was the uncle of Theodore I Laskaris (MM vi, p. 153; Guilland 1951: 228–9, 1967 : i, p. 547; Ahrweiler 1965: 141). No doubt, the Phokades attended the Imperial court: one of them, a certain *allagator* Phokas, and his wife, Eirene, are mentioned as donators in the *Testament* for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia: Eustatiades 1930: 327, l.40; 338, l.11; *Testament for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia*, tr. Dennis, pp. 1182, 1190. *Allagator* means an officer in one of the corps of the imperial guards: *Testament for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia*, tr. Dennis, p. 1191, n. 6; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, p. 180, ll.3–6. Probably, these Phokades were descendants of the famous family from which the Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69) came and which existed until the end of the eleventh century: Barzos 1984: i, pp. 88–9. Akropolites mentions a certain Phokas, a metropolitan of Philadelphia, in 1253; another representative of the same family, John Phokas, was a metropolitan of Smyrna later, in 1271–83: Akropolites, i, p. 92, l.4; N. Oikonomidès 1986: 140.

<sup>161</sup> MM iv, pp. 36, 39, 40, 41, 85; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1751–52, p. 29. A very famous person, he was *μέγας πρυμνικήριος* ('master of ceremonies') during the reign of John III (Akropolites, i, p. 115, l.7), then was appointed *πρωτοστράτωρ* of the Western troops of the Empire by Theodore II (Akropolites, i, p. 124, ll.9–10). For his full career, as well as a description of the other Angeloi in Nicaean service, see Ahrweiler 1965: 142–3; for a different view, see Akropolites (Macrides), p. 290, note 4. The title of *protostrator* had no fixed function, but originally meant the head of the imperial guard called the *stratores* (Bartusis 1992: 383).

<sup>162</sup> MM iv, p. 215. The family of the Hikanatoi/Ikanatoi, of Italian origin, was known from the eleventh century: Ioannis Cinnami *epitome*, ed. Meineke, pp. 155, l.13–156, l.5; Kazhdan 1974:

9. Manuel Kontophre, *πανσέβαστος σέβαστος*;<sup>163</sup>
10. George Kammytsoboukes, *οἰκεῖος* of John III;<sup>164</sup>
11. John Komnenos Kantakouzenos, *πιγκέρνης* ('the cupbearer of the emperor');<sup>165</sup>
12. Constantine Laskaris, *οἰκεῖος* of John III;<sup>166</sup>
13. Manuel Kantakouzenos, *οἰκεῖος* of John III;<sup>167</sup>
14. Agallon Kopides;<sup>168</sup>
15. George Makrenos, *οἰκεῖος* of Theodore II;<sup>169</sup>

129, 136; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 254, 263; Ahrweiler 1965: 143; V. Laurent 1962: N 179, p. 190; Likhachev 1991: 73–4 (LX.7), 120–1 (LXV.1); PBW (accessed 10.iii.2012) Hikanatos 17001, Ioannes 10105 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/id/person/158518>>, 20498, Maraldi 10101. One of the Hikanatoi was mentioned by Nicephoros Blemmydes (*Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, I, 52, l.1).

<sup>163</sup> MM iv, pp. 249, 250. The family is not mentioned by Kazhdan, so the Kontophre appeared during the reign of the Laskarids. Zhavoronkov 1999: 211–12. Manuel Kontophre was appointed as admiral-in-chief of the Nicaean fleet (Akropolites, i, p. 59, l.15; 66, l.14).

<sup>164</sup> MM iv, p. 254. Probably, a new family: Kazhdan does not mention this name in his list of the aristocracy, nor does Arweiler 1965: 144. However, there is a possibility that this Kammytsoboukes was a relative of the famous family of the Kam(m)ytzai. If so, he belongs to the clan which appeared in the reign of Alexios I. Kazhdan 1974: 128–9; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 254. In 1145 Maria Angelina Komnene, the daughter of Constantine Angelos and Theodora Komnene, the daughter of Alexios I, married Constantine Kamytzes (Barzos 1984: i, pp. 650–3).

<sup>165</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 86, ll.9–10; MM iv, pp. 54, 139, 216–17. His family name shows that he was connected to the clan of the Komnenoi and therefore has a kinship with the Laskarids as well as with the Palaiologoi; cf. Ahrweiler 1965: 144. Like the Laskarids, the Kantakouzenoi were linked to the dynasty of the Angeloi: Eirene, the sister of Isaac II Angelos and the daughter of Andronikos Angelos and Euphrosyne Kastamonitissa, married John Kantakouzenos in 1185–86 (Oikonomidès 1986: 123). However, our John Komnenos Kantakouzenos might belong to another branch, namely that of John Doukas Angelos, a son of Theodora Komenena, the daughter of Alexios I Komnenos. One of the daughters of John Doukas Angelos married Michael Kantakouzenos (Cheynet 1996: 284–5). Nikephoros Blemmydes mentions John Komnenos Kantakouzenos in his *Curriculum Vitae* as a powerful *archon* (ruler): Nicephorus Blemmydes *Curriculum vitae et carmina*, ed. Heisenberg, p. 34, l.4 [= Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, I, 59, l.2]. He was *doux* of Thrakesion when the Genoese attacked Rhodes in 1249 (Akropolites, i, pp. 86, l.7–88, l.14; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1798). On his office of *πιγκέρνης*, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 137, l.10, 300, l.11 (15th rank), 305, ll.8–9.

<sup>166</sup> MM iv, p. 182. No doubt a relative of the imperial family, but the exact kinship is unknown.

<sup>167</sup> MM iv, p. 216.

<sup>168</sup> MM iv, p. 207. Nothing is known about the origin of his family or about his possessions.

<sup>169</sup> MM iv, pp. 211, 224–5, 247. A representative of the high Nicaean nobility. One of the Makrenoi took part in the revolt of Andronikos Nestongos but was blinded by order of John III Batatzes: Ahrweiler 1965: 146; Ephraem Aenius, *Historia Chronica*, ed. Lampsides, p. 284, ll.8013, 8019. The *strategos* John Makrenos was sent off by John III Batatzes against the Despotate of Epiros in 1252 (Akropolites, i, p. 90, l.6). The family was connected with the clan of the Komnenoi, since Manuel Philes mentions a certain *Κομνηρόφυης Μακρηνὸς Γεώργιος* ('noble Komnenos, George Makrenos'), who is probably the same person as our George Makrenos: Manuelis Philae *Carmina*, ed. Miller, ii, p. 193, poem 170, l.4.

16. Theodosios Kalothetos, πανσέβαστος σέβαστος, οἰκεῖος and θεῖος of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos;<sup>170</sup>
17. Theodore Krybitziotes, πανσέβαστος σέβαστος, οἰκεῖος of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos;<sup>171</sup>

One can see that among 17 *doukades* of Thrakesion, ten, or 59 per cent (nn. 1, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17), were relatives of the emperor and the imperial clan. Five, or 29 per cent, had titles at the imperial court or were *oiketoi* of the emperor (nn. 2, 3, 4, 9, 10).<sup>172</sup> Only 12 per cent of the *doukades* (nn. 8, 14) did not belong to the court aristocracy and might be regarded as local landlords.<sup>173</sup> It is also interesting to see the relative numbers of the old aristocracy, which appeared in the twelfth century during the reign of the Angeloi, and new families, whose rise was caused by the Laskarids. The first group consists of seven families (including two representatives of the Laskarids and two of the Kantakouzenoi respectively) [nn. 1 and 12, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 and 13] while the second has eight families [nn. 2, 3, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17]. What is more important is that in the group of the old families only one, Theodore Hikanatos [n. 8] had no titles and probably did not attend court. The same is seen in the second group where a certain Agallon Kopides stands all on his own. The representatives of the old aristocratic families constituted a majority (nine persons), and this means that these families composed the backbone of the Nicaean Empire.<sup>174</sup>

This information is confirmed by Pachymeres. In the chapter entitled *How the archontes engaged in rivalry for the emperor's favour* (lit. 'solicitude'),<sup>175</sup> he names the most distinguished families in the Nicaean Empire: Tzamantouroi<sup>176</sup> or Laskarids, Tornikai/Tornikioi,<sup>177</sup> Strategopoulois,<sup>178</sup>

<sup>170</sup> MM iv, pp. 153, 208–10. He is probably identical to Kalothetos, the *domestikos of the schole*, mentioned in the letters of Theodore II Laskaris: Theodori Ducae Lascaris *Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. Festa, letter 139, p. 196. He had hostile relations with Nikephoros Blemmydes: Nicephorus Blemmydes *Curriculum vitae*, ed. Heisenberg, p. 91 [=Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, II, 83, ll.4–5]. The family is probably new, and is not mentioned by Kazhdan.

<sup>171</sup> MM iv, pp. 223–4. The family was linked to the Palaiologoi. Ahrweiler 1965: 148.

<sup>172</sup> I do not, therefore, regard George Kammytsoboukes as a representative of the Komnenoi clan, since his origin is not certain.

<sup>173</sup> However, one of them was Theodore Hikanatos, whose family appeared in the eleventh century.

<sup>174</sup> Cf Maksimović's conclusion, which is based on the testimony of Michael VIII Palaiologos himself, that the provincial governors should have been appointed from the ranks of the aristocracy: Maksimović 1988: 17–18. Cf. also: Angelov 1951: 60–1.

<sup>175</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 91, l.21–93, l.15; Angold 1975: 69–70.

<sup>176</sup> They were descendants of Manuel and Michael Laskaris, brothers of Theodore I (Pachymeres, i, pp. 90, n. 2).

<sup>177</sup> One of the representatives of the Komnenoi clan, from the line of Manuel I, married Constantine Tornikes during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos. Barzos 1984: i, p. 446; Schmalzbauer 1969: 117. Akropolites names the son of Constantine Tornikes Demetrios as a representative of the Komnenoi. Akropolites, i, p. 90, l.20.

<sup>178</sup> Alexios Komnenos Melissenos, the son of John Komnenos, the son of Eudokia Komnene, the sister of Alexios I, married a representative of the Strategopoulois family. There is a seal of Alexios Komnenos Strategopoulos (Barzos 1984: i, p. 306–7).

Rhaoul-Ral(l)es,<sup>179</sup> Palaiologoi,<sup>180</sup> Batatzai/Vatatzai,<sup>181</sup> Philai,<sup>182</sup> Kaballarioi/  
Kavallarioi,<sup>183</sup> Nestongoi,<sup>184</sup> Kamytzai,<sup>185</sup> Aprenoi,<sup>186</sup> Angeloi,<sup>187</sup> Libadarioi/  
Livadarioi,<sup>188</sup> Tarchaneiotai,<sup>189</sup> Philanthropenoi,<sup>190</sup> and Kantakouzenoi.<sup>191</sup> According to Angold, Petraliphai (whose possessions were in the Balkans),<sup>192</sup>

<sup>179</sup> A daughter of a sister of the Emperor John III Doukas Batatzes married *protovestiarios* Alexios Rhaoul before 1253 (Akropolites, i, p. 92, ll.17–18). The representatives of the Raul family reached the rank of the *sebastoi* (second-highest rank after *sebastocratoroi* and *despotes*) during the reign of the Angeloi: Kazhdan 1974: 113–14, 119, 129; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 237, 242, 254.

<sup>180</sup> The Palaiologoi were linked with the Komnenoi family from 1080, when George Palaion logos married Anna Doukaina, the sister of Eirene Doukaina, the wife of Alexios I. George's son Alexios, the great-grandfather of Michael Palaiologos, married a daughter of Alexios Komnenos, the son of Hadrian Komnenos, in 1124 (Barzos 1984: i, pp. 675–9 and the genealogical table between p. 680 and p. 681).

<sup>181</sup> About 1187 an unknown daughter of Isaac Angelos Doukas married Basil Batatzes, a representative of a noble family from Adrianople. Their son was the future Nicaean emperor John III Batatzes (Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 851–7). There also was another, more noble branch of the Batatzai that had links with the Komnenoi clan by 1131, when the despot Theodore Batatzes married Eudokia Komnene, the daughter of the emperor John II Komnenos: Barzos 1984: i, pp. 413–21; ii, pp. 382–439; PBW (accessed 28.vii.2013) <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/bouloterion/3039>>.

<sup>182</sup> This family came into prominence under the Laskarids of Nicaea. Cf. Zhavoronkov 1991b: 88, 90.

<sup>183</sup> They are not mentioned by Akropolites. Perhaps, this family is descended from the Kavallourioi (*Καβαλλούριοι*) clan, which appears before the reign of Alexios I (Kazhdan 1974: 126; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 251). If so, the Nicaean Kavallarioi were low-ranking nobility.

<sup>184</sup> The family appeared in the eleventh century; cf. Kazhdan 1974: 102; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 221–2; Cheynet 2008b : 599–607. About 1180/83 an anonymous daughter of Isaac Angelos Doukas, whose mother was Theodora Komnene, the daughter of Alexios I, married a certain Nestongos. Their sons were Isaac Doukas Nestongos and Andronikos Doukas Nestongos (Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 857–8). This Andronikos Nestongos was a first cousin of the Emperor John III Batatzes: Akropolites, i, p. 36, l.19.

<sup>185</sup> In 1145 Maria Angelina Komnene, the daughter of Constantine Angelos and Theodora Komnene (the daughter of Alexios I) married Constantine Kamytzes (Barzos 1984: i, pp. 650–3). Their son was Manuel Kamytzes Komnenos Doukas Angelos, who died after 1202 (Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 690–713).

<sup>186</sup> They are not mentioned by Akropolites. Kazhdan does not list them among the Komnenoi aristocracy. Therefore, the Aprenoi appeared under the Laskarids, in the thirteenth century.

<sup>187</sup> The rise of the Angeloi is known to have started in c. 1122, when Theodora Komnene, the daughter of Alexios I, married Constantine Angelos (Barzos 1984: i, pp. 259–60).

<sup>188</sup> They are not mentioned by Akropolites or by Kazhdan. Apparently, the Livadarioi were a new family, which emerged in the thirteenth century.

<sup>189</sup> A son of Andronikos Synadenos and Zoe Angelina Komnene married a representative of the Tarchaneiotai family c.1188: Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 845–6.

<sup>190</sup> Probably, the Philanthropenoi became connected with the imperial family during the Nicaean period: Akropolites, i, p. 119, l.14–15, mentions Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos during the reign of Theodore II Laskaris. However, *Ψαλτήριον (Psalter book)*, MS Vatopedi 760, fol. 294v mentions a certain Eirene Komnene Doukena (sic) Philanthropine (sic) Kantakouzene at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

<sup>191</sup> The Kantakouzenoi joined the Angeloi family in 1185–86 when John Kantakouzenos married Eirene, the sister of Isaac II Angelos: Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 840–2.

<sup>192</sup> In 1148 Anna Komnene, the daughter of John Roger Dalassinos and Maria Komnene, the daughter of the Emperor John II Komnenos, married Alexios Petraliphas (Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 138–41). Their son was Nikephoros Komnenos Petraliphas.

Branades,<sup>193</sup> and Synadenoi<sup>194</sup> must also be included in this list.<sup>195</sup> One should also add the Kontostephanoi, since one of them reached the rank of *sebastokrator*.<sup>196</sup> Angold supposes that the Kontostephanoi disappeared after the reign of John III Batatzes and that *protosebastos* Theodore Kontostephanos, mentioned in 1243–9,<sup>197</sup> was the last known representative of the family.<sup>198</sup> But Angold has overlooked the fact that the Kontostephanoi were landowners in Constantinople, Melenikos, and the island of Lesbos from the end of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.<sup>199</sup> Though they did not occupy high posts (the highest seems to have been that of a certain Kontostephanos, the *archon of Garella* (Altınyazı), in 1343<sup>200</sup>), they nevertheless were connected with the ruling dynasty: by 1281 a certain Demetrios Komnenos Kontostephanos had married Theodora Doukaina Akropolitissa, the daughter of Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa).<sup>201</sup> The name ‘Komnenos’ of Demetrios Kontostephanos *per se* suggests that its bearer belonged, like many Kontostephanoi before him, to the Komnenoi clan, the élite of society. If Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa was the daughter of Isaac Doukas, the brother of the emperor John III Batatzes,<sup>202</sup> this meant that Demetrios Kontostephanos was related to the ruling dynasty of the Palaiologoi by marriage.

Among the sixteen families which were mentioned by Pachymeres, nine, or 56 per cent, were representatives of the nobility which emerged in the twelfth century and which was linked with the Komnenoi clan (including the branch of the Angeloi). If we include the Petraliphai, Branades, Synadenoi, and Kontostephanoi (i.e. four families) in the list, the percentage of the old families increases to 65 per cent. The ‘pure’ newcomers, whose families came to prominence only under the Laskarids (the Philai, Kaballarioi, Aprenoi, Libadarioi, and probably the Philanthropenois), consist of five families or

<sup>193</sup> Alexios Branas (Vranas) Komnenos, the son of Michael Branas and Maria Komnene, married Anna Komnene Batatzina in 1166 (Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 394–8). Isaac Angelos, the son of John Doukas Angelos, married an anonymous Branaïna Komnene, the daughter of Alexios Branas Komnenos in 1186: Barzos 1984: ii, p. 410, n. 79, p. 543; Cheynet 1996: 285.

<sup>194</sup> Zoe Angelina Komnene (the daughter of Theodora Komnene, the daughter of Alexios I, and Constantine Angelos), became the wife of Andronikos Synadenos in 1150/52 (Barzos 1984: i, p. 668). In the Nicaean Empire the family of Synadenoi became connected with the Tarchaneio-tai: Akropolites, i, pp. 36, l.18–37, l.2 (1224); Barzos 1984: i, pp. 672–3, Table ΟΙΚΟΣ ΣΥΝΑΔΗΝΩΝ; cf also Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 845–7.

<sup>195</sup> Angold 1975: 69.

<sup>196</sup> Nikephoros Kontostephanos (MM iv, p. 291). The family belonged to the Komnenoi clan, as early as in 1162 (var. 1166), when John Kontostephanos called himself ‘Komnenos’ (in the maternal line): Oikonomides 1986: 119.

<sup>197</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 66, l.21; p. 87, ll.18, 22.

<sup>198</sup> Angold 1975: 70–1. One can also mention the *sebastokrator* Nikephoros Kontostephanos near Miletos in 1217 (*terminus ad quem*): MM iv, p. 291.

<sup>199</sup> PLP 13111–13127, esp. 13115–18, 13121.

<sup>200</sup> Ioannis Cantacuzeni *eximperatoris historiarum libri iv*, ed. Schopen, ii, p. 474, ll.14–16.

<sup>201</sup> PLP 525, 13118; D. I. Polemis 1968: nn. 37–8, pp. 83–4.

<sup>202</sup> D. I. Polemis 1968: n. 37, p. 83.

31 per cent (this figure can be reduced to 25 per cent if one takes into account the four old families (Petaliphai, Branades, Synadenoi, and Kontostephanoi) which were not mentioned by Pachymeres). My figures correct Zhavoronkov's opinion, which suggests that only four families of the Angeloi élite survived under the Laskarids to form only 33 per cent of the 12 aristocratic families in the Nicaean Empire.<sup>203</sup> Zhavoronkov regards the élite only from the point of view of titles but the sources reveal that kinship with the imperial dynasty was of no less importance.<sup>204</sup> As many as 59 per cent of the *doukades* of Thrakesion were imperial relatives. I also think that the figure of 65 per cent, the percentage of the old aristocracy which was linked with the Komnenoi and therefore with the ruling dynasty of the Laskarids at the Nicaean court, is more reliable than that of 56 per cent, since our source, Pachymeres, does not mention four important families.

This means that the backbone of the Nicaean Empire was formed by the old Komnenian aristocracy, in which the families which had reached the top of the social pyramid under the Angeloi played the most important role. Paul Magdalino writes that 'the success of these successor states [i.e. the Nicaean Empire, the Despotate of Epiros and the Empire of Trebizond] lay in their ability to graft refugee elements from Constantinople on to the structures of provincial society'.<sup>205</sup> In my opinion, the process was quite the opposite: it was provincial society that had to find a niche of its own in the Laskarid Empire.<sup>206</sup> The study of Nicaean families helps set aside recent attempts to describe Nicaean political ideology and therefore society as 'anti-aristocratic' and 'anti-Komnenian'. The latter point of view was expressed by Angelov:

The... novelty of Nicene imperial ideology is its categorical dismissal of aristocratic values. The eleventh and twelfth centuries had seen the inclusion of the virtue of nobility (*εὐγένεια*) into the imperial ideological répertoire. The Komnenian emperors in particular had become the bearers of a new aristocratic imperial ethos. After the fall of Constantinople to the Latins, blood nobility continued to be a virtue flaunted by the Epirote ruler. However, Nicene court rhetoric treated ideological values associated with the imperial family in a markedly different way. For one, the panegyrists of the Nicene rulers (Niketas Choniates, Nikephoros Blemmydes, Jacob of Bulgaria and Theodore II Laskaris) avoided praising the imperial family and welcomed the suggestion of Menander Rhetor that the emperor's parentage be omitted whenever the orator considers

<sup>203</sup> Zhavoronkov 1991b: 89–90.

<sup>204</sup> And he makes a considerable mistake: he regards the Strategopoulo as newcomers (Zhavoronkov 1991b: 89–90), whereas this family appears at the Komnenian court in the twelfth century.

<sup>205</sup> Magdalino 2000: 160.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Thonemann's interesting conclusions concerning the situation in the Maeander estuary after the 'great land-grab of 1204': Thonemann 2011: 271–7. On the Constantinopolitan aristocracy and local gentry in Nicaea, see also Morozov 2005: 36–40.

this necessary . . . Furthermore, Nicene political rhetoric tended to downplay the power held by the imperial family.<sup>207</sup>

The peculiarities of Nicaean court rhetoric can be explained by a simple fact which Angelov failed to recognize. While Nicaean society surpassed other rival Greek rump states in the quantity of its aristocratic families, the dynasties of the Laskarids and Batatzai that ruled Nicaea were inferior in their pedigree to the illustrious lineages of their aristocratic entourage. Indeed, the Komnenian and Doukai ancestry of both Theodore I and John III did not go beyond their fathers, who married women of the Komnenoi clan at the end of the twelfth century. Choniates even called Basil Batatzes, the father of John III Batatzes, ‘a man of lowly origins’ (*γένους μὲν ἀσήμου βλαστῶν*).<sup>208</sup> According to Skylitzes, in c.1004 the Batatzai belonged to the aristocracy from Adrianople;<sup>209</sup> both statements, the one in Skylitzes and the other in Choniates, can be understood in the sense that at the end of the twelfth century the obscure Batatzai line, which later produced Emperor John III, had still not joined the royal Komnenoi clan. One should compare this with the lineage of the Palaiologoi, who had been linked to the Doukai by 1081 and the Komnenoi by 1124, if not earlier.<sup>210</sup> The remarkable vagueness of the sources (we do not even know the name of Theodore I’s father) did not allow Barzos to include Theodore I Laskaris in the Komnenoi clan;<sup>211</sup> likewise, Kazhdan spoke of the late appearance of the Laskaris dynasty on the Byzantine political scene.<sup>212</sup> Under these circumstances, any reference to the nobility of the Laskarids and the Batatzai branch of John III sounded sardonic if one took into account the lineages of their noble subjects; Choniates indeed mentions the nobility of Theodore I in 1206 but his wording is half-mocking and refers to the time when Theodore I, almost alone, had just begun to build his state. That is why the panygirists preferred to praise the Laskarid emperors for their valorous deeds, which were indeed great and which elevated them above other members of the aristocracy. When it was necessary to defend their sovereign rights, the Nicaean emperors did not hesitate to put forward their connection with the Komnenoi and Doukai clans, as John III did in his letter to Pope Gregory IX. All three of

<sup>207</sup> Angelov 2005: 303.

<sup>208</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 400, ll.74–75.

<sup>209</sup> John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Turn, p. 343, ll.72–76. The evidence of Skylitzes can be confirmed by the numerous seals of Nikephoros Batatzes, the *doux* of all the West, fl. c. 1050–85; see PBW (accessed 28.vii.2013) Nikephoros 20104 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/154896>>.

<sup>210</sup> Barzos 1984: i, Table ΟΙΚΟΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΩΝ, between pp. 680 and 681; Cheynet and Vannier 1986: 186.

<sup>211</sup> Cf Barzos 1984: ii, p. 743 and note 75, 744, 746–747, 776, 794, 799: though Theodore I was called Komnenos Laskaris, he has no special number in the Komnenian lineage, while his wife Anna, the daughter of Alexios III, is listed as number 261.

<sup>212</sup> Kazhdan 1974: 113, 118; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 236, 241.

the most prominent Nicaean emperors (Theodore I, John III, and Theodore II), always called themselves either Komnenos or Doukas on their imperial seals.<sup>213</sup>

It seems that the links between the leading aristocratic families, whose centre was Constantinople, and the major provincial cities, where they also enjoyed fortune and leadership in the twelfth century,<sup>214</sup> resulted in the emergence of a Byzantine aristocratic society in exile in Nicaea after 1204, in which the families associated by marriage with the Komnenoi clan during the reigns of Manuel I and Alexios III became the élite. This alone can explain the low percentage of local families in Nicaean society.

This also allows us to put forward an important conclusion. The contacts between Byzantium and the Rûm Sultanate were not limited to the contacts between the emperor and the sultan. The relations between noble Byzantines and the Seljukid aristocracy were of no less importance. The struggle in 1204–7 reveals that two pretenders for independence or even the imperial crown, Theodore Mankaphas and Manuel Maurozomes, used Seljukid support. Various pseudo-Alexioi should also be mentioned.<sup>215</sup> They also used Seljukid help. The fact that the old aristocratic families flourished under the Laskarids implies that the channels of communication between Byzantium-in-exile and the Sultanate survived. There were at least four Byzantine families which held high positions in the Sultanate: Gabrades/Gavrades,<sup>216</sup> Maurozomai,<sup>217</sup> Komnenoi,<sup>218</sup> and Tornikai.<sup>219</sup> All four of these families were

<sup>213</sup> PBW (accessed 28.vii.2013) Theodoros 1, Theodoros 2, Ioannes 3 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/155776,155777,153098>>.

<sup>214</sup> Angold 2005: 56–7.

<sup>215</sup> On pseudo-Alexios II, see Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 420, ll.13–421, l.65; Brand 1968: 86; Barzos 1984: ii, p. 473, N 85; on pseudo-Alexios III, see Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 422, l.91–423, l.1; Barzos 1984: ii, p. 476; on pseudo-Alexios IV, see Choniates, *Historia*, p. 461, l.14; Barzos 1984: ii, p. 477.

<sup>216</sup> For Ikhtiyâr al-Dîn ibn Gâwras, who was governor in Konya in 1189 and had some possessions in the Seljuk Pontos, see 'Imâd al-Dîn al-Isfahânî, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salâh ed-dîn*, ed. Landberg, i, p. 451; Ibn al-Âthîr, x, p. 219; Ibn al-Âthîr (Richards), 2, p. 403; Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. and tr. Chabot, iii, p. 388 (French translation); iv, p. 725 (Syriac text); Cahen 1974c: article IX, p. 26, 1974b: article VIII, p. 147–9; Bryer 1970: 181, note 10. For other Gabrades in the Seljukid Sultanate in the twelfth and thirteenth century, see also: Bartikian 1987: part. 1. no. 3, pp. 190–200; (1987), part 2. no. 4, pp. 181–93; (1988), part. 3. no. 1, pp. 163–77.

<sup>217</sup> Wittek 1935a: 505–15; 1937: 207–11; Métivier 2009: 197–208; Yıldız 2011: 55–77.

<sup>218</sup> In 1140 John Komnenos, the son of *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos, took the side of the Seljuks. He married a daughter of one of the sultan's retainers. On him, see Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 34, l.4–36, l.71; Ioannis Cinnami *epitome*, ed. Meineke, p. 21, l.3–p. 22, l.4; Barzos 1984: i, pp. 480–5.

<sup>219</sup> A certain *amîr* Törnik helped 'Izz al-Dîn Kılıç Arslan III (1204–March 1205) to seize the throne at the end of 1204, after the death of the Sultan Süleymânshâh II (1196–1204). Ibn Bibi, who writes about this fact, adds that *amîr* Törnik came from Tokat: Ibn Bibi, p. 23, Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 36 (a).

members of the Komnenoi clan,<sup>220</sup> and all of these families survived in the Nicaean Empire.<sup>221</sup>

Another problem is how did the Nicaean emperors manage to preserve the Komnenian administrative structure. As I have already mentioned, the essence of the reforms of Alexios I consisted of simplification and centralization of the state apparatus, which thus became more closely tied to the emperor. The *logothetes ton sekreton* was established as the chief supervisor.<sup>222</sup> Angold suggests that during the Nicaean era the *sekreta* (ministries) disappeared and their function was inherited by the imperial secretaries.<sup>223</sup> However, our data does not support this point of view.

The *logothesia* did not disappear in the Palaiologan period. We find four principal *logothetes* (*τοῦ γενικοῦ* [secretary of the state households], *τοῦ δρόμου* [foreign secretary], *τοῦ στρατιοτικοῦ* [secretary of the imperial military bureau], and *τῶν ἀγελῶν* [secretary of imperial herds])<sup>224</sup> in the lists of the Palaiologan court ranks.<sup>225</sup> If the *logothesia* were important during the reign of the Komnenoi, Angeloi, and Palaiologoi, does this mean that during the reign of the Laskarids these offices did not exist? There are various indications that the *logothesia* remained important under the Laskarids. For example, Pachymeres mentions a certain Hagiоtheodorites, who was secretary of imperial herds (*ὁ λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν*) in the reign of Theodore II Laskaris.<sup>226</sup> It is particularly difficult to envisage the disappearance of the office of imperial herds during the Nicaean period, when, according to the testimony of Skoutariotes on the reign of John III Batates, the imperial herds were numerous.<sup>227</sup> Various *logothesia* and their officials are mentioned by George Akropolites,<sup>228</sup>

<sup>220</sup> As I noted before, the Komnenoi and the Tornikioi were relatives. As for the Gabrades, Michael Gabras married Eudokia Komnene, the daughter of Andronikos Komnenos, the son of the Emperor John II Komnenos, in 1162–63 (Barzos 1984: i, pp. 487, 516; ii, p. 161–71). The Maurozomai family also developed links with the Komnenoi in the twelfth century: in 1163–68 a daughter of the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos married Theodore Maurozomes. Their son was the famous Manuel Maurozomes, a bitter enemy of Theodore I Laskaris (Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 496–502).

<sup>221</sup> The Tornikai were a very eminent family in the Nicaean Empire, cf. Demetrios Tornikes, who was the *mesadzon* of John III Batatzes. In 1236 a certain John Gabras signed a document in the Nicaean Empire (MM vi, p. 187). Another document mentions Ioannikios Gabras (MM iv, p. 291). Maurozomai were very active in the first years of the Nicaean period. As for the Komnenoi, they mixed with many noble families of the Empire of Nicaea.

<sup>222</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 71; Magdalino 1996: 153–5.

<sup>223</sup> Angold 1975: 147–9, 1999: v, p. 549, 2008: 739.

<sup>224</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 176, ll.15–16; 178, ll.24–27; 184, ll.8–9, 14–16.

<sup>225</sup> Guillard 1971: 8–9, 101.

<sup>226</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 77, l.31, *PLP* 241. He was an addressee of Theodore II Laskaris.

<sup>227</sup> Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), 33, pp. 286, l.22–287, l.8; Skoutariotes (Sathas), pp. 507, l.29–508, l.13.

<sup>228</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 58, l.19; 66, l.22; 79, l.27: *μέγας χαρτουλάριος*, who was a member of the bureau of the *logothētēs tou genikou*; cf. Guillard 1971: 14. Pachymeres also mentions the *μέγας χαρτουλάριος*. Pachymeres, i, p. 43, l.15. The *κομήτης*, member of the office of *logothētēs*

who himself was appointed ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ in c.1246<sup>229</sup> and then *megas logothetes* during the reign of Theodore II Laskaris.<sup>230</sup> The problem is that no Nicaean lists of offices survive, and our information is extremely scanty. For example, we know the name of the last Byzantine λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου, who was Constantine Tornikes. However, after 1204 he took service with the Latin Emperor Baldwin I.<sup>231</sup> The next mention of a λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου is in 1280.<sup>232</sup> Since the sources do not mention any acts of Michael VIII Palaiologos in restoring the offices of the *logothesia*, the supposition of Guilland seems to be well established, namely that all these four *logothesia* survived in the Nicaean Empire.<sup>233</sup> As we have seen, references to two (*τοῦ γενικοῦ* and *τῶν ἀγελῶν*) of these four *logothetes* can be found in the Nicaean sources, despite Angold's statement, which is in essence an *argumentum ex silentio*, that in the Nicaean Empire 'there was no place for the old departments of state (*logothesia*)'.<sup>234</sup>

It should also be noted that the office of the *logothetes ton sekreton* was inherited in the Palaiologan era by the *megas logothetes* (ὁ μέγας λογοθέτης).<sup>235</sup> Did this office survive during the reign of the Laskarids? The name of μέγας λογοθέτης John Strategopoulos appears in a document dated 1217.<sup>236</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the office survived, and Angold's opinion about the absence of the *logothesia* in the Nicaean Empire cannot be regarded as well founded.<sup>237</sup>

The same must be said about the office of *mesadzon*. According to Angold, the *sekreta* disappeared, and their functions were inherited by the imperial secretaries.<sup>238</sup> To compensate for this, the role of *mesadzon* (a mediator between the emperor and his offices, i.e. chief minister) increased.<sup>239</sup>

As we have seen, the disappearance of the *sekreta* cannot be taken for granted. We therefore have to define the proper functions of the *mesadzon* once again. Akropolites does not mention this title, nor does Pachymeres.

*tōn agelōn* (cf. Guilland 1971: 71), is also mentioned: Akropolites, i, p. 64, l.3. Pachymeres (i, p. 47, l.10) gives a more precise name to this office: *τῶν βασιλικῶν ἵππων κόμητα* (the comites/earl of the imperial horses). Cf Guilland 1971: 72–3.

<sup>229</sup> Guilland 1971: 104; *PLP* 518.

<sup>230</sup> I share Guilland's (and Zhavoronkov's) conclusion about Akropolites. Guilland 1971: 104–6; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 18–19; cf. Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 20–4.

<sup>231</sup> Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ Σωζόμενα, ed. Lampros, pp. 124–5; Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, letter 77, pp. 102–3; Guilland 1971: 66–67.

<sup>232</sup> MM vi, p. 238; BE i, p. 304; Guilland 1971: 67–9.

<sup>233</sup> Guilland 1971: 18, 28, 45, 72. <sup>234</sup> Angold 1999: 549.

<sup>235</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 300, ll.6–7; 305, ll.5–6; 307, l.7; 309, ll.4–5; Guilland 1971: 101.

<sup>236</sup> MM iv, p. 295.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. Kontogiannopoulou 2004: 43–4, 107–18. She shares the opinion about the decline of the *logothesia* after 1204, though she does not deny that these continued to exist.

<sup>238</sup> Angold 1975: 147–9. <sup>239</sup> Angold 1975: 149, 155–61.

However, various Nicaean documents from 1221 to 1244 reveal that they were signed by the *mesadzon* Demetrios Tornikes (from 1216; d. 1252).<sup>240</sup> We know his title only from documentary sources: from one of the letters of Michael Choniates,<sup>241</sup> and from charters of the Emperor John III Batatzes.<sup>242</sup> Why do Akropolites and other contemporary writers not mention the title? Let me cite one of the documents of Demetrios Tornikes. In one of the acts we read: ‘and the charter . . . of the noble Demetrios Tornikes Komnenos, the much-loved brother of our mighty and holy lord emperor’,<sup>243</sup> which thus mentions the fact of kinship of the *mesadzon* with the imperial family. This corresponds nicely with Akropolites, who writes about:

Demetrios Tornikes Komnenos, who managed to control the offices with the Emperor John [Batatzes], and who was greatly beloved and esteemed by him (i.e. by the emperor), and the emperor called him brother in his charters. He died some time ago. Thus, there was no administrator of the public affairs, who was renowned (lit. ‘made known’, *γνωριζόμενος*) by either his dignity or title of office, the emperor used in his service people chosen by chance and the undistinguished (*ἀνωνύμοις*) secretaries: Joseph Mesopotamites and his assistant Nikephoros Alyates; and for the charters of a higher level, which required more effort, John Makrotos and me, [George Akropolites].<sup>244</sup>

This means that, according to Akropolites, as far as Demetrios Tornikes is concerned, his strong position was founded on his kinship with the emperor and on the fact that he was the emperor’s favourite, and not on his office, which almost disappeared after him. One might think that the absence of the office of *mesadzon* in Akropolites was caused by the fact that the word was not appropriate for his rhetorical models. However, this is not a decisive argument, since Akropolites names other offices. Moreover, in the highly rhetorical letters of Michael Choniates *mesadzon* is mentioned, if only once. My conclusion is that the office of *mesadzon* under John III was exceptional and not institutionalized.<sup>245</sup> In this I agree with Macrides that the expression ‘administrator of public affairs’ (*οἰκονόμος τῶν κοινῶν*)<sup>246</sup> meant the *mesadzon*, and that Akropolites’ sentence ‘does not imply that the administrator of public affairs had a special title. On the contrary, he could hold any dignity or title

<sup>240</sup> MM iv, pp. 147, 149, 193, 200, 220, 249, 250; vi, pp. 177, 181, 183; BE i, p. 122, 232; ii, p. 138. On the date of the death of Demetrios Tornikes, see Akropolites (Macrides), p. 255 n. 20; BE ii, pp. 144–5, n. 9. The traditional date of his death is the end of 1246 or the beginning of 1247: Angold 1999: 549; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 225–6 and n. 542; 248, n. 687.

<sup>241</sup> Μητροπολίτης Αγριανού του Χανιών τὰ Σωζόμενα, ed. Lampros, ii, p. 356; Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, letter 180, p. 286, l.1.

<sup>242</sup> MM iv, pp. 44–5, 139, 145, 199–200, 220, 241, 249, 250, 284.

<sup>243</sup> MM iv, p. 147. Cf: MM iv, pp. 149, 193, 249, 250.

<sup>244</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 90, ll.20–91, l.5.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. Kontogiannopoulou 2004: 86–101, 312: ‘the post of mesadzon was based exclusively on the influence that an official could exercise on the emperor’.

<sup>246</sup> Similar expressions: pp. 66, ll.14–16, 93, ll.19–20.

whatsoever'.<sup>247</sup> Moreover, Nystazopoulou-Pelkidou had noticed that the *mesadzon* signed imperial charters (*horismoi*) addressed to private institutions (e.g. monasteries) or private individuals concerning grants or confirmation of privileges, but, apart from two exceptional cases,<sup>248</sup> no charters addressed to officials. Likewise, he never signed *chrysobulls*, the most important orders of the emperor, apart from, again, two special occasions.<sup>249</sup>

Running affairs between the emperor and his officials, in which the *mesadzon* took no part, required a state apparatus, however rudimentary. I do not think that the bulk of the 236 charters of the Nicaean period, one of the most productive in Byzantine history,<sup>250</sup> were written by the *mesadzon* and his four secretaries.<sup>251</sup> It would be more reasonable to suggest that the *sekreta*, even if in the reduced form of a chancery, rather than a ministry, still continued to exist. Their responsibilities (state households, foreign affairs, the imperial military bureau, and the imperial herds) were not a substitute for, nor did they coincide with, those of the office of private affairs. The absence of the *sekreta*'s marks or notes on extant documents can be explained by the fact that almost all these survive in copies which omitted many of the original charters' details.

Demetrios Tornikes' signed charters contained a special expression, the so-called *dia*-formula, which with variants reads: 'signed below through Demetrios Tornikes, as is the custom of those mediating the responsibilities and requirements of the emperor' (*καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τορνίκη Δημητρίου ἐνσεσημασμένον ὡς ἔθος τῶν μεσαζόντων ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐνοχαῖς καὶ παρακελεύσεσιν*).<sup>252</sup> The *dia*-formula in its full form (which was by no means the addition of a copyist, as Angold thought)<sup>253</sup> suggested *per se* that the *mesadzon* acted as a representative of the emperor whose chief function was control over the imperial chancery.<sup>254</sup> His signature was meant to confirm the authenticity of the issued document so that the emperor's decisions received an exact, precise, and adequate form. Of course, the *mesadzon* could have acted as an official 'responsible for intervening

<sup>247</sup> Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 255–6, n. 21.

<sup>248</sup> MM iv, pp. 249–50 (the *horismos* of 1240, addressed to the *doux* of Thrakesion, Manuel Kontophore); BE ii, p. 138 (the *horismos* of 1216, addressed to Alexios Krateros, also the *doux* of Thrakesion).

<sup>249</sup> BE, i, p. 122 (1221); *Actes de Lavra*, eds. Lemerle et al., ii: *De 1204 à 1328*, p. 11 (1259); Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1987: 70.

<sup>250</sup> Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1987: 66.

<sup>251</sup> Cf Angold 1999: 549 and 2008: p. 739: 'The whole administration was run for much of Vatatzes' reign by one minister, Demetrios Tornikes. On his (Demetrios Tornikes') death in 1247 his duties were split between four secretaries, who in all probability had been his subordinates.'

<sup>252</sup> MM iv, pp. 139, 145, 200, 220, 241, 249, 284.

<sup>253</sup> Angold 1999: 156; cf. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1987: 70, n. 40.

<sup>254</sup> Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1987: 70.

with the emperor on behalf of the petitioners<sup>255</sup> but, notably, only one document lists such an intervention,<sup>256</sup> while other charters have only his signatures. Thus, the importance of Demetrios Tornikes as the ‘administrator of public affairs’ and as a *mesadzon* does not imply that the *sekreta* had disappeared.

Moreover, the text of Akropolites also suggests that the influence that Demetrios Tornikes enjoyed could not have been attributed to his office of *mesadzon*. For Akropolites juxtaposed the nobility of Demetrios Tornikes, the ‘brother’ of the emperor, and the lower position of his successors. Neither Mesopotamitai nor Alyatai, though they were ancient families attested from the eleventh century,<sup>257</sup> are mentioned in the studies of Barzos<sup>258</sup> or Polemis<sup>259</sup> as members of the Komnenoi and Doukai clan. The same is true for George Akropolites: he was not a Komnenos by birth.<sup>260</sup> The family of the Makrotoi can be found only in thirteenth-century sources.<sup>261</sup> I suggest this can explain the peculiar expression in Akropolites that these secretaries were ‘undistinguished’ (*ἀνωνύμοις*, more commonly translated as ‘inglorious’): as they lacked the status of close relatives of the emperor, they could not serve as powerful intermediaries. This is why the ‘office’ of Demetrios Tornikes was so special.

I think we can speak of the flexibility, rather than of the simplification, of the state apparatus of the Nicaean Empire during the reign of John III Batatzes, when a rather lowly post became important because it was occupied by the imperial favourite. If there were structural changes in the apparatus, one might expect some evidence of the increased importance of those acting as *mesadzon* after John III Batatzes. However, after the remarkable signature of Demetrios Tornikes in 1244 nothing similar is found in the documents. The last signature of the *mesadzon* Andronikos Tornikes Komnenos, the successor of Demetrios Tornikes, is dated to the last years of the reign of John III Batatzes.<sup>262</sup> No *mesadzon* after him followed the practice of Demetrios Tornikes and was so powerful.

The case of Demetrios Tornikes also implies that the patrimonial character of the emperor’s power survived, being marked by a mixture of court titles and state ranks,<sup>263</sup> as well as by an amalgamation of the state and imperial household offices.<sup>264</sup> Angold, who tried to distinguish between these, was forced to describe the title of *mesadzon* twice in different ways—the first time as a state office and the second as the position of the emperor’s close

<sup>255</sup> Angold 1999: 156. <sup>256</sup> MM iv, p. 199.

<sup>257</sup> Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), p. 243 and nn. 666 and 667; Kazhdan 1974: 144, 147; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 274, 277; Angold 1999: 163–4.

<sup>258</sup> Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 874–95. <sup>259</sup> D. I. Polemis 1968: 80–188.

<sup>260</sup> Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 6–7.

<sup>261</sup> Akropolites (Macrides), p. 256 and n. 25. If so, John Makrotos was short-lived: the family is absent in the *PLP*.

<sup>262</sup> MM iv, p. 222.

<sup>263</sup> Angold 1975: 59–65.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. Maksimović 1988: 14–15.

retainer and the head of 'private' services.<sup>265</sup> The patrimonial character was a distinctive feature of the reforms of Alexios I, who, according to Zonaras, 'performed his functions not as public or state ones, and he considered himself not a ruler, but a lord, conceiving and calling the Empire his own house'.<sup>266</sup> The Nicaean emperors, with their direct orders to the *doukades* concerning various, mostly civil, cases, acted in a more arbitrary way than the emperors of the Komnenian period.<sup>267</sup>

As for military affairs, how many changes did the Laskarids introduce into the structure of the Nicaean army, which was another important, powerful *stratum* of society? One has to compare its structure with the troops of the Komnenoi. They were basically similar, since both were formed from the central army (field army, soldiers of the imperial court and of the household), or *tagmata*, and the provincial armies, or *themata*.<sup>268</sup> The structure was created by the Komnenoi; according to Bartusis, the Nicaean innovation consisted of much greater use of the *themata* troops together with the central armies in military campaigns, and of the garrisoning of conquered fortresses with campaign troops.<sup>269</sup> An additional innovation was that the arrangements and duties of the *doux* of a *theme*,<sup>270</sup> the *prokathemenos*, and the *kastrophylax* were more strongly formalized. The *doux* was a governor of a province (and thus of the *themata*), assisted in the cities by the *prokathemenoī* and *kastrophylakes* (fortress guards), who had, respectively, civil and military responsibilities.<sup>271</sup> This was, however, nothing more than a rearrangement (with modifications) of the old Komnenian practice. It should also be noted that

<sup>265</sup> Angold 1975: 147–9, 155–61.

<sup>266</sup> Ioannis Zonarae *epitomae historiarum libri xviii*, ed. Büttner-Wobst, vol. 3, p. 766, ll.11–16; Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 71; Magdalino 1996: 146–50, 1983: 329–33.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. MM iv, p. 147.

<sup>268</sup> Bartusis 1992: 29.

<sup>269</sup> Bartusis 1992: 31–2. Cf. the mention of the *themata* troops of the *themes* Thrakesion, Mylasa and Melanoudion in Nicaean documents: MM vi, p. 166; BE i, p. 226.

<sup>270</sup> Towards the end of the thirteenth century the *doukades* were replaced by the *kephalai*, with the same functions (military and civil), but with smaller territory to be governed (the territory was called a *kathepanikion* and consisted of a fortified town with its environs). Bartusis 1992: 33. Unfortunately, Bartusis does not cite an interesting Nicaean document recording a *kephale* in 1258: MM vi, p. 187. It would thus appear that the process started in the late Nicaean period.

<sup>271</sup> Bartusis 1992: 33; cf. Maksimović 1988: 106–77. This is confirmed by Nicaean documents. Cf. MM iv, pp. 5, 18, 19, 54, 139, where *doukades* had the right to look after the properties of monasteries. Cf. also the list of the *doukades* in this chapter. Some of the *prokathemenoī* are mentioned in Nicaean documents. It is noteworthy that *prokathemenoī* were rulers of a city, and not of a district. Cf. MM iv, pp. 44–5, 72. See also the list of three *prokathemenoī* (George Monomachos, John Aloplos, George Kaloeidas) in Ahrweiler 1965: 156–8. Nicaean documents also mention the *katepanoi*: MM iv, p. 63, who were presumably heads of the detachments in the garrison. Even Angelov, who insists on the purely 'civil functions' of the *doukades* in the thirteenth century, does not deny that these performed military actions in the Empire of Nicaea: Angelov 1951: 64–5.

the Nicaean period was marked by an increasing tendency to grant *pronoiai* (grants of state revenues from land in return for the military service of the holders) to troops in the field army.<sup>272</sup> The wording of the Nicaean *pronoia* grants resembled that of the chancery formulas of the twelfth century.<sup>273</sup>

The increasing use of mercenaries is also a distinctive feature of the Nicaean period. The Latin mercenaries formed the *Italikon*,<sup>274</sup> a special detachment of heavy cavalry. They were a quite formidable force and played a decisive role in the battle at Antioch on the Meander in 1211 against the Seljuks.<sup>275</sup> The role of the Latins in Byzantine society in the twelfth century was reduced to the middle and low *strata* of the army, despite some eulogistic testimony, such as that of William of Tyre, who writes that Emperor Manuel I 'even disdained his Greek manikins, . . . and . . . gave important assignments only to Latins . . .'.<sup>276</sup> Prosopographical analysis does not support William of Tyre's point of view.<sup>277</sup> The same tendency continued in the Nicaean Empire. Though the influence of the Latins in Nicaean society became greater than in the Komnenian period, they were still not allowed to be a part of the Nicaean élite. Apart from the old Latin families which became Byzantine during the period from 1081 to 1185 (such as Rhaoul-Ral(l)es, Petraliphai, Phrankopouloï, and Gidoï), there were only three new Latin families—Kon-tophre (the representatives of which reached the rank of commander-in-chief of the Nicaean fleet in 1239 and were given the title of *pansebastos sebastos*<sup>278</sup>), Kaballarioi, and Varangopouloï<sup>279</sup> (Alexios Varangopoulos was *kephale* of Cos in 1258<sup>280</sup>). Therefore, the Latin newcomers did not reach a rank higher than *sebastos*, the lowest in the élite's hierarchy. In general, however, Latin influence became stronger. Even the Emperor Theodore II Laskaris uses the formula δότω καὶ λαβέτω as the pattern of the relations between a ruler and his subjects, thus alluding to the Latin statement 'auxilium et consilium'.<sup>281</sup>

Another mercenary force consisted of warriors from the nomads of the Balkans (or indeed Anatolia) and was called the *Scythikon*.<sup>282</sup> The majority of them were Cumans.<sup>283</sup> The Cumans, or the Kipçaks of Arab and Persian sources, the Polovtsians of the Rus' chronicles, came from the steppes of Eastern Europe, the territory between the Danube and the Caspian, called

<sup>272</sup> Bartusis 1992: 34–5. Cf. the list of *stratiotai* in Nicaean times: Bartusis 1992: 370–3, nn. 1–21. Cf. also: Bartusis 2012: 236–7.

<sup>273</sup> Bartusis 2012: 178, 191–2, 235–6.

<sup>274</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 27, l.22, 37, ll.6–7; Zhavoronkov 1999: 208.

<sup>275</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 16, ll.16–20.

<sup>276</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 239.

<sup>277</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 70.

<sup>278</sup> Zhavoronkov 1999: 211–12.

<sup>279</sup> Zhavoronkov 1999: 211–12.

<sup>280</sup> MM vi, p. 187; Angold 1975: 249.

<sup>281</sup> Theodorus II Ducas Laskaris, 'Tractatus ad Georgium Muzalonem', ed. Tartaglia, p. 127, l.169–130, l.251; Zhavoronkov 1999: 213.

<sup>282</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 126, l.18, 169, l.3; Pachymeres, i, p. 27, l.24.

<sup>283</sup> Zhavoronkov 1999: 216–17; Bartusis 1992: 26.

'Dasht-i Kipçak', the 'Kipçak Desert'.<sup>284</sup> The practice of using Cumans in Byzantine service started with Alexios I, but on a lesser scale.<sup>285</sup> The *Scythikon* presence calls for further comments, as the Cumans represented a distinctive Turkic group in the Nicaean Empire;<sup>286</sup> and the use of Turkic-speaking nomads by the Byzantines could have been potentially dangerous in Asia Minor, as they faced the ethnic pressure of Turks from the Byzantine–Seljuk border.

The extensive use of Cumans in the Nicaean military was to some extent a result of the initiative of the Emperor John III Batatzes, who made use of the changing ethnic situation in the 1240s. In 1236 the Mongols, the new masters of the steppes, began their conquest of Eastern Europe, and the Dasht-i Kipçak was their first target.<sup>287</sup> The Mongol conquest caused the southward migration of the Cumans; and many routes led them to Nicaean territory. How complex these routes might have been is shown by the fate of the young Baybars, the future Mamluk, whose tribe of the Ölberli moved from the North Caucasus steppes to Alania, and from Alania to Bulgaria by sea in AH 640 (1 July 1242–20 June 1243). It was in Bulgaria that the tribe (or what was left of it) was destroyed and Baybars himself became a slave. He was brought to the Sultanate of Rüm, obviously via one of the Black Sea ports in Asia Minor, where he was again sold in Sivas, and thence moved to Syria and Egypt.<sup>288</sup>

The itinerary of young Baybars shows the routes to Asia Minor which the Cumans might have used in their attempts to escape the Mongol threat. Another way to save their lives, different from that used by Baybars's

<sup>284</sup> One of the best descriptions of the geographical limits of the Dasht-i Kipçak can be found in *La flor des estoires de la terre d' Orient* composed in 1307 by the Armenian prince Het'um of Korykos (Hayton) (c.1235–c.1314), the nephew of Het'um I (1226–69) and cousin of Levon (Leo) III (1301–7), the kings of Cilician Armenia. *Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korykos*, ed. Dörper, pp. 194, l.2–195, l.14; Hetoum, *A Lytell Cronycle*, ed. Burger, p. 10, ll.14–31. According to his description, the 'realme of Company ... on the est part marcheth on the realme of Corasme (i.e. Khurasan or Khwārazm), and in parte of the same syde on a great desert; towarde the west it marcheth to the Grete See (the Black Sea), and to the see called the see of Reme (the Sea of Azov); towarde the northe it marcheth to the realme of Roussy (Russia); and on the southe part it extendeth vnto the grettest flodde which men knowe in the worlde, which is called the flode of Etyll (The River Volga)'. Het'um's description was influenced by, if not directly borrowed from, the text of the *Itinerary* of Fr. William de Rubrouck, the envoy of Louis IX of France to the Great Khan in 1253–5. He wrote that the Cumans, called Capchac/Capchat, lived between the rivers Don (*Tanay*) and Danube, and also between the Don and the Volga (*Etilia*): van den Wyngaert 1929: 194–5; Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, p. 112. On the Cumans and their land in Eurasia, see: Vásáry 2005: 4–13.

<sup>285</sup> Bartusis 1992: 26.

<sup>286</sup> From the tenth or eleventh century, the western Turkic world was largely represented by two linguistically different branches, the Oğuz Turks, who became the backbone of the Great Seljukid realm, and the Kipçak Turks, who became masters of the western part of the Eurasian steppes before the coming of the Mongols.

<sup>287</sup> On the origin of the Mongol conquests, especially in relation to Central Asia and Asia Minor, see Chapter 5 'The Mongols'.

<sup>288</sup> For the details, see Korobeinikov 2008a: 379–412.

compatriots (who were sold at the famous slave market in Sivas), was to become Nicaean subjects. When the Cumans from the eastern part of the Dasht-i Kıpçak fled before the arrival of the Mongols and settled in Bulgaria in 1237, the Emperor John III Batatzes accepted the ten-thousand-strong Cuman horde whom he baptized and settled partly in Thrace and Macedonia, and partly in Asia Minor, in particular, along the river Maeander and in Phrygia in 1241–42.<sup>289</sup>

It seems that in reality the Cumans settled more extensively. At least, they formed a separate community of their own in the Empire of Nicaea.<sup>290</sup> One can find traces of them in documentary sources composed near Smyrna in 1271 or 1285; and probably in Amastris (Amasra).<sup>291</sup> We have no evidence that the Cuman settlements weakened Nicaean defences. Our sources show the contrary. In particular, Theodore II Laskaris, himself Emperor, wrote in his enkomion to John III Batatzes in relation to the events in 1241–3:

The Persian [ruler],<sup>292</sup> who by force took the truce payments from the Romans for the preservation of friendship, now throws up (*ἐμεῖ*) and [moreover] gives back the moneys, which once were the Emperor's (*βασιλικά*), and which he extorted from us by oppression. He [now] brings to you his children [as hostages], gives his money and, which is most strange, his [recent] settlements on [our] common border (*ἀποικισμοὺς τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὄρῶν*). Being wounded in his soul, he [nevertheless] praises you for [your ability to] plunder (*λαφυραγωγοῦντα*),<sup>293</sup> he also calls you deliverer and [even] names you saviour. He threatens the Tatar boaster to make war in alliance with you (lit. 'your most strong hand', *τὴν σὴν βριαρωτάτην χεῖρα*), having as a protection the fear that you [cause]. And you invent the double name of the Persoscythians: you took the Scythians from the western provinces (those Scythians earlier went from the West), and move their offsprings, these slavish gifts, to the East. Having mixed them with the Persian children, you securely bind them to our eastern lands, thus showing favour to your own subjects by this most helpful change. Like a new messenger of the Lord's grace, like a second Paul, the voice (lit. 'mouth', *στόμα*) of Christ, you also give them<sup>294</sup> the divine bath [of baptism] (*τὰ θεῖα λουτήρια*). You shake off the mud of [the faith of] the fire-worshipper and Persia (*τῆς*

<sup>289</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 65, ll.16–20; Gregoras, i, pp. 36, l.16–37, l.9; Korobeinikov 2012: 343–58.

<sup>290</sup> Vryonis 1975a: 129.

<sup>291</sup> MM iv, pp. 165–9; Korobeinikov 2012: 355–8, 2013a: 100–8.

<sup>292</sup> By this, Theodore II meant the Sultan of Rūm.

<sup>293</sup> In praising John III Batatzes, the 'Persian' Sultan of Rūm in the *Encomium* naturally ascribes to the Byzantine emperor his own 'Persian' virtues. Here, Theodore II Laskaris alludes to the 'Persian', in reality the Turkish, list of 'virtues' as they were seen by the Byzantines. 'Plunder' and 'oppression' (*καταδυναστέα*) were important parts of the traditional 'Persian' image in Byzantium. Cf. Theodorus II Ducas Laskaris, 'In laudem Iohannis Ducae imperatoris', ed. Tartaglia, p. 27, l.80.

<sup>294</sup> I.e. the 'Persoscythians'.

*πυρσολάτρου καὶ Περσικῆς)* and by the divine fire in the Spirit clean the abominable filth (Isaiah 4:4).<sup>295</sup>

The text mentions the conversion to Christianity of both the pagan Cumans from the Balkans (hence the expression ‘you shake off the mud of [the faith of] the fire-worshipper’, the latter being the symbol of a heathen) and the Muslim Turks from Asia Minor (hence the addition ‘[the faith] of Persia’).<sup>296</sup> Though the picture given in the enkomion seemed to have been rather oversimplified (for the conversion could not, and did not, erase the ethnic feelings of the Turks, be these Oghuz or Cuman), the result of the Turks becoming Christian speaks for itself: no important Byzantine lands were taken by the Turks at least until the last decade of the thirteenth century, nor am I aware of any cooperation between the Byzantine Turks and their compatriots in Seljuk Anatolia. I am not going to overestimate the importance of the *Scythikon*. It was the essential army corps that played a more prominent role than the Turkic detachments under the Komnenoi; yet the ‘Scythians’ were only a part of the Nicaean army. What can be said about the latter?

The date 1224, when Batatzes defeated the Latins at Poimanenon (Eski Manyas), merits closer attention. It was the first serious defeat of the Latins by the Nicaeans; and after that date the Nicaean army seems to have become established as a formidable force. On a smaller scale than the Komnenian one? I do not think so. The Laskarids were more successful in defending the Anatolian territories than the Komnenoi.<sup>297</sup> As for fortifications, the Laskarids continued the old Komnenian tradition of building fortresses against the frontier nomadic Turks.<sup>298</sup> According to Zhavoronkov, the Nicaean field army could reach 6,000 (excluding *themata*);<sup>299</sup> oddly enough, this number

<sup>295</sup> Theodorus II Ducas Laskaris, ‘In laudem Iohannis Ducae imperatoris’, ed. Tartaglia, pp. 28, l.97–29, l.116.

<sup>296</sup> According to the *apparatus criticus* of Theodore II’s Encomium by Tartaglia, the term ‘the [faith] of the fire-worshipper’ (*τῆς πυρσολάτρου*) alluded to the seventh-century poem *Heraclias* by George the Pisidian, whose hero, Khusrav II Parvēz (590–628), the adversary of the emperor Heraclius (610–41), was called ‘fire-worshipper’ (*ὁ κρατῶν Περσοκράτης ὁ πυρσολάτρης ἔζοφάθη Χορόντης*): Giorgio di Pisidia, *Poemi: Panegirici epici*, ed. Pertusi, p. 240, l.14. Indeed, Khusrav II was the last great Shāh of Īrān, and his Zoroastrian faith was notorious for its cult of fire. There is no doubt that Theodore II Laskaris meant the conversion to Christianity of the ‘Persian’ Turks of Asia Minor; but as for the term *πυρσολάτρης*, Tartaglia fails to mention that the word was a synonym for ‘heathen’ or ‘pagan’. In particular, one can find the epithet ‘fire-worshipper’ applied to the Grand Prince Olgert, or Algirdas, of Lithuania (1345–77), who was a heathen, in a charter issued by the Patriarch Neilos of Constantinople in 1380: MM ii, p. 12; Meyendorff 1989: 146. It was the Cumans who were pagans; and I thus suggest that the term *πυρσολάτρης* and the expression ‘shaking off the mud of [the faith of] the fire-worshipper’ refer to the baptism of young Cuman heathens, now in Asia Minor.

<sup>297</sup> Foss 1996c: article VI, p. 298.

<sup>298</sup> On the Komnenoi defence of Byzantine Asia Minor see Foss 1996b: article V, pp. 145–52. On p. 146 Foss recognizes the Laskarid defences as even more successful than those of the Komnenoi.

<sup>299</sup> Zhavoronkov 1996: 151. The statement is based on the Akropolites’ account: Akropolites, i, p. 139, ll.1–14.

is partly supported by the Chronicle of Morea, which lists 1,500 Hungarian and 300 German mercenaries as well as 600 Serb, 1,500 Turkish (i.e. Seljukid) and 2,000 Cuman cavalry in Nicaean service.<sup>300</sup> Though the figures are unreliable, it might have been that the overall impression of the author of the vernacular chronicle is trustworthy, since he might have been a participant in the events.

Thus the Nicaean army was strong enough not only to wage permanent military campaigns in the Balkans, but also to defend, if necessary, the eastern frontiers of the Empire. There were three large eastern campaigns conducted by the Nicaean emperors, listed by the Ayyubid historian al-Ḥamawī for the period 1225–31.<sup>301</sup> His statements are confirmed by the hagiographical text dedicated to John III Batatzes, which was published by Langdon.<sup>302</sup>

However, I do not agree with Langdon in that 1231 was the date of the *last* Nicaean offensive. The last campaign of the Nicaean army against the Seljuks was launched in the spring of 1260 and in 1261, when Michael Palaiologos marched along the river Maeander. Two authors speak of the campaigns: Manuel Holobolos and George Pachymeres.<sup>303</sup>

Some conclusions are in order. The Nicaeans did their best to restore as much as possible of the old Empire of the Komnenoi and Angeloi. The ruling class, as we have seen, mostly consisted of the old noble families, with a much lower percentage of newcomers. The state apparatus suffered some changes, but as a whole remained the same. Despite constant campaigns in the Balkans, the Nicaean emperors managed to continue the traditional Komnenian eastern policy: they built up a strong line of fortifications and launched attacks into Seljukid territory. Even the loss of Pontus, which was occupied by the Empire of Trebizond, was a success for the Nicaean Empire since it, being now more compact, had a reduced frontier and was less vulnerable to Turkic incursions.

As the Nicaean Empire inherited Komnenian structures in its army, organization and society, so did it inherit the influence of the Komnenoi and Angeloi over the Rūm Sultanate. There was no break in Seljukid–Byzantine relations after 1204. According to Magdalino:

From 1157, [Manuel I Komnenos] began to evolve a new conception of a *Pax Byzantina* based on an international feudal hierarchy, with the empire at the centre of a ring of client kingdoms and vassal principalities. From the crusader states, he extended this conception to Konya, Hungary and Italy.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>300</sup> Bartusis 1992: 37; *Tò Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μωρέως*, ed. Kalonaros, p. 162, ll.3766–3772; *The Chronicle of Morea*, *τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μωρέως*, ed. Schmitt, p. 250–1, ll.3766–3772.

<sup>301</sup> al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dündü, pp. 113, 155–6, 174; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaznevich, pp. 150b–151a; 168b, 180b; Cahen 1974d: article X, pp. 147–8; Langdon 1992: 15–24.

<sup>302</sup> Langdon 1992: 90–106.

<sup>303</sup> On these campaigns, see Chapter 6.

<sup>304</sup> Magdalino 1997: 104.

Did this system survive the Komnenian Empire? I shall try to demonstrate in Chapter 4 that the traditions of Byzantine 'patronage' over the Sultanate did not disappear during the Nicaean period. The chief inner force of the Nicaean Empire was its conservatism, not innovations. The decline was a very complex process. The whole Byzantine world was disintegrating. Hellenism in Asia Minor might have yielded up important points like Sinope or Attaleia, the Balkans were temporarily lost, but in Asia Minor there remained the major part of the Komnenian Empire which sustained Komnenian traditions.

# Chapter 3

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## The Sultanate of Rūm: Preliminary Remarks

The map of thirteenth-century Asia Minor shows the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm as a far larger state than the Nicaean Empire. As the preceding chapter has demonstrated, the Empire, although small, was a well-organized and a densely populated state. As for the Sultanate, it should be noted that this realm was relatively new. Though founded soon after the brilliant Seljuk victory over the Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–71) at Manzikert in 1071, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm was only one of many Turkic states that appeared in the recently conquered Byzantine lands. Of these, the most important were the emirates of the Danişmendoğulları in Sivas, Kayseri, Tokat, Amasya, and Niksar; the Mengüçekoğulları in Erzincan, Kemah, and Divriği; and the Saltukoğulları in Erzurum.<sup>1</sup>

It was only after 1174, when the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān II (1156–92) finally occupied the last possessions of Dhū al-Nūn Danişmand (Dānishmand) (1172–4) who ruled Sivas, Kayseri, Tokat, Amasya, and Niksar under the protection of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zengī (1146–74), the powerful *atabeg* of Damascus,<sup>2</sup> that the Seljuk state in Konya became the undisputed master of the Turkic lands in Asia Minor. In 1175 the sultan also took Ankara and Çankırı (Gangra) from his brother, Shāhinshāh.<sup>3</sup> The emirates of Erzincan (together with Şarkî Karahisar) and Erzurum were annexed by the Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I in AH 625 (12 December 1227–29 November 1228)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cahen 2001: 7–14; Turan 1971a: 50–6, 1980: 3–79.

<sup>2</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 348; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 303; Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 48–9; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 2, p. 213; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tārīkh al-a'yān*, viii, 1, pp. 293–4; Rashīd al-Dīn, i, pp. 259; Rashīd al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), i, p. 351; Rashīd al-Dīn (Arends), i, 2, pp. 102–3; Rashīd al-Dīn (Thackston), i, p. 171; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 122, ll.43–47; Ioannis Cinnami *epitome*, ed. Meineke, p. 291, l.18–p. 296, l.22; Mélikoff-Sayar, 'Dānišmendids', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Ioannis Cinnami *epitome*, ed. Meineke, p. 291, ll.8–18.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 478–9; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 290–1; Ibn Bibī, pp. 142–52; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 143–51; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dūdū, p. 159; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaزnevich, p. 170a; Hartmann and Taeschner, 'Erzindjan', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 711; Darkot, 'Erzincan', in *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, iv, p. 339.

and AH 627 (after the battle of Yāssı Çimen, 10 August 1230)<sup>5</sup> respectively. Then the Seljuks began to expand eastwards: in 1226 they conquered Kāhta and Çemişgezek,<sup>6</sup> in 1233–4 the sultan subjugated Harput (Khartpert, Ḥiṣn Ziyād) and Ahlat (Akhlāṭ, Khilāṭ),<sup>7</sup> in 1238 the successor of Kay-Qubād I, the new Sultan Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II besieged and took Sūmeysat (Samosata, Sumaysāṭ),<sup>8</sup> and in 1241 he added Diyarbakır (Āmid, Diyar Bakr) to his realm.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, in 1174–5 and in 1228–41 the Seljuk state in Rūm absorbed vast territories, which were almost as large as the Sultanate itself at the moment of the conquest. Not all of these territories were incorporated into the Seljuk state after a violent and oppressive military campaign: some accepted Seljuk rule willingly. For example, in 1175 the city council of Amasya (*οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐννοησάμενοι*), at this time one of the last remnants of the Danişmendid state, preferred to be under Seljuk rule rather than to submit to the Byzantine army.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, the revolt of the aristocracy in the emirate of Erzincan helped the Sultan Kay-Qubād I to depose the last Mengüçekoğlu ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Dāwūd-shāh (1225–8).<sup>11</sup>

We know very little of how the Seljuks reorganized the conquered territories; but the evidence suggests that the sultans used the simplest and most convenient way: they replaced the *amīr*, governor, or other power but did not usually eliminate the previous dynasty or its aristocracy. Let me illustrate this point in more detail.

In 1175 the Seljuks conquered the emirate of the Danişmendoğulları. The last Danişmendoğlu, Dhū al-Nūn, sought refuge in Byzantine territory.<sup>12</sup> However, other members of the dynasty were spared. In 1204 we find the powerful *amīrs* Mużaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd,<sup>13</sup> Ẓāhir al-Dīn İli, and Badr al-Dīn

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 175–82; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 172–5; Nasawī, p. 234 (Arabic text); p. 248–9 (Russian translation); Yinanç, ‘Erzurum’, in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, iv, p. 349.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 118–22; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 122–6; Ibn al-Athīr x, pp. 465–6; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 299–300; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dūdū, pp. 130–1; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaznovich, p. 157a.

<sup>7</sup> On the war of 1233 between the Ayyubids and the Seljuks see Ibn Bibi, pp. 192–202 (with AH 630 (18 October 1232–6 October 1233) as the date of the beginning of the war); Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 184–93; Cahen, ‘Ayyubids’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, p. 799, ‘Khartpert’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, iv, p. 1084; Taeschner, ‘Akhlāṭ’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, p. 329.

<sup>8</sup> Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 471; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 403; Ibn Bibi, pp. 215–16 (date—AH 635 (24 August 1237–13 August 1238)); Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 206–8; Demirkent, ‘Sūmeysat’, in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, xi, p. 235.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 223–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 213–16; Turan 1971a: 379–89, 416–20; 673–5; Cahen, ‘Ayyubids’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, p. 799; Canard and Cahen, ‘Diyār Bakr’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 344.

<sup>10</sup> Ioannis Cinnami *epitome*, ed. Meineke, p. 296, ll.2–18.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 143–4; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 144.

<sup>12</sup> Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 348; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 303; Turan 1971a: 205.

<sup>13</sup> His inscription of AH 602 (18 August 1205–7 August 1206), in which he described himself as the sultan’s subordinate, survived in Kayseri: *Répertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, x, 3615, p. 9. His daughter Atsūz Altı Khātūn left her name on the

Yüsuf, the sons of Yağıbasān (1142–64) Danişmendoğlu, who were the beys of the *uj*. They helped the exiled Sultan Kay-Khusraw I to return to his throne.<sup>14</sup> In AH 625 (12 December 1227–29 November 1228) Mużaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd Danişmendoğlu acted as an independent ruler—the *amīr* of Kūghūniya (Byz. Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar). He concluded an anti-Seljuk alliance with ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Dāwūd-shāh of Erzincan and Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh (1225–30) of Erzurum. In response, in the same year the Sultan annexed both Erzincan and Kūghūniya.<sup>15</sup> Despite the resistance that the Seljukid army met at Kūghūniya, Mużaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd received Rammān, Nahr-i Kālī, and Arabissūy (Arabisos, Afşin)<sup>16</sup> on the Syrian border as a private possession (*mulkiyyat*). Kūghūniya was then transformed into an *iqtā'*. In order to avoid further separatist attempts on the part of Mużaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the sultan settled him in Kırşehir, far from his new possessions and from Kūghūniya.<sup>17</sup> It seems that Mużaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd received income from his newly granted lands without even having viewed them. Likewise, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Dāwūd-shāh received Akşehir and Āb-i Germ (Ilgin) near Konya as *iqtā'*, situated far from his native Erzincan.<sup>18</sup> Erzincan then became the residence of the *shāhzāda* Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the territory of the former rival emirates of Kūghūniya and Erzincan was incorporated into the Seljukid state almost without any changes in their structure: the former as a large *iqtā'*; the latter as a special land in the possession of the crown prince. The ruler changed, but I hardly think that the whole state apparatus in the former emirates was replaced.

The leniency with which the Seljuks sometimes treated their enemies did not stem from kindness. It was a sober policy aimed at incorporating and then maintaining the balance with the native aristocracy, which had been linked with the previous dynasty. That the local lords could be very powerful is confirmed by evidence in Ibn Bibī. He writes that in 1204 three *amīrs* from Tokat—Nūḥ Alp, Mende (var. Manda, مَنْدَه), and Tōrnīk/Tūrnīk (تورنیک)—helped Kılıç Arslān III to seize the throne.<sup>20</sup> These *amīrs* are never mentioned among those at the Seljukid court. Of them, Nūḥ Alp, in view of his name, was certainly a Turk (in Turkic, ‘alp’ means ‘hero’); whilst Tōrnīk belonged to that old Byzantine aristocratic family of Armenian origin, the Tornikes. As for the *amīr* Mende/Manda, he must have been of Kurdish or Turkic descent: in Persian, ‘*manda*’ means a ‘pitcher’ or ‘bread’; whilst in Kurdish, ‘*mendē*’ means ‘a type of an edible grass’, like watercress.<sup>21</sup> I suggest a Kurdish origin, because the Turks usually did not borrow the names of household articles from Persian for use as names or nicknames.

inscription of AH 607 (25 June 1210–14 June 1211), also in Kayseri: *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, x, 3665, pp. 47–8.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 24–6; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 37–8.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 142–53; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 143–53; Shukurov 2001a: 121.

<sup>16</sup> Hild and Restle 1981: 144. <sup>17</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 152; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 152.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 150; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 150.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 153; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 153.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 23, Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 36 (a).

<sup>21</sup> Chyet 2003: 371.

The Seljuks of Rūm modelled their state apparatus on that of the Great Seljuks. The traditional Great Seljukid titles *amīr-i jāndār* ('the chief of the guard'), *amīr-i silāḥ* ('the chief of arms'), *amīr-i shikār* ('the chief huntsman'), and *ustādhdār* ('the chief of the palace', *major domus*) (to name but a few) can often be found in the pages of the sources composed in Rūm.<sup>22</sup> As in the state of the Great Seljuks, we also find various civil offices (*dīwāns*) concentrated around the *wazīr*, the prime minister.<sup>23</sup> In twelfth-century Syria, the classical Great Seljuk institutions (the *dīwān-i a'lā*, the *dīwān al-inshā' wa al-tughrā'*, the *dīwān al-zamām wa al-istifā'*, the *dīwān-i ishrāf-i mamālik*, and the *dīwān-i 'ard*)<sup>24</sup> steadily developed into a complex state apparatus:

1. *Dīwān al-a'lā*, the office of the *wazīr*
2. *Dīwān al-istifā'*, the tax office, whose head was *mustawfi*, the chief accountant
3. *Dīwān al-ishrāf* or *dīwān al-mu'amalāt*, the tax collection office, *bureau des impôts*, with the *mushrif* ('superintendent') as its head
4. *Dīwān al-inshā'*, or the state chancery, headed by the *tughrā'i*
5. *Dīwān al-kharāj*, or the office of the *kharāj*, the chief land tax
6. *Dīwān al-jaysh*, formerly the *dīwān-i 'ard*, the chief superintendency of the army, with two subdivisions:
  - a. *dīwān al-rāwātib*, responsible for the army's recruitment and weapons' supply
  - b. *dīwān al-iqtā'*, responsible for the *iqtā'* grants and the salaries of the military
7. *Dīwān al-awqāf*, or the office of the *waqfs*, the land endowments for pious foundations
8. *Bayt al-māl*, the state treasury
9. *Bayt al-māl al-khāṣṣa*, the private treasury of the Sultan.<sup>25</sup>

The same, or similar, offices can be found in Rūm. Let me list the most important:

1. *Dīwān-i a'lā* of the *wazīr* (also called *dīwān-i buzurg*, *dīwān-i salṭanat* or simply *dīwān*, as the *wazīr* bore the title *ṣāhib-i dīwān*)<sup>26</sup>
2. *Dīwān-i istifā'*<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Cahen 2001: 138–40. <sup>23</sup> Klausner 1973: 38–50.

<sup>24</sup> Lambton 1968–91: v, pp. 257–60; Uzunçarşılı 1988: 39–44.

<sup>25</sup> Elisséef 1967: iii, pp. 721–9, 791–3, 805–12; Semenova 1990: 65–6.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 53, 57, 211, 307; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 64, 67, 203, 294; Aksarayı, p. 230; cf. Cahen 2001: 140; Uzunçarşılı 1988: p. 87.

<sup>27</sup> Turan 1958: 7; Ibn Bibi, pp. 271, 299, 307; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 259, 286, 294; Aksarayı, pp. 64, 65, 72, 73, 93, 97, 149, 210, 223, 228, 236, 242, 248; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 101, 102, 109, 121, 130; *Histoire* (ed. Uzlułuk), pp. 56, 57, 66, 79, 91; Uzunçarşılı 1988: 95.

3. *Dīwān-i ishrāf-i mamālik*<sup>28</sup>
4. *Dīwān-i ṭughrā* (the equivalent of the *dīwān al-inshā*)<sup>29</sup>
5. Sultan's private treasury (*khizāna-i khāṣṣ*)<sup>30</sup>
6. State treasury ([*bayt al-*] *māl*, *khizāna*)<sup>31</sup>
7. Office of the *waqfs* (*dīwān-i tawliyyat-i awqāf*, 'the superintendency of the *waqfs*', whose head was *mutawallī-i awqāf-i mamālik*, 'the superintendent of the state *waqfs*' or *ḥākim-i waqf*, 'the master of *waqfs*'; the historian Āqsarāyī was appointed the administrator of the *tawliyyat-i awqāf-i mamālik* under the İlkhan Ghazan).<sup>32</sup>

As for the office of the *kharāj*, the words *kharāj* and *bāj*,<sup>33</sup> which both Ibn Bibī and Āqsarāyī used as technical terms,<sup>34</sup> suggest that an office of the *kharāj* also existed, though perhaps as a subdivision of the state treasury (*khizāna*).<sup>35</sup> Likewise, the chief superintendency of the army, the *dīwān-i ‘ard*, with the *amīr-i ‘āridī-i memālik-i Rūm* ('the *amīr* of [the office] of the petitions of the kingdom of Rūm') as the person in charge of it, who, according to Cahen, 'must have been responsible for inspecting the army with the sultan at reviews, and distributing pay on these occasions'<sup>36</sup> and whose duties included maintaining military records and petitions, was one of the subdivisions of the state chancery (*dīwān-i inshā*).<sup>37</sup>

In addition to these most important offices, the Seljuk sources of Rūm list other *dīwāns*: the *dīwān al-ḥisba* ('the office of weights and measures'),<sup>38</sup> the *dīwān al-ḥukm* or *shughl-i ḥakamī* ('the arbitration tribunal', whose head was *ḥākim dīwān al-ḥukm*),<sup>39</sup> and, finally, the *dīwān-i ‘adl* or *dīwān-i mazālim*

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 260, 290; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 248, 286; Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 564; Turan 1958: ٣٥-٣٧; Uzunçarsılı 1988: 97–8.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 2, 83, 176, 251; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 16, 91, n. e, 173, 240; Turan 1958: ٣٦-٣٧; Uzunçarsılı 1988: p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 219; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 210.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 329; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 317; Aksarayi, pp. 62, 67, 111, 230, 231, 287; Turan 1958: ٣٥-٣٦.

<sup>32</sup> Aksarayi, pp. 88, 140, 304; Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 655; Turan 1958: 45, 182.

<sup>33</sup> Whilst the *kharāj* was a land tax, the *bāj* was the sums collected from the customs.

<sup>34</sup> Aksarayi, p. 152; Ibn Bibi, p. 15; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 28.

<sup>35</sup> Turan 1958: ٣٥-٣٧. <sup>36</sup> Cahen 2001: 140.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 45; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 56; Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 127. It is the fuller version of Ibn Bibi, which gives a clearer statement: 'The Sultan gave him (i.e. Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad al-Arzinjāni) [the office of] the *amīr-i ‘āridī-i memālik-i Rūm* from [one of] the departments of the ministry of the state chancery (*inshā*)'. The anonymous author of the shorter version of Ibn Bibi, the so-called *Mukhtaṣar*, misinterpreted the statement as 'The Sultan elevated him (i.e. Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad al-Arzinjāni) from the ministry of the state chancery to [the dignity of] the *‘āridī-i memālik-i Rūm*'. Duda's German translation gives the correct meaning: '... zum Amir-i ‘Ārid des Reiches von Rūm aufsteigen, war eine Rangstufe innerhalb der Staatskanzlei war'. Cf. Turan 1958: 26: the *dīwān-i ‘ard* was the first office among the various departments of the state chancery. Cf. also Ibn Bibi, p. 279 (the *amīr-i ‘ārid* Şamşām al-Dīn); Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 265; Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 566; Uzunçarsılı 1988: 96–7.

<sup>38</sup> Turan 1958: ٤٣-٤٤.

<sup>39</sup> Turan 1958: ٨١, 60-2, 155.

(‘the office of justice’, or literally ‘the office of misdeeds’), whose head, the *amīr-i dād*, with the title *malik dīwān al-‘adl*, was the Sultan’s chief magistrate for the repression of administrative and other abuses (*mazālim*).<sup>40</sup>

To these one should add a very complex system of chanceries, of which the most prominent and well-paid was the corporation of the *tarjumāns* (‘dragomans’, ‘translators’) and *munshīs* (‘secretaries’). The father of Ibn Bibī, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad, was the *tarjumān* at the Seljuk court in 1243.<sup>41</sup> It was said in 1253 that the previous most powerful sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I had only two dragomans and four secretaries.<sup>42</sup> It is difficult to say what office they occupied. It seems that as notaries they might have belonged to the *dīwān-i ‘adl*, the office of justice, in 1246–9,<sup>43</sup> but the expression *mansab-i tarjumānī-i dar-gāh-i ‘ālī* (‘the office of the dragomans of the Sublime Porte, *dar-gāh-i ‘ālī*’)<sup>44</sup> in one of the extant documents and the fact that the dragomans must have composed letters addressed to foreign rulers rather suggest that the *mansab-i tarjumānī* formed the chancery of the *wazīr*, whose responsibilities included foreign affairs. The state chancery, the *dīwān-i tughrā*, had Arab and Persian scribes, the *kātibs*, as the head of the *dīwān-i tughrā* enjoyed the title ‘master of scribes’, *malik al-kuttāb*.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps, the corporation of scribes had its own head, the *amīr-i dawāt* (literally, ‘the commander of the inkwell’),<sup>46</sup> who must have been an intermediary between them and the *tughrāī*. The *dīwān-i tughrā* included other important divisions, such as the *dīwān-i ‘ard*. The Greek scribes, the *nūtārān-i dīwān-i saltanat* (‘the scribes of the state *dīwān*’), are mentioned by Ibn Bibī in 1214.<sup>47</sup> As the expression ‘*dīwān-i saltanat*’ meant the *dīwān-i a‘lā*, i.e. the office of the *wazīr*, this would account for the position of the Greek scribes under the authority of the prime minister, rather than the *tughrāī*, the chancellor. If so, the corporation of Greek scribes, whose head must have been a protonotary,<sup>48</sup> was primarily responsible, like the dragomans, for foreign correspondence. Few documents attesting to the activity of the Greek scribes of Rūm survive, among these a Greek letter which Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I sent to King Hugh I (1205–18) of Cyprus in 1216.<sup>49</sup> However, I have so far failed to find any evidence of the use of Greek in official documents relating to home affairs. The functions of the corporation of Armenian scribes are even less certain. One can only suggest that the Armenian scribes (*grich’k*) were headed by a

<sup>40</sup> Turan 1958: pp. 19, 47, 61, 131; Cahen 2001: 142.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 248; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 236.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 276; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 263, Ibn Bibī (AS), pp. 605–6.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 263; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 251, Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 572; Turan 1958: 18–19.

<sup>44</sup> Turan 1958: ۷۷. <sup>45</sup> Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 596.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 66; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 75.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 57; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 67, Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 153.

<sup>48</sup> Korobeinikov 2009: 710–13.

<sup>49</sup> Beihammer 2007: letter 83, pp. 212–13; Lampros 1908: 51–2.

proto-notary (*dprapet*) and that their office was closely associated with the Greek one.<sup>50</sup> However, the kingdom of Cilician Armenia paid tribute (*kharāj*) to the Sultan of Rūm at the end of the twelfth century and continued to do so even later until 1245; moreover, sometime after 1233 King Het'um I was obliged to proclaim sultan's *khuṭba* in his capital city of Sis and struck a bilingual coin with his own name and that of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I and then Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II until AH 644 (19 May 1246–7 May 1247).<sup>51</sup> Besides, the Armenian world was not entirely reduced to the kingdom of Cilician Armenia: there were many other petty Armenian kingdoms, such as the principality of Lambron (Çamlıayla), whose prince Constantine (1220–49)<sup>52</sup> was a vassal of Kay-Qubād I and Kay-Khusraw II. He was called the 'marshal of Turkey' (*marescallus erat Turquie*) and even led the Seljuk army against his fellow compatriots in Cilician Armenia in 1245–6.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, there were still the extant Armenian principalities in the Greater Armenia, some even incorporated into the Sultanate of Rūm as almost independent kingdoms, such as the possessions of the lord (*kir*) Leo Gabras in c. 1243, the *amīr* lord (*kir*) Constantine Gabras in c. 1272, and the baron (*paron*), prince of princes (*shahnshah, ishkhanats'ishkhan*) Basil Gabras in 1291 or 1305. All these Gabrades resided near Akn (Akina, Eğin, Kemaliye, on the Euphrates, between Divriği and Çemişgezek).<sup>54</sup> When mentioning the Gabrades as their masters, the authors of the colophons, contrary to established usage, did not mention their chief suzerain, who must have been the Seljuk sultan of Rūm. This alone points to the special semi-independent status of the Gabrades' lands inside the Sultanate. One of the Seljuk vassals, the Armenian prince of

<sup>50</sup> Korobeinikov 2009a: 709–22.

<sup>51</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 87; Artuk and Artuk: 1970–4), i, pp. 363, 367, NN 1106, 1120; Album: 1998: 62; Erkiletlioğlu and Güler 1996: 115–17, 124–43, NN 223, 264, 267, 272, 277, 285, 287, 291, 296, 299, 304, 306, 312, 313; Bedoukian 1979: 227–35; Der Nersessian: 1969–89: ii, p. 652; Apanovich 2009: 96.

<sup>52</sup> Constantine of Lambron was a descendant of Het'um Pahlawuni (d. after 1071), the founder of the Het'umid dynasty. Het'um's son Oshin Pahlawuni of Mayreats' Jurk' near Ganja fled before the invasion of the Turks in 1072, 1073 or 1075 to the fortress of Lambron in Cilician Armenia, where he established an independent principality of the Het'umides: Samuēl Anets'i, *Hawak'munk'*, ed. Tēr-Mik'lean, p. 117; Samouel d'Ani, *Tables Chronologiques*, ed. Brosset, ii, p. 453; J. Laurent 1971: 52, 56; Mat'evosyan 1988: n. 352, pp. 439–42. Frequent intermarriages took place between the branches of the dynasty, i.e. the royal house of the Het'umides (from 1226) and the house of Lambron; and Constantine of Lambron, whose sister Alix was the mother of King Het'um I, was himself the husband of Stephani/Step'anéa, Het'um I's half-sister: Mat'evosyan 1988: n. 352ab, pp. 439, 441; Rüdt de Collenberg 1963: tables II (H 1), III (H 2), nn. 63, 100, pp. 58–60, 63.

<sup>53</sup> Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 286–8; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 180; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 247–50; Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk'*, ed. Agèlean, p. 227; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, tr. Bedrosian, p. 106; Galstian 1962: 47–8; Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 86; Apanovich 2009: 90–4, 2007: 183–4, n. 74.

<sup>54</sup> Mat'evosyan 1988: nn. 334, 672a, 830z, pp. 421, 834–5, 941; Bartikian 1987: part 3, pp. 164–9; on the location of Akn, see Hild and Restle 1981: 138.

Van, even took part in the battle of Köse Dağı in 1243.<sup>55</sup> If the Sultans of Rüm maintained close contacts with both the Greater and Cilician Armenian principalities, they therefore might have had an Armenian chancery.

The sultan himself also had a private secretary, the *munshī-i khāss*<sup>56</sup> usually a Persian, whose responsibilities were similar to those of the *kātib al-sirr*, the so-called ‘secret secretary’ in Syria and Egypt, who escorted the Sultan and kept records in his presence.<sup>57</sup>

The Great Seljuk military office, the *dīwān-i ‘ard*, was a ministry of the same importance as the state chancery (*dīwān al-inshā’ wa al-ṭughrā’*), the tax office (*dīwān al-zamām wa al-istifā’*) and the *bureau des impôts* (*dīwān-i ishrāf-i mamālik*). The Seljuks of Rüm relegated the office of the *amīr-i ‘āridi-i memālik-i Rüm* to one of the subdivisions of the state chancery (*dīwān-i inshā’*). However important,<sup>58</sup> the *dīwān-i ‘ard* in Rüm, which maintained the *iqtā’* registers (the so-called *jarida-i iqtā’āt*), never played a role comparable to that of its Syrian or Egyptian counterpart, the *dīwān al-jaysh* under the Seljuks of Syria, the Burids, and then the Zengids of Damascus, the Ayyubids and the Mamluks. The system of the *iqtā’*, especially the smallholding *iqtā’*, the administrative grant of revenues from land to an individual in recompense for military service, usually formed the backbone of a Muslim army, during and after the Seljuks. The special position of the *dīwān-i ‘ard* in Rüm does not suggest that the number of holders of *iqtā’* grants was small; on the contrary, the term *iqtā’*, though mostly the so-called administrative *iqtā’*, can be found on the pages of both Ibn Bibi and Āqsarāyī.<sup>59</sup> Otherwise one cannot explain the later emergence of the *timar* system, of fiefs, estimated at less than 20,000 *akçe* coins, whose revenues were held in return for military service, under the Ottomans.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, the institute of *iqtā’* grants was established in Asia Minor, at least in its eastern part, by the Great Seljuks: we are told that Nizām al-Mulk, the famous *wazīr* of Sultan Malik-shāh (1073–92):

when he established [an income] of one thousand *dinārs* per year for anyone from the army (*al-jund*), he gave him half [of the sum] from the levies from one of the provinces of Rüm; and another half from the levies from the remoter part of Khurāsān.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Shengelia 1978: 9.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 83; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 92; Turan 1958: 26.

<sup>57</sup> Zakirov 1966: 106 and n. 28.

<sup>58</sup> Turan 1958: 26.

<sup>59</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 117, 212, 221; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 121, 203, 211; Aksarayī, pp. 73, 74, 101, 255; Turan 1958: ۱۷, 176.

<sup>60</sup> Köprülü, 1931: 219–40, 1999: 76–99; cf. İnalçık 1973: 107–8, 110–17, 226.

<sup>61</sup> Al-Fatḥ ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Īṣfahānī al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra wa nukhbat al-‘uṣra*, ed. Houtsma, p. 58; cf. Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Husaynī, *Akhbār al-dawlat al-saljūqiyya* (*Zubdat al-tawārikh fi akhbār al-umara’ wa al-mulūk al-saljūqiyya*), MS British Museum, Stowe Or. 7, fol. 39a, reprinted as a *facsimile* in Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Husaynī, *Soobscheniya o Sel’djukskom gosudarstve*, ed. Buniatov, p. 99; Agadjanov 1991: 110–11.

The *wazīr* wanted to prevent any possible claims for the *iqtā'* lands on the part of holders of *iqtā'* grants. Though the expression ‘the levies from one of the countries of Rūm; and . . . the levies from the remoter part of Khurāsān’ was an exaggeration (as it was impossible to concentrate all the Great Seljukid *iqtā'* only in the two border provinces, swamped with rebellious nomads, where the Great Seljukid sovereignty was almost always disputed), it nevertheless mirrored reality: a sober statement in the *Saljūqnāmah* of Zāhir al-Dīn Nishāpūrī reads that the *iqtā'at* (i.e. *iqtā'* incomes) of the military were ‘scattered over the provinces and the kingdoms’ of the Great Seljuk Sultanate during the reign of Malik-shāh.<sup>62</sup> This alone made the *iqtā'* registers and the related payments a complex matter; hence the necessity for the special office of the *dīwān al-jaysh* or *dīwān-i 'ard* under the Great Seljuks and their successors in Syria. The lower place of the *dīwān-i 'ard* in the hierarchy of the *dīwāns* of Rūm might suggest a simpler system of payments directly from the treasury, in which the *iqtā'* grants were merged together with the payments for another part of the military, the so-called *lashkar-i ijrā'-i khwār*, the salaried army,<sup>63</sup> which was of even greater importance for the Seljuks of Rūm.

Indeed, the sources give the impression that the Seljuks of Rūm relied more on the mercenary rather than the conscript army. When describing the army, the chroniclers preferred to list the nations that ‘served’ the sultan for moneys or grants. When the new sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I entered Konya after the death of his brother 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I (which took place, according to the *Mukhtaṣar*, on 4 Shawwāl AH 617, or 2 December 1220; but the wrong date is absent in the fuller, authentic version of Ibn Bibī),<sup>64</sup> it was ordered that ‘unless the treasury (*ganj*) was spent’, five hundred military commanders (*sarhang*) of the Ismā'ili (Daylamī), i.e. the Assassins, the soldiers of Qazwīn,<sup>65</sup> the Franks, the Russians (Rūs), and the Byzantines (Rūmī), ‘each like a *shaytān* (“a devil spirit”)’, should take part in the solemn procession. Of other men at arms, only one hundred and twenty guardians (*jāndār*) captured the attention of Ibn Bibī.<sup>66</sup> The statement ‘unless the treasury (*ganj*) was spent’ in relation to the ‘five hundred military commanders’ suggests that these ‘*shaytān*’ men were mercenaries, while the guardians were most likely the *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣ*,<sup>67</sup> the slaves, specially trained as soldiers. The *ghulāms*,<sup>68</sup> who in reality were life-

<sup>62</sup> Zāhir al-Dīn Nishāpūrī, *Saljūqnāmah*, ed. Morton, p. 29; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Qāshānī, *Zubdat al-Tawārikh*, published as Zāhir al-Dīn Nishāpūrī, *Saljūqnāmah*, ed. Afshār, p. 32.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 584.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 82; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 90; Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 200.

<sup>65</sup> On the Ismā'ili state and the city of Qazwīn, see Daftary 1990: 396, 404–6.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 216.

<sup>67</sup> On the similarity between the terms *jāndār* and *ghulām*, see: *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 89; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 46: the *ghulām* [Sayf al-Dīn] Aybe was a *jāndār*.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn Bibī, pp. 80, 265, 286; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 88, 253, 271; cf. Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 196.

mercenaries, were so numerous in the Sultanate of Rūm that sometimes they were used in military operations against the Turks of the *uj*.<sup>69</sup>

Even the military support of the ‘vassal’ states had to be bought. Simon de Saint-Quentin describes the preparations made by the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II for the decisive battle against the Mongols in 1242–3. Simon listed many rulers who agreed to serve the sultan with their *lanceae* (‘lances’) or mounted warriors; according to Bryer, a unit of 200 ‘lances’ meant a contingent of about 1,000 men.<sup>70</sup> A reader might receive an impression of a ‘feudal contract’ in the western sense, all the more strongly as, according to Simon, the sultan’s allies were bound by their homage and oaths (*tenebantur ei* (i.e. *soldano Turquie*), *facto homagio ac juramento mediante*).<sup>71</sup> The list is very impressive: the rulers who ‘were obliged to serve’ (*teneba(n)tur . . . servire*) were the king of Cilician Armenia, the prince of Lambron, the Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (*dominusque de Meredin*, i.e. al-Malik al-Żahir Ghāzī I (1239–60)), and the large group of Ayyubid princes of Syria: ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ I Ismā‘il (1237–8, 1239–45) of Damascus (*soldanus Damasci*), Taqī al-Dīn al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II (1229–44) of Ḥamā (*soldanus de Hameta*), Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm (1240–6) of Ḥimṣ (*ille de Camella*, i.e. Chamella, Emesa, Homs), Shihāb al-Dīn al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī (1220–44) of Mayyāfāriqīn (*ille de Monferanquin*, Silvan), the unknown lords of Malatya (*dominus de Melerdin*), and ‘Ayntāb (*dominus de Danthape*, Gazi Antep).<sup>72</sup> Only two rulers, John III Batatzes, the Emperor of Nicaea, and the Ayyubid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Malik al-Nāṣir II Yūsuf (1236–60) of Aleppo (*soldanus Alapie*, Ḥalab) ‘served’ the sultan of Rūm when they ‘wanted’ (*quociens volebat*). The Emperor of Trebizond (*dominus de Trapesondes*, i.e. Manuel I Grand Komnenos (1238–63)) was between the two groups of rulers: on the one hand, Simon does not mention any obligations or ‘homage’ on Manuel I’s part; on the other hand, the emperor of Trebizond ‘was giving’ (*dabat*) 200 ‘lances’ to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II.<sup>73</sup> Simon does not use the formula *quociens volebat* in relation to the Emperor of Trebizond.

It is Ibn Bibī who shows what lies behind the language of the ‘feudal contract’ in Simon de Saint-Quentin. It seems that Simon did not understand the nature of the relations between the sultan and his allies. On the eve of the decisive battle against the Mongols in 1243, the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II tried to muster all his forces, including the contingents of the subordinate rulers. He did not remind them of their ‘homage’, which, I suggest, did not exist. Instead, in a typically Oriental way, he relied on gifts

<sup>69</sup> *Tārikh-i ʿal-i Saljūq*, p. 95; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 51. Cf. Peacock 2006: 148.

<sup>70</sup> Bryer 1973: 335 and n. 11.

<sup>71</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 71.

<sup>72</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, pp. 70–1.

<sup>73</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 70.

of money and grants. As the sultan had annexed Ahlat from the Ayyubids in 1233–4, so in 1242–3 he sent an embassy with apologies for the past and the royal diploma (the *tawqī'* and *manshūr-i milkiyyat*, i.e. a grant for private possession, while retaining the sovereign rights for himself) guaranteeing the city of Ahlat to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī of Mayyāfāriqīn; to this the sultan added the sum of 10,000 *dīnārs* (golden coins) and 100,000 *dirhams* (silver coins). The condition was that he raise an army in Ahlat. The ambassador, the *malik al-umarā'* (*beylerbeyi*) Shams al-Dīn Iṣfahānī also went to Syria with the enormous sum of 100,000 *dīnārs* and several million *dirhams* in order to raise an army of 20,000. The king of Cilician Armenia received the city of Herakleia Kybistra (Ereğli) as *iqtā'*, the sum of 100,000 *dīnārs*, and several million *dirhams* in order to recruit Frankish mercenaries.<sup>74</sup> It is interesting that the king of Cilician Armenia, who was under the strongest obligation to the sultan, received the biggest sum.

Almost none of these actions was accomplished. Neither Shihāb al-Dīn al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī of Mayyāfāriqīn, nor Het'um I of Cilician Armenia joined the sultan (Het'um I handed the sultan's family over to the Mongols);<sup>75</sup> even Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm of Ḥimṣ refused to assist him.<sup>76</sup> As for the army of 20,000 from Syria, which never arrived, Ibn Bibī mentions only 2,000 horsemen under the command of Nāṣīḥ al-Dīn Fārsī; and, if one compares the accounts of Bar Hebraeus and Ibn Bibī, it becomes clear that these cavalrymen must have come from Aleppo.<sup>77</sup>

Likewise, the support of the Turks of the *uj* was *de facto* outside the system of *iqtā'* grants and also had to be obtained with ad hoc payments, similar to those mentioned above in relation to the independent rulers. One of the best descriptions of the independent status of the nomadic Turks in the Sultanate can be found in the Georgian Royal Annals. The source describes the preparations made by the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh II (1196–1204) against T'amar (1184–1213), Queen of Georgia, in 1203:

He called up all the host of his fighting men, mustering eighty myriad in all, that is, eight hundred thousand. He unlocked the treasuries of his ancestors, drew out an immeasurable quantity of gold and gave it to heralds whom he sent out to muster an army, with orders that he should be supplied with twice as many men as the number specified. They were despatched to all the frontiers, into Mesopotamia and Kalonero (*Kaλ(òv) ὄpos*, Kalūnūrūs, 'Alā'iyya/Alanya), Galatia,

<sup>74</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), pp. 518–19; cf. Ibn Bibi, p. 236; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 224–5.

<sup>75</sup> Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk'*, ed. Agēlean, pp. 226–7; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, tr. Bedrosian, p. 106; Galstian 1962: 47; Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 285; Kirakos (Khanlarian), pp. 178; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 246–7; Shukurov 2001a: 157.

<sup>76</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 475; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 406–7; cf. Ibn Bibi, p. 237; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 225.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 237; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 225; Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 520; Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 475; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 406.

Ghangra, Ancyra, Isauria, Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia and up to the frontiers of Paphlagonia; and they left none but women in the villages, calling every man to arms. He himself made a speech to join the Turks called Uj (the Turks of the *uj*), renowned for their valour in war, and as numerous as locusts or ants. He gave them gold in plenty, and so many presents withal that they mustered a hundred thousand fully equipped mounted men.<sup>78</sup>

Despite the fantastic numbers, the information that the sultans bought the support of the autonomous transhumant Turks is reliable: for example, in 1277 the two sons of the *wazîr* Fakhr al-Dîn ‘Alî paid 50,000 *dirhams* for the support of the confederation of Turkish tribes under the dynasty of the Germiyanoğulları.<sup>79</sup>

The heterogeneous character of the army and the Sultanate itself forced the Seljuks of Rüm to bring about innovations, especially in the military sphere. All the known dragomans were military: they all had the title of *amîr-i sipâhsalâr* or *al-amîr al-işfahsalâr* ('the lord commander-in-chief').<sup>80</sup> The Seljuks of Rüm also introduced new military titles, that of *beglerbegi/beylerbeyi* and that of *kundıştabl*. Both titles were the product of the complex ethnic structure of the Sultanate, which was reflected in the Seljukid army. All the known *beylerbeyi* had their possessions in the *uj* zone, which suggests that one of their tasks was maintaining order and recruiting soldiers in the frontier zone. In the area inhabited by nomadic Turks the traditional Turkic title *beylerbeyi* was more convenient than the extinct title *amîr al-umarâ'* of the Great Seljukids.<sup>81</sup> The title *kundıştabl* is traditionally thought to have been the product of the use of Christian mercenaries by the Seljuks of Rüm and such a usage sharply distinguished the Seljuk rulers in Asia Minor from other Muslim lords in the Middle East.<sup>82</sup> Was the form *kund-i iştabl*, or *kundıştabl*, a loan title from the kingdom of Cilician Armenia?<sup>83</sup> At first sight, the Armenian title *kundstabl* (var. *gundstapl*, Գունդստապլ) or *kundestabl* (*gundëstapl*, Գունդէստապլ)<sup>84</sup> in its phonetic form fully conforms to the *kundıştabl*, while other forms, like the Greek *κονοστάβλος* or *κοντοσταύλος*, Latin *comes stabuli*, or French *connétable*, were pronounced differently. However, conclusions based entirely on phonetics or the special relations between Constantine of Lambron and the sultans of Rüm<sup>85</sup> are superficial. Though the Armenians

<sup>78</sup> *The Georgian Chronicle. The Period of Giorgi Lasha*, tr. Vivian, pp. 76–7; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, pp. 456–7; 'Basili, istorik tsaritsy Tamary', tr. Dondua, pp. 61–2.

<sup>79</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 326; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 314.

<sup>80</sup> Turan 1958: ۲۲, 1948: 136.

<sup>81</sup> On the titles of the Great Seljukids, see the still unparalleled work: Elisséef 1967: iii, pp. 939–1067 (index). On the *beylerbeyi* in the Sultanate of Rüm, see: Uzunçarşılı 1988: 99–100.

<sup>82</sup> Cahen 2001: 144–5.

<sup>83</sup> As was suggested in Apanovich 2007: 183–4, nn. 73–74.

<sup>84</sup> Aucher and Brand 1868: 166; Bedrossian 1879: 128.

<sup>85</sup> These relations are the chief argument which allows Apanovich to suggest the Armenian origin of the Seljuk *kundıştabl* (which she awkwardly transliterates as *kundaşabl* and *kundâşabl*).

borrowed the title *kundstabl* from the Latin *comes stabuli*, or more precisely from the Italian *contestabile*, they did not create the office of the ‘stables’: the word *stabl* is absent from Armenian. Instead, the Armenians continued to use the older term *akhor* (ախոր), similar to the Persian *ākhūr*, for stables.<sup>86</sup> As such, the title of *kundstabl* or *gundstabl* was the equivalent of the Classical Armenian title *spařapet*, commander-in-chief; the Armenian sources also knew the title *count* which they wrote as *gund* (Գունդ).<sup>87</sup> Thus, the kings of Cilician Armenia introduced the title *gundstabl* but they did not create the ‘Latin’ office of the *stabulum* for the holder of the title. The Seljuks of Rüm borrowed *kundištabl* in a markedly different way. The office of the *iştabl* or *iştabl* (from the Greek *τὸ στάβλ(ι)ον*, δ σταῦλος, ‘the stable’; the same term *iştabl*, also from Greek, can be found in Arabic)<sup>88</sup> is recorded in Rüm as early as 1214, and most notably in, though not confined to, the translation into Persian of the oath, originally in Greek, of the Emperor of Trebizond, in which the latter promises to send 500 horses, part of his yearly tribute, to the private stable (*iştabl-i khāṣṣ*) of the sultan.<sup>89</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the Persian counterpart of the *iştabl*, the *ākhūr*, was never mentioned as a private office of the sultan, *khāṣṣ*, in the sources composed in Rüm. This can be confirmed by the wording in Ibn Bibi, who writes about led horses from Arabia, often used as precious gifts: some were from the sultan’s private stables, literally ‘the sultan’s horses’, *jana’ib-i khāṣṣ*.<sup>90</sup> He also mentions, though only once, grooms (*amīr-i ākhūrān*), who put harnesses on the horses on a solemn occasion but he does not specify whether these Arab horses (*janā’ib-i tāzī*) belong to the sultan himself or are taken from the state stables.<sup>91</sup> All in all, it seems that unlike the Armenians, the Seljuks of Rüm did not accept the title *kund-i iştabl* or *kundištabl* in a substantiated form, as merely a rough equivalent of the ‘commander-in-chief’. The second part of the title evidently alluded to the office of the *iştabl*, which indeed existed as the *iştabl-i khāṣṣ* in the Sultanate. I thus suggest that the *kundištabl* was the master of the sultan’s private stable

She rejects the common opinion about the military character of the office of the *kundištabl* as head of the Christian mercenaries but advances no other idea apart from the Armenian origin of the title: Apanovich 2007: 182–6.

<sup>86</sup> Bedrossian 1879: 5. Both terms, the Persian *ākhūr* and the Armenian *akhor*, are derived from the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) word *āxwarr* [‘hwł] (‘manger, stable’): MacKenzie 1971: 14, 134.

<sup>87</sup> Ghazaryan and Avetisyan 1987–92: i, pp. 156–7, lemmata Գունդ and Գունդաստալ.

<sup>88</sup> Steingass 2006: 57, 68, lemmata اسطبل and اصطبل.

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 153; cf. the evidence for the later existence of the office of the *iştabl* in Aksarayi, p. 289 and Ibn Bibi, p. 159; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 159; Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 374.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 144, 160; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 144, 159. Cf. the mentions of led horses (*janā’ib*), which were not specified as the sultan’s (*khāṣṣ*): Ibn Bibi, pp. 107–8; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 113–14. See also Uzunçarşılı 1988: 83.

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 145; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 145; Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 350.

for his guardians and servants, many of whom were Christians.<sup>92</sup> As there were several *amīr-i ākhūrs* in the Sultanate, the *kundiṣtabl* was one of them. I think that the *amīr-i ākhūr*, when called a commander-in-chief, was the highest-ranking stableman of the Sultanate, who might have been responsible for the cavalry units of the army. It seems that the title of the *kundiṣtabl* was borrowed from either Byzantium or the Crusader states and became an essential part of the sultan's household. It should be noted that the term *ākhūr*, originally from Pahlavi, is attested in Turkic as early as the eleventh century. The *akur* (the Turkic variant of the *ākhūr*) became so widespread that sometimes it was recognized as a genuine Turkic word and was 'translated' back into Arabic and Persian as [*al-*]iṣṭabl (in the eleventh century) or *pāy-gāh*, 'a vestibule, portico, or court before a horse' (in the fourteenth century).<sup>93</sup> Thus, the Seljuks of Rūm used the loan term *kundiṣtabl* in relation to the older office of the 'stables', the *iṣṭabl*, which may have existed from the eleventh century onwards.

Such cases of influences other than those of the Great Seljuks' military institutions were common in Rūm. For the Seljukid state in Rūm was multi-ethnic. Its subjects were Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Turks, Kurds, Arabs, and Persians. Of these, the Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Kurds, and Arabs had settled in Asia Minor before the Turkish conquest, while the majority of the Turks and Persians were mostly a new population.

Each ethnic group historically had its own niche in the Sultanate. The Turks were nomads, half-independent of the central government; the Greeks and the Armenians represented a partly rural and partly urban population, as did the Syrians and Arabs in the south-east of Asia Minor. As for the Persian and Arab townsfolk, they moved to Anatolia after the Seljuk conquest. This immigration, mostly from Central Asia, was so considerable that Persian became one of the spoken languages of the Sultanate and the term 'Tājīk' was applied to the sedentary population.<sup>94</sup> The Khʷārazmians, who were Turkish-speaking refugees from Khʷārazm and Khurāsān in Central Asia and who fled to Rūm from the Mongols in 1220–30, also formed a special group.<sup>95</sup> Persian influence on Anatolia was so significant that not only were official documents, historical records and literary works written in this language, but even the sermons of the Mawlawī (Mevlevi) were composed in Persian and Greek.<sup>96</sup> Although there were undoubtedly Turkish speakers in

<sup>92</sup> Cf the evidence of Oliver of Paderborn in Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 71, n. 2; Richard 1952: 172.

<sup>93</sup> Golden 2000: fol. 197, col. C.32 (p. 197), fol. 211, col. D.3 (p. 327); Clauson 1972: 89 (lemma: *akur*).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Aksarayî, p. 172.

<sup>95</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 209–11; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 201–2; *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 130; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 90.

<sup>96</sup> The founder of the brotherhood, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, wrote in Turkish as well as in Greek (Schimmel 1975: 312). However, the vast majority of Rūmī's works (as well as those of his son, Sultān Veled) were composed in Persian.

the cities of thirteenth-century Rūm, cultural primacy belonged unquestionably to the Persians.

The bulk of the aristocracy at the Seljukid court was of Turkish origin<sup>97</sup> and, as we have seen, Turkish titles (*beglerbegi/beylerbeyi*, *bey/beg*, *atābeg*, *subaşı*) were used together with Arab and Persian ones.<sup>98</sup> But the ruling dynasty adopted Iranian names such as ‘Kay-Kāwūs’, ‘Kay-Qubād’, and ‘Kay-Khusraw’ which were derived from the names of legendary shāhs of the Kayanid dynasty in Īrān, the founders of the Persian Empire.<sup>99</sup> This was not accidental. The vast bureaucratic apparatus with its strong Persian influence in both language and culture was the chief tool with which the sultans ruled over their vast realm in Anatolia. The paradox was that the Turks, especially the nomadic ones, who were fellow kinsmen of the Seljuks, did not provide major support for them.

Thus, the nature of the strength of the Seljuks of Rūm was entirely different from that of the emperors in Nicaea. While the latter established their power by consolidating Greek society,<sup>100</sup> the former survived through masterful political manoeuvring among the various ethnic and religious groups. The ambiguity and flexibility of the Seljuks of Rūm is reflected in the sources. In the Ottoman historical myths, founded on actual events, the Seljuks of Rūm are described as true Turks and as descendants of the legendary Oghūz khān. They have all the virtues of the *beys* of the *uj*.<sup>101</sup> Ibn Bibī, on the other hand, paints a different picture of the Seljuk sultans of Rūm, as pious rulers equipped with conventional Muslim virtues: builders of *zāwiyas* and *madrasas*, protectors of towns, the arts, and trade, and defenders of Islam.<sup>102</sup> Christian writers gave a third perspective, as they often saw the Seljuk rulers of Rūm almost as Christians who endowed monasteries and churches and were the benefactors of some bishoprics.<sup>103</sup>

This also meant that if the sultans suffered serious political defeat or restriction of their power, the state tended to disintegrate, as indeed happened when the Mongols subdued the Sultanate in 1243. From its foundation, the Seljuk state in Asia Minor carried the seeds of its own decay. It survived for less than 150 years, from 1071 to 1307.<sup>104</sup> The last descendant of the Seljukids, the Sultan (as he was styled) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ibn Süleymānshāh ibn *malik* Rukn al-Dīn ibn Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw (III) ibn Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād (I) died powerless as a *shahīd* (martyr) on Sunday, 6

<sup>97</sup> Shukurov 1995a: 70–1.

<sup>98</sup> Gordlevskii 1941: 59.

<sup>99</sup> Shukurov 1995b: 176–8.

<sup>100</sup> Ahrweiler 1975: 38–40.

<sup>101</sup> Ibn Bibi (Yazıcıoğlu Ali), pp. 217–18; Ibn Bibi (Yazıcızâde Ali), pp. 353.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 28–32, 51–9, 91–7, *passim*; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 40–4, 61–9, 98–104.

<sup>103</sup> Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 509; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 435. Osman Turan collected rich material that demonstrates great tolerance on the part of the Seljuks of Rūm towards Christianity as early as the twelfth century: Turan 1953: 65–100.

<sup>104</sup> On the last days of the Sultanate, see Cahen 2001: 211–33; Turan 1971a: 614–45.

Muharram AH 765 (15 October 1363),<sup>105</sup> long after the Sultanate had been divided between the Turkish *beys*, who had founded independent states of their own.

The Seljuks never created a perfect military machine comparable with that of the later Ottomans based on the *timar* system. It was the skilful and powerful Muslim bureaucracy, the *ahl-i kalām*, the people of the pen, who put in motion the complex system of the offices, the *dīwāns*, that united the heterogeneous elements of the Seljuk realm, and who were primarily responsible for the brilliant, though short-lived Seljuk renaissance in Anatolia. If so, what idea did the Seljuk sultans of Rūm advance in order to unite their multi-ethnic society? Was their political ideology ultimately reduced to the idea of ‘defending the frontiers of Islam and waging *jihād* against the Byzantines’,<sup>106</sup> as it is generally thought?

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In 1203, on the eve of the arrival of the Latin army of the Fourth Crusade at Constantinople, the exiled sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I told the emperor Alexios III Angelos, according to Ibn Bībī:

Your Majesty knows that I am the son of Kılıç Arslān and am from the family of Malik-shāh and Alp Arslān. The two wings of [the army] of my ancestors and paternal uncles (*a'mām*)<sup>107</sup> conquered with their sword the worldly kingdoms of mine (*mamālik-i jahān-i marā*)<sup>108</sup> from the east to the west, as is recognised by all the people. They put a yoke of submission on the necks of those haughty;<sup>109</sup> and

<sup>105</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 134; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 95. The genealogy omits two sultans (Kay-Khusraw II and Kılıç Arslān IV) between Kay-Qubād I and Kay-Khusraw III. My reading of the manuscript of the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* is different from that of Jalāli. She reads that the person mentioned in the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* is not Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ibn Süleymānshāh ibn malik Rukn al-Dīn but his brother (*barādar*), whose exact name is unknown. I found the reading offered by Uzluk, the publisher of the facsimile of the manuscript and its Turkish translation (*Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 69 of the Turkish translation), more convincing. Instead of ‘brother’, he reads ‘race’, *sulālat*, which makes sense. Thus, Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ibn Süleymānshāh ibn malik Rukn al-Dīn is mentioned in the chronicle as the ‘martyr of the sublime Seljukid race’: *shahid-i Saljūq-sulālat-i mu'azzam*.

<sup>106</sup> Hillenbrand 2007: 164.

<sup>107</sup> Alp Arslān (1063–73) and Malik-shāh were not direct ancestors of the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I. Alp Arslān was a cousin of Süleymān ibn Qutlumush (1081–6), the founder of the dynasty of the Seljukids of Rūm.

<sup>108</sup> The expression *mamālik-i jahān-i marā* can be read as *mamālik-i jahān-i turā* with the missing dots above the letter ـ [t] in the manuscript. Then the translation can be: ‘The two wings of [the army] of my ancestors and paternal uncles conquered with their sabre the worldly kingdoms of yours from the east to the west’.

<sup>109</sup> The Persian expression *raqaba-i gardan-kashān-rā dar rabqa-i taskhir kashidānd* (‘they put a yoke of submission on the neck of those haughty’) corresponds to the Arab title *mālik riqāb al-umam*, ‘master of the necks of the nations’, which can be found on the inscriptions of the sultans of Rūm, cf. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, ix, 3218, pp. 11–12; x, 3757, 3767, 3837, 3932, 3941, pp. 109–12, 118, 165, 226–7, 231–2; xi, 4006, 4010, 4148, 4162, 4238, 4239, 4328, pp. 3–4, 6, 96–8, 106–7, 158–60, 218–19; Redford and Leiser 2008: 32, 34, 110, 112. The title usually denoted the ruler who fought the war against the infidels, the *jihād*. Cf. Hillenbrand 2007: 164, though one of the inscriptions of the Great Seljuk Sultan

your ancestors always sent their incomes and tribute (*kharāj* and *bāj*)<sup>110</sup> to their treasury and you [continued] to do the same to mine. Now, when by the heavens' judgment I am cast into your land, if you allow any humiliation to be visited upon me and cause me to suffer on the part of a Frank, my brothers, each of whom is a sultan and a sovereign in his country, on hearing about this event, will invoke [the Arabic verses] "I accused my brother,"<sup>111</sup> but no one can claim him save me"; and in this case they will lead the army and scatter to the wind (i.e. destroy) the very dust of your land, and turn your fortresses and cities into a dwelling place of the wild beasts of prey and a den of lions and hyenas; they will destroy with fire the reaped corn in your kingdoms and spill the streams of blood on the fertile land and the desert.<sup>112</sup>

One should recall the circumstances of Kay-Khusraw I in 1203: he was an émigré, ousted from the capital city of Konya by his luckier brother Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh II in 1196; the 'event' mentioned in the 'Speech' was the quarrel between the ex-sultan and an arrogant Frank in the presence of the emperor and his court.<sup>113</sup> At the moment when Kay-Khusraw I was delivering his speech in Constantinople, his brothers Süleymānshāh II and Muhyī al-Dīn Mas'ūdshāh were struggling against each other at Ankara. Under these circumstances, no brother could have helped Kay-Khusraw I, himself the Byzantine ally and friend of the emperor Alexios III Angelos from 1195.<sup>114</sup> The

Muhammad I Tapar ibn Malik Shāh (1105–18) in Diyarbakır, AH 511, 5 May 1117–23 April 1118, reads *mālik iṣrāqāt al-‘arab wa al-‘aljam* ('master of the necks of the Arabs and the Persians', i.e. of the Muslims): *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, viii, 2973, pp. 117–18. The text of Ibn Bibī confirms the interpretation of the title by Hillenbrand. Indeed, the notions of 'arrogance' and 'haughtiness' were usually applied to Christian rulers, and especially to the emperor of Byzantium, in classic Muslim culture from the time of the great Muslim conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries. Cf. Korobeinikov 2004a: 58, 2009b: 83 and n. 43.

<sup>110</sup> The *kharāj* was a land tax, while the *bāj* was a tribute, sometimes the sums collected from customs. However in this particular case the expression *kharāj* and *bāj* means the money and gifts that the Byzantine emperors often sent to Seljuk sultans. The Byzantines regarded these as a reward for the 'service' that the sultans gave to the emperors, while the Seljuks considered the *kharāj* and *bāj* a tribute.

<sup>111</sup> The Arabic expression *akala laḥman*, lit. 'to eat the flesh of someone', meant 'to abuse, revile; to slander, defame, accuse'. This is an old Semitic expression, also attested in Akkadian (*karṣ akālu*) and Syriac (*ekal qarṣe d-*): Kogan 2009: 109. In this context the statement suggests that the emperor has no right to involve himself in the struggle between Kılıç Arslan II's sons.

<sup>112</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 53. Ibn Bibi, p. 15.

You know that I am the son of Kılıç Arslan and am from the family of Alp Arslan and Malik-shāh. My ancestors and paternal uncles (*a'mām*) conquered the world from the east to the west. And your ancestors always sent the tribute (*kharāj* and *bāj*) to their treasury and you [continued] to do the same to mine. Now, when by the heavens' judgment I am cast into your land, if you allow any humiliation to be visited upon me, my brothers, each of whom is a sovereign in his country, on hearing [about that], will invoke [the Arabic verses] "I accused my brother, but no one can claim him save me"; and in this case they will lead the army and turn your country into a den of wild lions and hyenas.

Cf. also: Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 28.

<sup>113</sup> Korobeinikov 2007: 97–101.

<sup>114</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 493, ll.67–68; 521, l.1–522, l.12; Korobeinikov 2007: 97.

'Speech of Kay-Khusraw I' was therefore composed by Ibn Bibi himself, or, more precisely, by an anonymous author at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The 'Speech' in its full form, as preserved in the authentic version of the chronicle of Ibn Bibi *al-Awāmir al-'alā'iyya fil-umūr al-'Alā'iyya* (composed in 1281), hardly survived the realities that it described. Its abridgement, the *Mukhtaşar*, written by an anonymous author between 1282 and 1285, omitted many important Byzantine realities despite having been so close to the *al-Awāmir al-'alā'iyya fil-umūr al-'Alā'iyya* in chronological sequence. In particular, the author of the *Mukhtaşar* deleted the sultan's address to the emperor 'Your Majesty',<sup>115</sup> an equivalent of the traditional Byzantine address title ἡ βασιλεία σου, 'Your Imperial Majesty' (literally 'Your Kingliness').<sup>116</sup> Likewise, when reproducing Kay-Khusraw I's mention of the great Seljuk conquests, the author of the *Mukhtaşar* compressed the expression *mamālik-i jahān-i marā* ('the worldly kingdoms of mine') or its variant reading *mamālik-i jahān-i turā* ('the worldly kingdoms of yours') to the simple *jahān-rā* ('the world'). Meanwhile, the statement 'The two wings of [the army] of my ancestors and paternal uncles conquered with their sword the worldly kingdoms of mine (or yours) from the east to the west' had the notion of a world empire par excellence, without limits, but neither Byzantium, nor the Seljuk Sultanate of Rüm ruled the world in 1203. The Byzantine emperor was, however, the heir of the *imperium Romanum* that embraced, as the Byzantines believed, the whole of the civilized world; and in 1294 the famous Byzantine statesman, Theodore Metochites, still called the land beyond the Byzantine limits the 'blind marsh, or Scythian cold, or waterless sands, full of wild beasts', filled with 'the lawless, undisciplined, never adequate or sound-in-mind crowd of people',<sup>117</sup> thus suggesting that the land and society within the Byzantine borders were the opposite.

<sup>115</sup> *Malik-rā ma'lūm ast*, lit. 'It is known to the *malik'*, the latter being the reduction of the traditional title *malik al-Rüm* of Byzantine emperors in Muslim sources, also in use in diplomatic correspondence, cf. Korobeinikov 2004a: 55–6, 2006: 96–109.

<sup>116</sup> Even the early Ottoman translation of Ibn Bibi by Yazıcıoğlu Ali (Yazıçıoğlu 'Ali), or Yazıcızâde Ali, gave the 'Speech' in an abridged form, though in many cases Yazıcıoğlu Ali preserved the more correct version of Ibn Bibi, even in comparison with the extant manuscript of the *al-Awāmir al-'alā'iyya fil-umūr al-'Alā'iyya*. The terms of the 'Speech' in Yazıcıoğlu Ali are more suited to the literary taste and the normal usage of diplomatic correspondence of the latter part of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. For example, Alexios III was called *pādīshāh*: Ibn Bibi (Yazıcızâde Ali), p. 196. On the *pādīshāh* as the title of the Byzantine emperor in the Persian sources, see: Rašīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Abu'l-Khair, ed. and tr. Jahn, p. 8 (Persian text), pp. 21–2 (French translation); Rashid al-Din, ii, p. 951; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1308; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 654; Rashid al-Dīn (Arends), iii, pp. 192–3; Muhammad ibn Hindūshāh Nakhchīwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib*, ed. 'Ali-zade, i, pt. 2, p. 391; Korobeinikov 2004a: 64–5.

<sup>117</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος (Second Imperial Oration)*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fol. 154r, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, p. 376, ll.9–10. This statement included a citation from Plutarch, *Vitae parallelae*, eds. Lindskog, Ziegler, and Gärtner, i: Thes.

Oddly enough, the Seljuks employed a similar, though not the same, concept of a universal empire, if we believe the ‘Speech’. The statement *mamālik-i jahān-i marā* (‘the worldly kingdoms of mine’) means not only Rūm, the actual possession-to-be of the exiled sultan Kay-Khusraw I, but the other lands of the Great Seljuk Sultanate ‘from the east to the west’, which he had little hope of claiming; the variant reading *mamālik-i jahān-i turā* (‘the worldly kingdoms of yours’) alludes to the universal Roman empire now replaced by the Seljuk state; that this notion did not meet the criteria of geography (for the Great Seljuk Sultanate included mostly Muslim and not Byzantine lands) was a minor point in the clash of ideologies.

The text of the ‘Speech’ was full of hidden allusions to Persian sources and evident citations from Arabic poetry; of the former, the most interesting is the expression about Kay-Khusraw I’s ancestors, who ‘conquered the world from the east to the west’. This is a reference to the traditional title of the Grand Seljuks, the *malik al-mashriq wa al-maghrib* (‘king of the East and the West’), granted to Toghrl-bey (I) (1040–63), the founder of the Great Seljuk state, by the Caliph al-Qā’im bi-Amr Allāh (1031–75) on Saturday 25 Dhū al-Qa’da AH 449 (24 January 1058).<sup>118</sup>

We know, however, that the conquests in Asia Minor and Syria, such as that of Antioch,<sup>119</sup> did not allow the powerful Grand Seljukid to accept the sonorous title of the lords of Rūm. The reverence towards Byzantium on the part of the Grand Seljuks contrasted with their attitude to other realms. As far as other Christian lands were concerned, even the partial possession of Georgia gave the most powerful Grand Seljuk sultans Toghrl-bey, Alp Arslān, and Malik-shāh the right to style themselves as masters of ‘Abkhāz’.<sup>120</sup>

Despite its claims to universal sovereignty, the title *malik al-mashriq wa al-maghrib* did not refer to the complex Byzantine–Seljuk relations and indeed underlined the power of the Grand Seljukid over the Muslim *orbis terrarum*. However, the title, if sparsely used, was never abandoned. This can be confirmed by the use of the title in its Persian form *padishah-i sharq-u gharb*, ‘the King of the East and the West’, by Sultan Sanjar (1118–57) whose real power

1.1, p.1, ll.4–5; Theodore Metochites, ed. I. D. Polemis, p. 377, note 259. Cf. Ševčenko 1961: 178, n. 46.

<sup>118</sup> Korobeinikov 2013b: 68–90.

<sup>119</sup> The citadel of Antioch had been taken by Sulaymān ibn Qutlumush by 12 Ramadān AH 477 (12 January 1085). After the death of Sulaymān 18 Ṣafar AH 479 (4 June 1086), Antioch was surrendered to the sultan Malik-shāh at the end of 1086: Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-‘Adim, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārikh Halab*, ed. Dahān, ii, pp. 86–8, 97, 101.

<sup>120</sup> *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 84–91; *Rewriting Caucasian History. The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles*, tr. Thompson, pp. 298–316; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, pp. 316, 368–70; *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks. Selections from al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rīkh of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr*, tr. Richards, pp. 93, 152–5; ‘Tārikh al-Bāb wa Sharwān’, in Minorsky 1958: § 29, p. 16 (Arabic text), p. 41 (English translation); § 46, p. 27 (Arabic text), p. 55 (English translation); Minorsky 1953: 67–8; Bosworth 1968–91: v, p. 95.

did not exceed the limits of Khurasān and Khʷārazm; and whose claims did not go beyond Ādharbāyjān ‘so far as the borders of Rūm’.<sup>121</sup>

Thus, the picture of Byzantine emperors as Seljuk subordinates was an innovation of Ibn Bibī’s anonymous source or perhaps of the Seljuks of Rūm. Unlike the state of the Grand Seljuks, the sultanate of Rūm occupied formerly Byzantine provinces in Asia Minor and was almost surrounded by Byzantine lands.

The Seljuk sultans in Rūm had to tackle two problems: first, to gain the respect of other Muslim states; and, secondly, and most importantly, to win the support of other Turks in the peninsula as well as their numerous Christian subordinates. They achieved this by advancing the idea of loyalty to the Seljuk dynasty. Despite the uneasy relations with the Grand Seljuks, the Seljuks of Rūm used the traditional Seljuk titles, but their transition to the status of a universal empire was long and never fully accomplished. Oddly enough, I cannot envisage any strong influence from external circumstances. Of course, such events as the decline of the Grand Seljuks or the end of the Seljuk dynasty in ‘Irāq increased the prestige of the Seljuks in Rūm as the only surviving branch of the dynasty. But the prime motive behind any alteration to the titles was the increased prestige that the sultans enjoyed, usually in consequence of some military success. In other words, the titles were addressed first and foremost to the sultan’s subjects.

The first full title of the sultan of Rūm was that of Kılıç Arslān II in c. AH 551 (1156) in Konya:

The great sultan, the august *shāhanshāh*, chief of the sultans of the Arabs and the Persians, master of the necks of the nations, ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn, pillar of Islam and the Muslims, glory of the kings and the sultans, defender of the law, destroyer of the infidels and the polytheists, helper of the fighters for faith, guardian of the countries of Allah, protector of the servants of Allah, sultan of the countries of Rūm, Armenia (*al-Arman*), [the lands] of the Franks (*al-Ifranj*), and Syria, Abū al-Fatḥ Kılıç Arslān ibn Mas’ūd ibn Kılıç Arslān, helper of the Commander of the Faithful.<sup>122</sup>

It is easy to conclude that the title was an extended version of the titles of the Grand Seljukid Sultan Malik-shāh in the inscription in Nīshāpūr:

... the great sultan, the august *shāhanshāh*, lord of the Arabs and the Persians, sultan of the land of Allah, ruler of the countries of Allah, pillar of Islam and the Muslims, strengthener of the world and the religion, Abū al-Fatḥ Malik-shāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Da’ūd, the right hand of the Commander of the Faithful. . .<sup>123</sup>

<sup>121</sup> *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 94–5; Shukurov 2001c: 271 and n. 50.

<sup>122</sup> *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, ix, 3218, pp. 11–12.

<sup>123</sup> Blair 1992: n. 64, p. 170. Cf. the similar inscriptions: *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, vii, 2734, 2773, 2780, 2783, 2792, pp. 214–15, 245–6, 251, 253–4, 264; viii, 2934, 2960, 2961, 2973, 2974, 2978, pp. 82, 99–103, 117–19, 122–3.

There was however a difference: as Kılıç Arslān II lacked both the rank and the prestige of the Grand Seljuk sultans, he does not describe his realm in terms of a universal power almost without boundaries (like the state of the Grand Seljuks), but rather as a lower-ranking state with precise location in ‘Rūm, Armenia, [the lands] of the Franks, and Syria’. Even so, his reference to Rūm does not necessarily mean ‘Byzantium’, and the sultan was not regarded as successor of the Byzantine emperors over the once Byzantine lands. This can be confirmed by the letter which Kılıç Arslān II sent to Michael the Syrian, the Jacobite Catholicos, sometime in 1185. Later Michael included the text of the copy in Syriac in his famous chronicle. The relevant part of the sultan’s titles reads: *rabā sultan d-Qapaduqya w-Surya w-Armanya* (‘the great sultan of Cappadocia, Syria, and Armenia’).<sup>124</sup> Here, ‘Cappadocia’ is substituted for ‘Rūm’; Michael the Syrian refused to name Kılıç Arslān II ‘the sultan of Rūm’, *sultān al-Rūm*, literally ‘sultan of Rome/Byzantium’, as the only legitimate ruler of Byzantium, the *ἐν Χριστῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ρωμαίων* (‘faithful in Christ God the emperor and autocrat of the Romans’) was still in Constantinople.

Hillenbrand advanced another interpretation of the title of Kılıç Arslān II of AH 551, in which he is called ‘sultan of the countries of Rūm, Armenia, [the lands] of the Franks, and Syria’:

There is also a clear allusion here to the current and grandiose territorial aspirations of the sultan, who is shown as having his eyes firmly set on ruling the lands of *all* Christian rulers within his reach—Byzantine, Armenian and Frank. The victory at Myriokephalon is yet to come, but already this future triumph can be seen in retrospect as a logical part of the programme of conquest planned by this ruler, who at the time of the inscription has only just taken over the reins of power. The grandiose claims made in this inscription, including his right to govern *Byzantine* lands, make Qılıç Arslan look even better than his Turkish arch-competitor, the anti-crusader ruler in Syria, Nur al-Din, and this inscription can also be seen in the light of rivalry between these two men.<sup>125</sup>

There are several objections to this point of view. According to Hillenbrand, all the components of the inscription of AH 551, including the traditional regnal titles of the Muslim ruler and the list of countries, are expressed in terms of the Holy war of Islam, the *jihād*. This meant an uncompromising ideology of constant struggle against Byzantium and other Christian states, the neighbours of the Sultanate of Rūm. Thus the list of the countries mentioned in the inscription of AH 551 meant a programme for the *future* conquests of Kılıç Arslān II as a fighter for Islam.

<sup>124</sup> Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. and tr. Chabot, iii, p. 394 (French translation); iv, p. 728 (Syriac text); *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, ed. Ibrahim, fol. 364v [p. 731].

<sup>125</sup> Hillenbrand 2007: 161.

This interpretation seems not to take account of all the evidence. In my opinion, while titles like the ‘pillar of Islam and the Muslims, defender of the law, destroyer of the infidels and the polytheists, helper of the fighters for faith, guardian of the countries of Allah, protector of the servants of Allah’ indeed express the prerogatives of Kılıç Arslan II as a pious Muslim ruler, who supports the Muslim community and, if necessary, wages *jihād*, the topographic, as distinct from the honorific, part of the inscription, namely the list of countries, does not refer to future conquests by the Sultan to be made in the name of Islam. It refers rather to the actual possessions of Kılıç Arslan II at the moment of the writing of the inscription of AH 551. In other words, while Hillenbrand’s interpretation suggests identity of both ideology and reality, my understanding separates these. The titles first and foremost show respect for tradition and as such they underline the right of Kılıç Arslan II to be the guardian and protector of, rather than an aggressive fighter for, the Muslim community in Rüm. In support of my view I cite the following sources.

First, there is another inscription of Kılıç Arslan II dated *c.* AH 588 (18 January 1192–6 January 1193), also in Konya, thus after the victory at Myriokephalon (1176). There, at the end of his life, the old sultan calls himself the ruler only of the territories of Syria and Rüm<sup>126</sup> despite the fact that his realm almost doubled its territory under his rule and that the Byzantines, the Armenians, and the Crusader kingdoms of the Levant were still beyond his power. Why should the sultan’s claims become more modest after all his triumphs, including the brilliant victory over Emperor Manuel I Komnenos at Myriokephalon in 1176? And why does he refuse to mention the countries of the infidels, his still unconquered targets?

Secondly, going back to the inscription of AH 551, one may ask the question: if the limits of Rüm, Armenia, [the lands] of the Franks, and Syria mean the conquests-to-be, what land does the sultan rule according to the inscription that Hillenbrand cites? Some nameless territory hemmed in between Byzantium, Cilician Armenia, and the remaining Frankish possessions in Syria?

Thirdly, the relevant part of the inscriptions, in which the geographic limits are described (in the form of ‘the sultan of such and such’), always include the lands which the ruler possesses. These usually stand at the head of any list of the sultan’s lands. For example, the traditional title of the Saltukoğulları of Erzurum was ‘the malik of Rüm, Armenia, Diyar Bakr, and [Diyar] Rabi’ā’,<sup>127</sup> and though they did not actually possess the city of Diyar Bakr, they had possessions in the country of Diyar Bakr, in particular in Manzikert.<sup>128</sup> If the

<sup>126</sup> *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, ix, 3455, pp. 180–1.

<sup>127</sup> *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, ix, 3498, p. 209.

<sup>128</sup> Khachatrian 1987: i, N 49 (1), pp. 63–4, 174: the inscription of Abū al-Mansūr Arghīn Basāt [Şāh] ibn Muḥammad ibn Salduq in Manzikert; its date is Rabi’ I AH 630 (16 December 1232–14 January 1233). The text of the inscription suggests that he was an independent ruler.

Saltukoğulları, who called themselves *ghāzīs* ('warriors for faith') and used the *jihād* regnal titles, had employed the same logic proposed by Hillenbrand for Kılıç Arslān II, they would have called themselves 'maliks of Rūm, Armenia, and Georgia', as these Christian lands bordered their realm. Instead, they prefer to describe their possessions as precisely as possible in the inscriptions. Their chief city, Erzurum, was a part of Rūm; the lands east of it were Armenia; Diyār Bakr, fully under Muslim control, was the territory that stretched southwards as far as Diyār Rabi'a, the lands of al-Jazīra in northern 'Irāq, watered by the river Nahr al-Khābūr, the tributary of the Euphrates.

The same precision in the descriptions of the actual possessions can be seen in the inscription of Kılıç Arslān II of AH 551. Expressions like the *amīr-i 'āridī-i memālik-i Rūm* or *saltanat-i memālik-i Rūm*<sup>129</sup> in Ibn Bibī and the extant traces of the Seljuk chancery practice suggest that one of the official names of the Sultanate was the [*saltanat-i*] *memālik-i Rūm*, '[the Sultanate of] the kingdoms of Rūm'. That is why Rūm is mentioned in the list of the countries of Kılıç Arslān II in the inscription of AH 551. But his state also included the former Armenian lands as well as the lands of the County of Edessa: in the series of campaigns in 1149–51 the sultan Mas'ūd I (1116–55) annexed Mar'ash (Germanicaea, Maraş), Kaysūm (Kesoun, south of Besni), and Tall Bashīr ('T'il Aweteats', Turbessel, Tellbasar Kalesi) from Edessa and gave these cities to his son, the future sultan Kılıç Arslān II.<sup>130</sup> Thus, the inscription of AH 551 describes the actual possessions, not the future *jihād* conquests, of Kılıç Arslān II; hence the name of Syria in the list, which, as a purely geographical notion, had no confessional connotations.

One may guess that 'the programme of conquest' of Kılıç Arslān II was based on the ambiguity of geographical notions, and the 'al-Rūm' in the inscription might have meant not only Seljuk Rūm, but also Byzantium; the 'al-Arman' might have been not only the Armenian lands under the Seljuks, but also Cilician Armenia; and the 'al-Ifranj' may have covered not only the 'Franks' of Mar'ash, Kaysūm, and Tall Bashīr, but also all the remaining lands of the Franks in what was once the County of Edessa and the still extant Principality of Antioch. However, the supposition contradicts not only the later inscription of Kılıç Arslān II in AH 588, but also his letter addressed to Michael the Syrian in c. 1185. There, the sultan, informing the Patriarch about his recent military campaign, describes the foundations of his power:

The great sultan of Cappadocia, Syria and Armenia to the Patriarch so-and-so, the friend of our kingdom, who prays for our prosperity, sits on his dwelling place (i.e. monastery) of my lord Bar Şawmā and rejoices at the triumph of our kingdom. We know that by your prayers the Lord now gave greatness to our

<sup>129</sup> Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 584.

<sup>130</sup> Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakgrut'iwn*, pp. 395–9; Gregory the Priest, 'Continuation', in Matthew of Edessa, tr. Dostourian, pp. 257–9.

kingdom... [Our army] destroyed all the places from here and submitted [the lands] so far as the sea coast to the power of our kingdom. We reign over them according to the law of the kingdom, [namely] the lands (lit. 'earth', *ar'ā*) that of yore never were Turkish (lit. 'of the Turks', *l-Turkiyye*). And we recognize that the God had truly given all these [lands] to us through your prayers.<sup>131</sup>

The translator of the letter was obviously a Christian; hence the traces of Christian etiquette, e.g. 'my lord Bar Ṣawmā'. Likewise, the mention of the prayers of the Syriac Orthodox (Jacobite) patriarch also comes from the etiquette of diplomacy. But the traces of the original letter of Kılıç Arslān II are also visible. To comprehend its true meaning one should remember that the Sultanate of Rüm under Kılıç Arslān II never had access to the sea, despite all the victories of his armies; and when writing about 'submitting [the lands] so far as the sea coast to the power of our kingdom' in the letter, he deliberately mistook imagination for reality by way of exaggerating his achievements. The letter indeed describes his political programme of conquests of the ports, so important for the trade of his realm, which was accomplished by his successors only in the next (thirteenth) century. The sultan was well aware that his kingdom was entirely located on lands that had never belonged to the Turks, that his right to rule was that of the conqueror, and that the greatness of his kingdom was due to his actual possessions (which he never forgot to enlarge) rather than the sonorous, but empty *jihād* titles. He never presented himself as a Muslim equivalent to, or *jihād* competitor of, the infidel Emperor of Byzantium.

Kılıç Arslān II's dream came true after the conquests of Antalya and Sinope in 1216 and 1214. The new acquisitions forced a change in the titles: it was the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I who first rejected the very idea of the geographical limits of his empire and described himself on the walls of both cities as universal ruler par excellence, without any mention of Rüm or any other province; the only geographic notion that suggested any location is expressed in the title 'the Sultan of the Two Seas' (namely of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean), obviously in reference to the recent conquest of Antalya in 1216. But other 'universal' titles that were borrowed, or indeed derived, from those of the Grand Seljuks, are carefully preserved: the sultan is 'the shadow of the Lord over the East and West' (*zill Allah fī al-khāfiqayn*), 'chief of the sultans of the Arabs and the Persians' (*sayyid salātīn al-'arab wa al-'ajam*), and, finally, 'king of the kings of the world' (*malik mulūk al-'ālam*).<sup>132</sup> Moreover, it was after the victory over Alexios I Grand Komnenos (who, though master of Trebizond, claimed to be the true Byzantine emperor) and

<sup>131</sup> Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. and tr. Chabot, iii, p. 394 (French translation); iv, p. 728 (Syriac text); *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, ed. Ibrahim, fol. 364v [p. 731]; Guseinov 1960: 87. Guseinov dates this letter to 1171.

<sup>132</sup> Redford and Leiser 2008: 30–4, 108–12.

the conquest of Sinope that the sultan felt confident enough to write about himself (in August 1215) as if he were a Great Seljuk:

The victorious sultan, *king of the East and the West*, chief of the sultans of the world, *lord of the Arabs and the Persians*, 'Izz al-Dunyā wa al-Din, *succour to Islam and the Muslims*, sultan of the sea and the land, Abū al-Faṭḥ Kay-Kāwūs ibn Kay-Khusraw, proof of the Commander of the Faithful.<sup>133</sup>

There is a clear resemblance between the notions expressed by Kay-Khusraw I in his conversation with Alexios III in Ibn Bībī and the titles used by Kay-Khusraw I's son. The next reasonable step would have stressed the lineage of the Seljuks of Rūm as descendants of the Grand Seljuks. This step was taken by another son of Kay-Khusraw I, the famous sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I, who invented a new title, 'the crown (*tāj*) of the dynasty of Saljuq' in 1226.<sup>134</sup>

Such was the language of the inscriptions; the language of diplomatic correspondence was of necessity more sober. However, the extant letters, whether the letters addressed by the last Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburnī to 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I<sup>135</sup> or the letter sent by Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV to his brother 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II in 1256,<sup>136</sup> have one thing in common. By omitting almost any geographical limits they underline the universal power of the sultan: he is 'the great sultan, the victorious, the fighter for faith (*mujāhid*), the Marabout (*murābit*), succour to Islam and the Muslims, destroyer of the infidels and the polytheists'.<sup>137</sup> However, there was a place for reservations: neither the Khwārazm-shāh nor Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV call their addressees 'kings of the East and the West', only 'kings of the West' (*shahryār-i* (or *shāhanshāh-i*) *maghribi*).<sup>138</sup> In the letter of Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV to 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II the latter is addressed as 'the glory of the sultans, the pride of the dynasty of Saljuq, Khusraw of Greece, King of the West, proof of the Commander of the Faithful',<sup>139</sup> though earlier, in 1254, another brother of Kay-Kāwūs II, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II, called him, if we accept Aksarayī, 'the sultan of sultans of the East and the West'.<sup>140</sup>

Likewise, when communicating with their Christian subjects, the sultans of Rūm did not stress the fact that they claimed the Byzantine lands; they did not present themselves as heirs of the Byzantine emperors in Asia Minor. Despite the evident Byzantine features in chancery practice, such as the Greek

<sup>133</sup> *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, x, 3761, p. 114; Şakir Ülkütaşır 1949: 122. The traditional Grand Seljuk titles are given in italics. Cf. Shukurov 1999: 409–27.

<sup>134</sup> *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, x, 3957, pp. 240–1.

<sup>135</sup> Turan 1958: ۹۴-۱۰۱.

<sup>136</sup> Turan 1958: ۸۴-۸۹.

<sup>137</sup> Turan 1958: ۸۴, ۹۴, ۹۷-۹۸.

<sup>138</sup> Turan 1958: ۸۴, ۹۸.

<sup>139</sup> Turan 1958: ۸۴.

<sup>140</sup> Aksarayī, p. 38.

chancery of the sultans, the use of the ‘sworn chrysobulls’ in correspondence,<sup>141</sup> as far as titles were concerned, the sultans preferred another idea: that they were the victorious descendants of Seljuk, members of a respectable dynasty destined to rule the world. Let me list the examples. The first one is the colophon of Basil of Melitina in 1226:

The present [Gospel-]book, [written] in perfect and carefully lined miniature minuscule calligraphy, of the four Gospels of the great God’s messengers (*θεοκηρύκων*) and evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John was completed by the hand of me, the protonotary Basil Melitenotes (*βασιλείου πρώτονοτάρου μελιτηριώτου*), son of the priest Orestes [...],<sup>142</sup> at the time when my holy sovereign the most high great sultan Kay-Qubād, son of Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw was lord of Rhomania, Armenia, Syria and all the territories and provinces of the Turks on the sea and the land. [The Gospel-book] was completed in Great Caesarea (Kayseri). . . .<sup>143</sup>

Basil’s Greek colophon was full of appalling mistakes, but his two Armenian colophons were written in elegant and grammatically correct language. However, Basil was so proud of his status that in one of his colophons in Armenian he again mentions that he was a protonotary (*dprapet*);<sup>144</sup> both statements, in Greek and in Armenian, suggest that he was protonotary (chief scribe) of the Armenian chancery of the sultan. He thus had access to chancery documents.<sup>145</sup>

Little wonder that his colophon resembles the sultan’s titles in the Greek letters which Hugh I of Cyprus exchanged with Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I in 1214–18 and the preamble of the treaty concluded between ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I and the Venetian *podestà* Jacopo Tiepolo in Constantinople in 1220.

Hugh I’s fourth letter addresses the sultan as *τῷ ὑψηλοτάτῳ, κραταιοτάτῳ, εὐτυχεστάτῳ, μεγαλογενεῖ, μεγάλῳ σουλτάνῳ, τροπαιούχῳ καὶ νικητῇ πάσῃς τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων χώρας, γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης, τῷ Ἀζατήν* (“to the most high, most powerful, most fortunate, [the one] of noble descent, the great sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn, the victorious (literally “the one who has/possesses trophies”), the conqueror of all the provinces of the Turks on land and sea”).<sup>146</sup> A slightly different form is given in the first letter dated January 1214; the text reads: *τῷ ὑψηλοτάτῳ, κραταιῷ καὶ εὐτυχεῖ, μεγαλογενεῖ, μεγάλῳ σουλτάνῳ, τροπαιούχῳ καὶ νικητῇ πάσῃς τῆς κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων χώρας, γῆς τε καὶ*

<sup>141</sup> On Seljuk diplomatic practice, see M.E. Martin 1980: 321–3; Vryonis 1971: 470.

<sup>142</sup> Three or four letters have been erased.

<sup>143</sup> Bick 1920: 67–8, n. 60; Stathatou 1953–71: ii, plate XIV, 110, 3–4; Mat’evosyan 1988: N 107 (g), p. 145.

<sup>144</sup> Mat’evosyan 1988: N 107 (a), p. 145.

<sup>145</sup> Korobeinikov 2009a: 709–24.

<sup>146</sup> Beihammer 2007: letter 32, pp. 183–4; Lampros 1908: 50. According to Beihammer, the letter was sent between 1216 and 1218.

*θαλάσσης* ('to the most high, powerful, fortunate, [the one] of noble descent, the great sultan, the victorious, the conqueror of all the provinces of the Turks on land and sea').<sup>147</sup> Likewise, the Latin copy of the treaty in 1220 calls the sultan *altitentis, felicis, magni generis, magni Soldani Turkie, domini Alatini Caicopadi* ('the high, fortunate, [the one] of noble (literally "great") descent, the great Sultan of Turkey lord 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād').<sup>148</sup>

What have all these sources (three in Greek and one in Latin) in common? Two notions: that the sultan belongs to an illustrious family (hence the honorifics *megalogenos* and *magni generis*, the counterpart of the 'pride of the dynasty of Seljuk') and that he is the victorious master of many territories on the sea and the land (the counterpart of the Arab title 'sultan of the sea and the land'); the latter expression is reminiscent of the statement 'We reign over them (i.e. the lands so far as the sea coast) according to the law of the kingdom' in the letter of Kılıç Arslān II to Michael the Syrian. From this point of view the translation of 'Rūm' as 'Turkey' in the treaty and the letters of Hugh I is not offensive to 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I, as well as earlier to Kılıç Arslān II in the Syriac translation of his letter: each had other, more substantial sources of legitimization of his power.

We even read in Ibn Bibī that in the autumn of 1196 the city dwellers of Laodikeia, called Combusta, or Kekaumenē, literally 'the burnt one', refused free passage to the sultan Kay-Khusraw I, who was fleeing from Konya before the advance of his brother Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh. Kay-Khusraw I intended to go to Constantinople, where he expected to meet the emperor Alexios III, his ally. The Laodikeians prevented (for a while) the alliance between Kay-Khusraw I and Alexios III against Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh. However, Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh, when in Konya,

said that . . . anyone who committed rudeness and arrogance towards the Seljuks and was fond of fraternizing with the infidels should receive proper retribution; he [then] ordered the town of Laodikeia be punished again by fire, and since that time they call [it] 'the burnt Lādhīq' (*Lādhīq-i sūkhtah*).<sup>149</sup>

The reference to 'the Seljuks' here means the 'members of the Seljuk dynasty', and '[those] fond of fraternizing with the infidels' means the Muslim population of Laodikeia that united with their Greek neighbours against the unpopular sultan Kay-Khusraw I, whom Süleymānshāh had forced to flee from Konya.<sup>150</sup> Nevertheless, the principle of loyalty to the dynasty, rather than to a particular sultan, was more important in the eyes of Süleymānshāh.

The name 'Sultanate of Rūm' in itself was based on the phrase *sultān al-Rūm* and its variants, which Muslim chroniclers outside the borders of

<sup>147</sup> Beihammer 2007: letter 19, p. 170; Lampros 1908: 45–6.

<sup>148</sup> Tafel and Thomas 1856–7 : ii, p. 221.

<sup>149</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 39.

<sup>150</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), pp. 36–9.

the Sultanate (and modern scholars after them) applied to the sultans in Konya: *al-sultān min al-Rūm* ('the sultan from Rūm'),<sup>151</sup> *sāhib al-Rūm* ('master of Rūm'),<sup>152</sup> or even *malik al-Rūm* ('the king of Rūm'),<sup>153</sup> though the latter was traditionally associated with the titles of the Byzantine Emperors.<sup>154</sup> Āqsarāyī makes it clear that the land that was under the rule of the sultans in Konya, was called Rūm, and he employs various designations such as *mulk-i Rūm* ('the kingdom of Rūm'),<sup>155</sup> *mamālik-i Rūm* ('the kingdoms of Rūm'),<sup>156</sup> *diyār-i Rūm* ('the countries of Rūm'),<sup>157</sup> *bilād-i Rūm* ('the lands of Rūm'),<sup>158</sup> *wilāyat-i Rūm* ('the provinces of Rūm'),<sup>159</sup> and even *salṭanat-i Rūm* ('the Sultanate of Rūm').<sup>160</sup> all these names served as descriptions of the Seljuk realm in Anatolia. However, one cannot say that Āqsarāyī suggests that any of these expressions were the official name of the Seljuk state. The most likely candidate, the *salṭanat-i Rūm* in Āqsarāyī, a counterpart of the expression *salṭanat-i memālik-i Rūm* in Ibn Bibī, is mentioned almost exclusively in relation to the *yarlıghs* of the Īlhāns, who entrusted to various Seljukid officials, including the sultans themselves, authority over the Sultanate.<sup>161</sup>

Āqsarāyī was writing at the time when the Sultanate of Rūm disappeared after having been a client state of the Īlhāns for fifty years. Little wonder that when mentioning the *salṭanat-i Rūm*, the chronicler refers, with only one exception,<sup>162</sup> to Īlhānid, not Seljuk documents. The reader must, therefore, conclude that the expression '*salṭanat-i Rūm*' was certainly in use in the Īlhānid chancery, but the question of how the Seljuks of Rūm settled on their own formal designation remains unresolved in Āqsarāyī.

The rich variety of the names of the Sultanate in the text of Āqsarāyī *per se* demonstrate that Seljukid official state ideology was far more complex and could not have been entirely reduced to the expression 'the Sultanate of Rūm', with an emphasis on its geographical location. Throughout his text, Āqsarāyī confines himself to the title '*sultān*', to which he customarily adds the name of one or other Seljuk sovereign in Rūm. Only once does Āqsarāyī use the more precise expression *sultān-i Rūm* (in its plural form)<sup>163</sup> but this was evidently

<sup>151</sup> Nasawī, p. 151 (Arabic text), p. 167 (Russian translation).

<sup>152</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 97, 212, 275, 289, 292, 321, 349, 388, 396, 478, 486, 490; Nasawī, pp. 151, 194, 210, 225 (Arabic text), pp. 167, 209, 225, 239 (Russian translation).

<sup>153</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 370, 391, 465–6, 478, 486. Ibn al-Athīr sometimes refers to the ruler of Rūm, like other Muslim lords, as *al-malik*, but in such cases he always gives the name of a particular ruler in Konya: Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 97, 219, 469.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 46, 62, 193, 288, 295. <sup>155</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 61, 137, 208, 271.

<sup>156</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 43, 140, 153, 190, 209, 210, 278, 279, 313.

<sup>157</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 93, 201, 217, 257. <sup>158</sup> Aksarayī, p. 125.

<sup>159</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 148, 154, 213.

<sup>160</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 61, 242, 270, 278, 294. On these expressions, or simply *salṭanat*, see Aksarayī, pp. 279, 287, 294, 295, 301.

<sup>161</sup> Korobeinikov 2013b: 78–80, 88–9 and n. 61.

<sup>162</sup> Aksarayī, p. 61. See above, n. 161.

<sup>163</sup> Aksarayī, p. 27.

an allusion to the already mentioned dynasty of the Great Seljuks, the ‘Sultans of Irān from the dynasty of Seljuk’ (*selāṭīn-i ‘Ajam az āl-i Saljūq*), and its branch in Rūm.<sup>164</sup> The chief criteria which helped Āqsarāyī to distinguish his Seljuk masters from other Muslim rulers were that the former belonged to the famous Seljuk dynasty and had the prestigious title of Sultan.<sup>165</sup> They certainly possessed Rūm, the core of their realm, but from the point of view of their sovereign rights their possessions could not have been ultimately reduced to lands in Asia Minor. The same idea, though in another form, is expressed by Ibn Bibī when the latter writes about the ‘worldly kingdoms [of the Sultan] from the east to the west’.

Thus, in constructing their empire, the Seljuks did not adhere to the Byzantine notion of ‘Rome’, ‘Rūm’, as a symbol of their state. In this, they were different from the later Ottomans, whose sultan Süleymān II Qānūnī (1520–66) once called himself ‘*qaysar-i Rūm*’, ‘the emperor of the Romans’, in an inscription in Bender in 1538.<sup>166</sup>

The emphasis on the dynasty, rather than the land, and the stress on the universal power of the sultan, lacking (ideally) any geographical limits, had interesting repercussions. It was indeed noticed that in 1204–43, from the fall of Constantinople until the battle at Köse Dağı, the Empire of Nicaea and the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm followed a gentlemen’s agreement, by busying themselves with other foes: while Nicaea expanded its western limits, the sultans of Rūm moved their armies eastwards, against the petty emirates of Pontos and the Ayyubid possessions,<sup>167</sup> towards the lands which the Great Seljuks had ruled. If the *jihād* was the vital element in the Seljuk policy, would it not have been more natural for the Seljuks of Rūm to try and crush the Empire of Nicaea, the seat of both the emperor and the patriarch of the infidels in the first capital city of Sulaymān ibn Qutlumush, at the moment when the empire was in dire straits during the first ten years after 1204? But the Seljuks of Rūm never contemplated such a move.

If, on the other hand, dynasty and clan were so important for the Seljuks, did these help them to overcome the confessional barrier? It was their illustrious pedigree that placed the sultans of Rūm above other potentates in the Middle East; and Byzantium, even in exile in Nicaea, with its legitimacy and high standards of culture (which the Muslims never denied), was, paradoxically, the only neighbouring state that surpassed the Seljuks of Rūm in this

<sup>164</sup> Aksarayī, p. 21.

<sup>165</sup> Indeed, that the Caliph recognized the title ‘Sultan’ for the Seljuks was a remarkable achievement of the Great Seljuk rulers (and then of other puppet Seljuk dynasties). For example, the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburni, though himself styled as Sultan, did not manage to obtain permission from the Caliph to be called this in correspondence with Baghdad. The Caliph only agreed to call him Shāhanshāh, but not Sultan. Nasawi, pp. 215–16 (Arabic text), pp. 230–1 (Russian translation).

<sup>166</sup> Abrahamovitz 2006: 103–5.

<sup>167</sup> Vryonis 1971: 130–3.

respect. The importance of family contacts and marriage alliances greatly increased in Byzantium after 1081, when the aristocratic Komnenoi clan came to power. The transformation, which also meant the enhancing of the prestige of aristocratic values, was so profound that it was even reflected in the principles of Byzantine foreign policy, which now abandoned the proud isolation of the tenth and eleventh centuries and began to encourage marriage connections with other rulers of Christendom. But the evolution of the Seljuks of Rüm also moved towards recognition of the increased value of their lineage; and the text of Ibn Bibi demonstrates, sometimes unwittingly, the Romans' chivalrous attitude to the emperor hidden under the veil of traditional pious Muslim textual embellishments. For example, in the description of the jousting in the battle at Antioch on the Maeander in 1211, the sultan Kay-Khusraw I defeated and took prisoner Theodore I Laskaris, but then most nobly let him go free. On the other hand, when the sultan was finally killed by a Frankish mercenary, the emperor behaved as if he had lost his closest relative: he ordered the Frank to be flayed alive, gave the new sultan Kay-Kāwūs I his father's body and sent rich sums to be distributed as alms for the new martyr for faith (*shāhid*).<sup>168</sup> By the time that the Sultan Mas'ūd II (1284–98; 1303–5) and the Emperor Andronikos II were commemorated together in Greek inscriptions (the *terminus a quo* is 1284; earlier inscriptions mention only the name of the emperor in Nicaea),<sup>169</sup> they were already relatives: a certain Demetrios Soultanos Palaiologos, whose father belonged to the Seljuk royal dynasty,<sup>170</sup> appears in the epitaphs of Manuel Philes as a nephew of the *protoierakarios* Demetrios Palaiologos.<sup>171</sup> Demetrios Soultanos Palaiologos' mother, obviously a sister of the *protoierakarios*, belonged to the Palaiologoi and the Komnenoi clans.<sup>172</sup> It is difficult to define the exact relation between the emperor Andronikos II and his *protoierakarios*, but it seems that the Seljuk and the Komnenoi–Palaiologoi dynasties had become linked together by blood sometime in the middle of the thirteenth century.

<sup>168</sup> Ibn Bibi, 36–9, 46–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), 47–50, 57–8.

<sup>169</sup> Bees 1922: 7; V. Laurent 1968: 371.

<sup>170</sup> According to Philes, he was the son of a Sultan from Persia, 'a rose of the sultanic blood':

τοῦ σουλτάνου οὐδός ἐστι τοῦ τρισολβίου  
παῖς ἀπὸ μητρὸς εὐκλεούς παρηγμένος.  
καὶ τὸν μὲν ἔξηνεγκε Πλεσὶς ὡς φόδον  
σουλτανικοῖς αἴμασν ἐγκεχρωσμένον.

Manuelis Philae *Carmina inedita*, ed. Martini, p. 71, ll.5–8. On Demetrios Soultanos Palaiologos, see: *PLP*, 26339, 94378; Papadopoulos 1962: N 109, pp. 73–4; Zhavoronkov 2006: 172.

<sup>171</sup> Manuelis Philae *Carmina inedita*, ed. Martini, poems 55 and 56, pp. 69–70, ll.1–32; 71–73, ll.1–32.

<sup>172</sup> Manuelis Philae *Carmina inedita*, ed. Martini, p. 72, l.15.

# Chapter 4

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## Nicaean–Seljuk Relations

Byzantine (Nicaean)–Seljuk relations were closest in the first half of the thirteenth century, later being replaced by the Nicaean–Mongol alliance. Two events transformed the relationship between the Sultanate and the Empire: the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders on 13 April 1204 and the defeat of the Seljuk army by the Mongols in the battle at Köse Dağı on 26 June 1243. After the first event the Byzantines were forced to struggle for survival; after the second the Sultanate unwillingly became tributary to the Mongols. With Nicaean help, the Seljuks tried to escape from the Mongol protectorate in the 1250s. However, the Mongols, the strongest military force at that time, finally gained the upper hand over the Seljuks. At the beginning of 1257 the army of Baiju, the victorious commander of the Mongol army in Asia Minor, who defeated the Seljuks at Köse Dağı in 1243, appeared in dangerous proximity to the Nicaean border.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless the Emperor Theodore II Laskaris managed to conclude a peace treaty with the Mongols in 1257.<sup>2</sup> The agreement, according to which the Byzantines finally recognized the Mongol protectorate over the Sultanate of Rüm, was renewed by the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1260.<sup>3</sup> A long period of reconciliation then took place between Byzantium and the Mongols,<sup>4</sup> which ended with the marriage of the daughter of Michael VIII with the Īlhān Abaqā in 1265.<sup>5</sup> After 1260–1 the Seljuk sultans, who had become puppets in Mongol hands, received little attention from the Byzantines, who preferred to maintain close relations with the Īlhāns in Īrān, as the latter guaranteed the security of the eastern borders of the Empire.

Thus, the period in question is precisely limited, covering the years 1204–60. Within this, the years 1204–14/15 (from the sack of Constantinople

<sup>1</sup> Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 497; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 425; Akropolites, i, p. 157, ll.11–19.

<sup>2</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 187, l.22–189, l.30.

<sup>3</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 185, ll.22–4; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1887, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 189, ll.27–9.

<sup>5</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 235, ll.11–21; PLP 21395. Runciman 1960: 48–50.

until the capture of Sinope by the Seljuks and the final establishment of the Nicaean–Seljuk border) and 1243–61<sup>6</sup> are the best documented.

One cannot help wondering how the Byzantines, whose state was on the verge of extinction in 1204, managed to increase their influence over Rûm. In 1260 both the Ilkhân Hülegü (1256–65) and Michael VIII acted as the agents who decided the destiny of the waning Sultanate. In Pachymeres' words, in 1260

[the emperor] concluded the peace treaty with Hülegü (*Xαλαού*), the *archon* of the Tartars, so that [he] (i.e. Hülegü) got an opportunity [to rule over] the population in Persia (Rûm) even without mentioning the sultan's name.<sup>7</sup>

The influence exerted by the Empire of Nicaea over the Sultanate of Rûm in the thirteenth century cannot be understood without a comparison with the period from 1160 to 1176, when the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos compelled the Sultan Kılıç Arslân II to sign a peace treaty by which the Sultanate became subordinated to the Empire.

I will try to demonstrate how the relations that were established by Manuel I in 1161 helped Byzantium to survive during the crucial period from 1204 to 1214. Thus, this chapter covers the period from 1161 to 1231, in which the years 1161–1204 were the prelude to the catastrophe of 1204, while the period from 1204 to 1214 was the most troublesome time for the Byzantines, when the empire disintegrated and the Nicaean state was established. The period from 1215 to 1231, until the first appearance of the Mongols near the Seljuk border, was a time of 'political stability' between Nicaea and Konya.<sup>8</sup> The period from 1231 to 1265, when Rûm became tributary to the Mongols will be studied in the next chapter, in which the 'Mongol factor' will be thoroughly investigated.

In the treaty which was concluded by the sultan in 1160 (after his defeat by the armies of John Komnenos Kontostephanos<sup>9</sup> and then by the army of Yağıbasân ibn Dânişmand/Danişmendoğlu<sup>10</sup>), Kılıç Arslân II made the following sworn pledges (1) to have the same friends and enemies as the emperor; (2) to hand over to the Empire the cities which he would capture; (3) to conclude no treaty with an enemy without the emperor's consent, (4) to be the ally (*symmachos*) of the Empire (to serve with all his forces, *συμμαχήσειν*) in east or west, when required; and (5) to punish the frontier

<sup>6</sup> From the conclusion of the anti-Mongol alliance between Nicaea and Rûm until the Nicaean–Ilkhânid agreement.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. without paying any attention to the sultan. Pachymeres, i, p. 185, ll.22–4.

<sup>8</sup> Vryonis 1971: 130–3; Cahen 2001: 49–50.

<sup>9</sup> Ioannis Cinnami *epitome*, ed. Meineke, pp. 200, l.12–201, l.7. On John Kontostephanos, see Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 46–57.

<sup>10</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 118, ll.26–29, pp. 117, l.7–118, l.32; Ibn al-Athîr, ix, p. 477; Ibn al-Athîr (Richards), 2, p. 157; Mélíkoff-Sayar, 'Dânişmendids', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 111.

Turkmens, if they raided the territory of the Empire.<sup>11</sup> The treaty was ratified during Kılıç Arslân II's visit in person in Constantinople at the end of 1161.<sup>12</sup>

Byzantine sources plainly reveal the type of personal relations which existed between the emperor and the sultan after the treaty of 1161. Choniates writes:

At times, [Kılıç Arslân II] . . . improved [his relations with the emperor] and did service to him (*θεραπεύων*); then the emperor, instead of declaring [the sultan] a wild beast in need of surveillance (*θηροκομούμενος*), honoured him by adopting him as a son. In the letters they exchanged, the emperor was addressed as father and the sultan as son. But their friendship was not honest, nor did they honour their treaties.<sup>13</sup>

The text of Choniates proves that the 'family' relationship between Manuel I and Kılıç Arslân II was an initiative of the Seljukid sultan. We also know other facts that confirm this statement. From the Byzantine point of view, the sultan could not have been a spiritual son of the emperor (like, say, the tsar of Bulgaria), as he was Muslim, nor could he have been named the emperor's son [-in-law], as he did not marry a Byzantine *despoina*. The Byzantines preferred to use other designations: they called the sultan *φίλος* ('a friend') and *οἰκεῖος* ('a close retainer') of the emperor.<sup>14</sup> It seems strange that the emperor should consider an independent Muslim ruler as a subordinate. However, the Byzantines regarded the territory of the Sultanate of Rûm as a Byzantine land<sup>15</sup> and believed that the sultan of Rûm, unlike the Great Seljuks, was of a lower rank than the emperor.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ioannis Cinnami *epitome*, ed. Meineke, pp. 201, l.16–208, l.2.

<sup>12</sup> Ioannis Cinnami *epitome*, ed. Meineke, p. 201, ll.7–18 (the provisional agreement in 1160), 204, l.22–208, l.16 (the treaty in the end of 1161); Choniates, *Historia*, p. 118, ll.29–32; Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakgrut'iwn*, p. 428; Gregory the Priest, 'Continuation', in Matthew of Edessa, tr. Dostourian, p. 279; Chalandon 1900–12: ii, p. 462.

<sup>13</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 123, ll.74–80; *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Magoulias, p. 70.

<sup>14</sup> On the sultan as an *oikeios* of the emperor, see Magdalino 1997: 77; as a *philos*, see Choniates, *Historia*, p. 123, l.79; p. 420, l.31. On the term *philos*, which was sometimes an equivalent of the word 'liegeman' (*lizios*), see Kazhdan 1974: 237–8; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 188. Sometimes the terms *philos* and *oikeios* (as well as the term *doulos*, 'slave') were interchangeable. However, Cheynet (1996: 289) states: 'Alors que les *douloï* de l'empereur étaient des princes vaincus qui lui devaient obéissance sans en rien recevoir en contrepartie, les *philoï* disposaient d'une marge de liberté plus grande, même s'ils reconnaissaient la supériorité de l'empereur qui les récompensait de cette amitié.'

<sup>15</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 117, ll.5–11. Cf. Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 167–9.

<sup>16</sup> The Byzantines usually translated the title sultan as '*basileus*' ('emperor', 'king'), 'the king of kings', or even 'the almighty' (*παντοκράτωρ*). John Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Turn, p. 445, ll.68–69; Nicéphore Bryennios, *Histoire*, ed. Gautier, p. 95, ll.26–28; Michel Psellos, *Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance* (976–1077), ed. Renauld, ii, p. 161, l.17. However, all the 'translations' were always applied to the Great Seljuks, whose Empire reminded the Byzantines of the greatest Iranian realms. The Seljuk sultans of Rûm, though more frequently mentioned by the Byzantine authors, were never called '*basileus*': see Moravcsik 1958: ii, pp. 286–7. I presume that this was not accidental.

Little is known about ‘father–son’ relationships in the twelfth century, as this period has few documentary sources. The examples which shed some light on the problem date from the thirteenth century at the earliest. Generally speaking, such relationships were quite common in diplomatic practice during the Middle Ages, and usually being a ‘son’ of another ruler meant to be his son-in-law.<sup>17</sup> If the rulers were not connected by matrimonial links, the ‘father–son’ ties meant ‘vassal’ (or, more precisely, ‘subordinate’) relations. In 1218 Chinggis Khān<sup>18</sup> sent a letter to the Khwārazm-shāh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muhammad, in which he wrote: ‘I learnt that your realm is vast and that your power extends over most countries on earth. I consider keeping peace with you as one of my [primary] duties. You are for me as the dearest son of mine’.<sup>19</sup> The Khwārazm-shāh’s reply to Mahmūd al-Khwārazmī, one of Chinggis Khān’s ambassadors, was noteworthy: ‘Who is this damned one so that he addresses me as [his] son? How many troops does he have?’<sup>20</sup> The Khwārazm-shāh was an independent ruler, and so considered Chinggis Khān’s wording offensive.

The ties that bound Manuel I and Kılıç Arslān II were mutual. Not only did Seljuk forces take part in military campaigns on the Byzantine side,<sup>21</sup> but Byzantine troops helped the sultan of Rūm conquer new territories, as was the case in the autumn of 1164, when Manuel I supported Kılıç Arslān II in an attack against the Danişmendoğulları emirate.<sup>22</sup> However, after 1174, when the Sultan Kılıç Arslān II (1156–92) finally occupied the last possessions of the Danişmendoğulları, the emperor decided to undertake a punitive expedition against the Seljuks. We know very little about Byzantine–Seljuk relations after the disastrous defeat of Manuel I’s army by the sultan at Myriokephalon in 1176, as we possess no text of the treaty that was concluded immediately after the battle, apart from the brief note in Choniates and the anonymous *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*.<sup>23</sup> However, the campaigning did not end in 1176, and Manuel I

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History*, ed. Mango, 12, ll.32–36 (p. 56): in c. 625, the Emperor Heraclius (610–41) offered his daughter’s hand to the Khazar khagan and called him his son.

<sup>18</sup> On the Turkic ancestry in the Mongol traditions, see Ratchnevsky 1991: 1–4.

<sup>19</sup> Nasawī, p. 41 (Arabic text), p. 73 (Russian translation).

<sup>20</sup> Nasawī, p. 42 (Arabic text), p. 73 (Russian translation).

<sup>21</sup> Magdalino 1997: p. 78.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn al-Athir, ix, p. 477; Ibn al-Athir (Richards), 2, p. 157; Abū al-Fidā’, ed. Dayyub, ii, p. 117.

<sup>23</sup> According to Choniates, the emperor promised to demolish the fortresses of Dorylaion (Şarhüyü) and Soublaion: Choniates, *Historia*, p. 189, ll.63–66. The anonymous chronicle states that Manuel agreed to pay a *kharāj* (i.e. to become tributary to the Seljuks) which consisted of 100,000 gold coins (probably *dinārs*) and 100,000 silver *dirhams*, as well as horses, cloths, and other items which the text does not specify: *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 82; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 39. According to the Emperor Manuel I’s letter to Henry II (1154–89) of England, after the battle at Myriokephalon the sultan ‘sent to beg our Imperial Majesty suppliantly, employing the language of entreaty, suing for peace, and promising to fulfil every wish of our Imperial Majesty, to give us

managed to repulse a Seljuk raid against Klaudiopolis (Bolu) at the end of 1179.<sup>24</sup> Manuel then wrote a letter to the German Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90), in which he stated:

The sultan surrendered to our Empire, sending envoys to ask for mercy; he completely gave himself to our Empire and promised an oath to serve us against all men with his army, so as to be friend of our friends and enemy of our enemies.<sup>25</sup>

However, Kılıç Arslân II had also sent a letter to the German emperor, claiming the exact opposite.<sup>26</sup> The sultan did so in order to obtain a marriage alliance with the German emperor, for which he even promised to convert to Christianity.<sup>27</sup>

The vassal ties established by Manuel I with the Seljuk sultan had no precedent in the history of Byzantine–Muslim relations. This meant that the Byzantines as well as the Seljuks were deeply involved in one another's affairs. While studying the troublesome period of 1187–1211 (from the division of the Sultanate between the sons of Kılıç Arslân II to the battle at Antioch on the Maeander), one cannot help wondering how frequent were the various contacts between the members of the royal dynasties and the aristocracies of both states. At the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, Byzantine influence over the Sultanate of Rûm may have varied according to circumstances,<sup>28</sup> but it never ceased to exist as long as the Greek aristocracy remained a part of the Seljuk nobility and the Greek population was numerous in Rûm. To illustrate this, I will describe the fate of one of the most colourful Seljuk sultans, Ghiyâth al-Dîn Kay-Khusraw I.

Probably in the year 1187 the old Kılıç Arslân II decided to divide up his realm between his sons.<sup>29</sup> He gave Tokat (Tûqât, Dokeia) to Rukn al-Dîn

his service against all men, to release all the prisoners who were detained in his kingdom, and in every way to conform to our desires' (translation: Vasiliev 1929–30: 239).

<sup>24</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 197, 1.7–198, 1.40; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, p. 1010.

<sup>25</sup> *Annales Stadenses*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, xvi, p. 349: *Sultanus imperio nostro se dedit et missis legatis misericordiam postulavit, fecitque imperio nostro omnium, et iuramento polliticus est servire nobis contra omnem hominem cum exercitu suo, ita ut sit amicorum nostrorum amicus et inimicorum inimicus*; cf. Magdalino 1997: 99. The text of Manuel's letter leaves no doubt that the terms of the planned treaty with the sultan were the same as in 1161.

<sup>26</sup> *Annales Stadenses*, ibid.: *sed prius legationem sultani acceperat, contraria nunciatis*.

<sup>27</sup> Ottone de Sancto Blasio, *Chronica*, ed. Hofmeister, p. 37; Magdalino 1997: 99–100.

<sup>28</sup> On Byzantine influence on the Sultanate of Rûm, see two important works: Balivet 1994 and Turan 1953: 65–100.

<sup>29</sup> The date is uncertain: according to Ibn Bibî and Ibn al-Athîr, the division took place before the death of Kılıç Arslân II in 1192. They do not specify the time when the division was made, but they finish the lengthy story about the consequent dynastic struggle with the death of Kılıç Arslân II (Ibn Bibî, pp. 2–6; Ibn Bibî (Duda), pp. 17–21; Ibn al-Athîr, x, pp. 219–21; Ibn al-Athîr (Richards), 2, pp. 403–5). However, Ibn al-Athîr (p. 220; Ibn al-Athîr (Richards), 2, p. 403) also

Süleymānshāh; Niksar (Nikisār, Neokaisareia) to Nāṣir al-Dīn Barkyāruqshāh; Ablistān/Elbistan (Ablastha) to Mughīth al-Dīn Toghrulshāh; Kayseri (Qayṣarīyya, Kaisareia) to Nūr al-Dīn Sultānshāh; Sivas (Sīwās, Sebasteia) and Aksaray (Āqsarā, Colonia Archelais, Garsaura) to Qutb al-Dīn Malikshāh (Melikshāh); Malatya (Malaṭīyya, Melitene) to Mu'izz al-Dīn Qayṣarshāh; Ereğli (Iraklıyya, Herakleia Kybistra) to Sanjarshāh (Kılıç Arslān II's brother); Niğde (Nigide, Antigu) to Arslānshāh; Amasya (Amāsiyya, Amaseia) to Nizām al-Dīn Arghūnshāh (the sultan's nephew); Ankara (Ankūriyya, Ankyra) to Muhyī al-Dīn Mas'ūdshāh; and Uluborlu (Burghulū, Apollonia/Sozopolis) to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw.<sup>30</sup> Konya is not listed, as it remained the residence of Kılıç Arslān II. Soon after the division the old sultan decided to hand the whole realm over to his eldest son Qutb al-Dīn Malikshāh; in order to strengthen Qutb al-Dīn's position, he suggested he marry the daughter of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn/Saladin (1187). His other sons thereupon ceased to recognize his authority. Then Qutb al-Dīn, who wanted undisputed power, arrested his father.<sup>31</sup> The *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* recounts that Qutb al-Dīn entered Konya on 17 Ramaḍān AH 585 (29 October 1189), thus providing us with the *terminus ante quem* for the division of the Sultanate.<sup>32</sup>

In April 1190 the new sultan faced the invasion of the Crusaders led by Frederick I Barbarossa. Despite the friendly relations between the Seljuk sultan and the German emperor caused by their mutual animosity to Byzantium,<sup>33</sup> Qutb al-Dīn tried to resist the German army which attacked Konya. Only Kılıç Arslān II's diplomatic skill saved the situation.<sup>34</sup>

When the German threat was over (the Crusader army proceeded to Cilicia, where Barbarossa drowned on 10 June 1190), Qutb al-Dīn made an attempt to enlarge his possessions. He signed a peace treaty with Byzantium, thus

writes that shortly after the division, Kılıç Arslān II arranged a match between his elder son Qutb al-Dīn Malikshāh and the daughter of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn Ayyūb (Saladin) (1169–93), the Sultan of Egypt and Syria. This might have happened in 1187, when Kılıç Arslān II's embassy to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) is recorded; cf. 'Imād al-Dīn al-İsfahānī, ed. de Landberg, i, pp. 119–20; Cahen 1974c: 28.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 219–20; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 2, pp. 403–4; İbn-i Bibi, *El-Evāmiri'ū'l-'Alā'iyye fi'l-umūri'l-'Alā'iyye*, eds. Lugal and Erzi, p. 30; Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 22; Ibn Bibi, p. 5; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 19; Cahen 2001: 39.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 219–20; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 2, p. 403; 'Imād al-Dīn al-İsfahānī, ed. de Landberg, i, p. 452.

<sup>32</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 83; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 39.

<sup>33</sup> In 1189 (the date is still conjectural) the sultan supported a pretender who claimed to be Alexios II (1180–3), the son of Manuel I, against Isaac II Angelos: Choniates, *Historia*, p. 420, l.13–p. 422, l.80. On the problem of the dating, see Barzos 1984: ii, pp. 473, n. 85. According to Choniates, the pseudo-Alexios appeared when 'his (Kılıç Arslān II's) son Qutb al-Dīn had not yet removed him (Kılıç Arslān II) from his power' (Choniates, *Historia*, p. 420, ll.25–26). The anonymous *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* (p. 83) gives an exact date: 29 October 1189.

<sup>34</sup> Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, ed. Chroust, pp. 81–8; *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, pp. 157–61; *Epistola de morte Friderici imperatoris*, ed. Chroust, pp. 174–7; Cahen 1974c: 29–30, 2001: 39.

securing his western border,<sup>35</sup> and then moved to Kayseri, aiming at laying his hands on the ‘realm’ of his brother Nûr al-Dîn Sultânshâh. In order to do this, Quṭb al-Dîn took Kılıç Arslân II with him. However, the old sultan escaped and from this point on began to lead a wandering life, going from son to son. Finally Kılıç Arslân II settled in the ‘realm’ of his youngest son Ghiyâth al-Dîn Kay-Khusraw, whom he recognized as his heir before his death in 1192.<sup>36</sup> In the same year Kay-Khusraw conquered Konya.<sup>37</sup>

Choniates describes the ‘realm’ of Ghiyâth al-Dîn Kay-Khusraw before the death of Quṭb al-Dîn Malikshâh (1195).<sup>38</sup> It included not only Burghulû/Uluborlu, but also Konya, as well as Lykaonia, Pamphylia, and Kütahya/Kotyaeion.<sup>39</sup> Kay-Khusraw had the longest border with Byzantium of all of the Muslim rulers. Other ‘kingdoms’ that had a common frontier with Byzantium were those of Rukn al-Dîn Süleymânshâh and Muhyî al-Dîn Mas’ûdshâh.<sup>40</sup> Information from Choniates helps us restore the events of 1192–5 (between the death of Kılıç Arslân II and the death of his son Quṭb al-Dîn).

Though Quṭb al-Dîn lost Konya in 1192 to Kay-Khusraw I, he managed to conquer Kayseri, where he killed his brother Nûr al-Dîn Sultânshâh.<sup>41</sup> Before his own death in 1195, Quṭb al-Dîn subdued Malatya (the ‘realm’ of Mu’izz al-Dîn Qaysarshâh) while retaining Koloneia (Aksaray) as well as Sivas. His brother Rukn al-Dîn governed Tokat and conquered Aminos (Samsun), in the Byzantine Pontos. The ‘realm’ of Muhyî al-Dîn Mas’ûdshâh included Ankara, his original apanage, and Amasya, which he apparently took from his cousin Niżâm al-Dîn Arghünshâh.<sup>42</sup>

After the death of Quṭb al-Dîn, Rukn al-Dîn conquered all the lands of his elder brother—Sivas, Kayseri, and Aksaray. Muhyî al-Dîn tried to take some of Quṭb al-Dîn’s possessions, but was severely defeated by Rukn al-Dîn.<sup>43</sup>

All three ‘states’ (Muhyî al-Dîn Mas’ûdshâh’s, Rukn al-Dîn Süleymânshâh’s, and Ghiyâth al-Dîn Kay-Khusraw I’s) were hostile to Byzantium. In 1193–4, when Rukn al-Dîn conquered Aminos, Kay-Khusraw I supported the revolt of Theodore Mankaphas, who had recently been defeated by Basil Batatzes (by order of the Emperor Isaac II Angelos) and had sought refuge in Konya. Though the sultan did not dare give Mankaphas an auxiliary force from the professional Seljuk army, he allowed Mankaphas to use Turkish

<sup>35</sup> Sibît ibn al-Jawzî, *Mir’ât al-zamân fi târikh al-a'yân*, viii, 1, p. 404.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 2–6; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 17–21; Ibn al-Athîr, x, pp. 219–20; Ibn al-Athîr (Richards), 2, pp. 403–4; Sibît ibn al-Jawzî, *Mir’ât al-zamân fi târikh al-a'yân*, viii, 1, p. 420.

<sup>37</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 401, ll.2–5.

<sup>38</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 520, l.72–521, l.95. On the date of Quṭb al-Dîn’s death, see Cahen 2001: 42.

<sup>39</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 521, ll.78–79.

<sup>40</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 520, l.74–521, l.89.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn al-Athîr, x, p. 220; Ibn al-Athîr (Richards), 2, p. 404; Cahen 2001: 42.

<sup>42</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 520, ll.74–75.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Athîr, x, pp. 220–1; Ibn al-Athîr (Richards), 2, p. 404; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 521, ll.80–87.

volunteers; then the rebels burned Chonai and plundered the environs of Laodikeia.<sup>44</sup> I suggest that during the previous period, 1189–93, when Mankaphas was master of Philadelphiea by special agreement with Isaac II, he had close contacts with the sultan, as his land bordered Seljuk territory. Later, in 1193–4, while handing Mankaphas over to Byzantium at the emperor's request, Kay-Khusraw I insisted that his former ally should suffer no physical harm.<sup>45</sup> In other words, the sultan, while hostile to the central government in Constantinople, supported local Byzantine lords.

When Rukn al-Dīn became master of almost the whole territory of the Sultanate which Kılıç Arslān II had ruled, Kay-Khusraw I was forced to change his policy to Byzantium. For a while, he continued to maintain close contacts with Byzantine nobility, even with those who were at odds with the emperor. For example, the rebel Isaac Komnenos, who had been deprived of his power over Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart of England (1189–99) in 1191, sought his final refuge in Konya, where he died in 1195. Isaac remained hostile to Alexios III,<sup>46</sup> but after Isaac's death Kay-Khusraw I signed a peace treaty with Alexios III, who proclaimed him the friend of the emperor.<sup>47</sup>

The treaty was violated in the same year, 1195. The *casus belli* was insignificant: the sultan detained two stallions which had been sent to the emperor by al-Malik al-'Azīz I 'Uthmān of Egypt (1193–8); in reply, Alexios III ordered the arrest of Seljuk merchants (both Greeks (Rūmī) and Turks) and the confiscation of their goods. The sultan undertook a punitive campaign against Byzantium. He attacked Byzantine territory along the river Maeander, destroyed two cities, Karia and Tantalos (along the left bank of the Maeander), and reached the city of Antioch on the Maeander.<sup>48</sup> A Byzantine expedition sent in response at the beginning of 1196, headed by Andronikos Doukas, achieved nothing.<sup>49</sup>

However, Kay-Khusraw I soon needed Byzantine support. His more powerful brother, Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh, claimed Konya. In an attempt to resist his brother, in the spring of 1196, Kay-Khusraw I signed a truce with the Empire and visited Constantinople, where he met the Emperor Alexios III Angelos in person.<sup>50</sup> He offered the emperor the same relationship as had existed between Manuel I and Kılıç Arslān II. Alexios III refused: he did not want to come into conflict with the real master of the Sultanate. The sultan returned to Konya, only then to be deprived of all of his possessions by Rukn al-Dīn.<sup>51</sup> Kay-Khusraw I was forced to leave his capital; his two sons,

<sup>44</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 400, ll.74–93.

<sup>46</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 463, l.80–465, l.17.

<sup>48</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 493, l.68–496, l.53.

<sup>50</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 521, l.1–522, l.12.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 7–8; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 21–2; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 522, ll.10–12.

<sup>45</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 401, ll.2–18.

<sup>47</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 493, ll.67–68.

<sup>49</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 496, ll.54–58.

‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād, both future sultans, followed him.<sup>52</sup>

Kay-Khusraw I’s journey, which ended with his second visit to Constantinople, is difficult to date. According to the *Mukhtaşar* of Ibn Bibī, Kay-Khusraw I left Konya in AH 596 (23 October 1199–11 October 1200),<sup>53</sup> while Choniates says that the war between Kay-Khusraw I and Alexios III took place in the winter of 1198–9: he dates the events *after* the third year of the reign of Alexios III (i.e. after 7 April 1198).<sup>54</sup> However, the dates in both Ibn Bibī and Choniates are wrong. AH 596 in the *Mukhtaşar* is an interpolation of the copyist. The original version of Ibn Bibī does not contain any date.<sup>55</sup> As for Choniates, the story about the circumstances of Kay-Khusraw I that he narrates is very long and obviously covers several years. He might thus have chosen to date the event by its beginning or by its end according to his own preferences.

It is the coinage that helps us establish the true chronology. The coinage of the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh in Konya starts in AH 593 (24 November 1196–12 November 1197).<sup>56</sup> The *Tārīkh-i ăl-i Saljuq* states that Rukn al-Dīn entered Konya on Tuesday, 7 Dhū al-Qa’dā (the year is omitted).<sup>57</sup> This must be 7 Dhū al-Qa’dā AH 592 (2 October 1196), which was a Tuesday. The next month, in November 1196, the new sultan struck his first coin in the capital.

If this dating is correct, in October 1196 Byzantium rejected the sultan’s plea for help. Moreover, the people of Laodikeia, which was also called Combusta or Kekaumenē, literally ‘the burnt one’ (*Lādhīq-i sūkhtah*),<sup>58</sup> refused to allow Kay-Khusraw I to enter Byzantine territory to seek shelter; he was forced to go to Laranda (Lāranda), then to Levon I (1187–1219), king of Cilician Armenia, and on to his uncle, Mughith al-Dīn Toghrulshāh, who ruled Ablistān/Elbistan. The sultan was unable to stay anywhere for long; he was forced to continue his travels eastwards, to Malatya, where his brother Mu’izz al-Dīn Qaysarshāh ruled. He then visited al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī (1183, 1186–1216), the Ayyubid ruler of Ḥalab (Aleppo). The final stage of his journey lay by way of Āmid, the emirate of al-Malik al-Şāliḥ the Artuqid/Artukoğlu (1200–22), to ‘Izz al-Dīn Balabān, the lord of Akhlāt. None of these

<sup>52</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 8; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 22.

<sup>53</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 7–8; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 21–2. Cf. also Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 406; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 350 (1200).

<sup>54</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 493, ll.63–66.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn-i Bibi (Erzi), p. 51 (full version); Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 36.

<sup>56</sup> Artuk and Artuk 1970–4: 355, N 1076; Erkiletlioğlu and Güler 1996: 70–1, NN 69, 70.

<sup>57</sup> *Tārīkh-i ăl-i Saljuq*, p. 84; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 41.

<sup>58</sup> Belke and Mersich 1990: 327–8.

rulers wanted to support him. Finally, the sultan travelled to Pontos (Jānīt), from where he sailed to Constantinople.<sup>59</sup>

When did Kay-Khusraw I arrive in Byzantium? Al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Artuqid, whom he visited en route to Constantinople, began his reign in 1200. I thus conclude that Kay-Khusraw I travelled for four years, from 1196 until 1200. His long indirect route itself supports my idea. The dating AH 596 (23 October 1199–11 October 1200) in the *Mukhtaşar* of Ibn Bibī could represent the date of Kay-Khusraw I's arrival at Constantinople and not of his departure from Konya. Likewise, the chronology in Choniates suggests that Kay-Khusraw I reached Byzantine territory in 1200.<sup>60</sup> Choniates thus dated the whole story about the struggle between Kay-Khusraw I and Rukn al-Dīn Süleymān-shāh by the end of this event (Kay-Khusraw I's arrival in Constantinople). Hence his mistake in the dating: it is the Byzantine–Seljuk war of 1195–1196 which he dates to 1198–1199, a year before Kay-Khusraw I's appearance in the Byzantine capital.

Ibn Bibī describes the reception that Kay-Khusraw I received in Byzantium. The emperor (*fāsiliyūs*), he says,

considered the previously [concluded] treaty with the sultan<sup>61</sup> as [his] great achievement. He preferred to share [power] in his realm [with the sultan] rather than [to continue to reign] independently. And during ceremonies (lit. ‘assembly’, *ijtimā’*) they were sitting together on the throne.<sup>62</sup>

The whole story that Ibn Bibī goes on to tell is nothing but rumours about the sultan's adventures in Byzantium that circulated at the Seljukid court. For example, Ibn Bibī reports an almost incredible story of how at the highly sophisticated and ceremonial Byzantine court the sultan beat a certain Frankish warrior with whom he had quarrelled. The emperor appointed a special ordeal by battle. When the sultan killed the Frank, the next day the emperor visited him and said:

The love for Khusraw of Islam is so deeply rooted in (lit. ‘connected with’) my heart and soul that they can by no means be separated . . . For a while, until the throat of malice and envy of the Franks is stamped on, the sultan prefers [to stay] with *malik* Mafruzūm (Maurozomes) who is one of the greatest *caesars* of Rūm (Byzantium). Whatever happens in the circle of power, I will [always] be with his majesty [the sultan and] will cause no harm [to him]. And that person

<sup>59</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 7–13; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 21–7; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 522, ll.10–20; Ibn al-Athir, x, pp. 220, 295; Ibn al-Athir (Richards), 2, p. 404; Ibn al-Athir (Richards), 3, p. 83.

<sup>60</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 522, ll.21–26; *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Magoulias, pp. 286–7.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Bibi means the truce and the consequent treaty which was signed between the sultan and the emperor in the spring 1196 during the first visit of Kay-Khusraw I to Constantinople when he was still master of Konya.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 14; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 27.

(i.e. Maurozomes) will keep with respect these conditions, whatever these be. ‘Allah may bring about something new after it’ (Qur’ān 65, 1).<sup>63</sup>

The Qur’ānic citation and the epithet ‘Khusraw of Islam’, so natural in the wording of a Muslim writer, show that the speech was composed by Ibn Bibī himself.<sup>64</sup> However, his words may have reflected the real circumstances of the sultan while he was in Constantinople. What may these have been?

According to Choniates, the reception given to the sultan in Constantinople was cold: ‘Among the Romans, he once again failed to obtain [any support] for his aim [to return to the throne] and was not accorded the least treatment befitting his noble birth’.<sup>65</sup> However, this was only at the beginning. Ibn al-Athīr states that the emperor supported Kay-Khusraw I with money (or land), showed him great honour, and married him to the daughter ‘of one of the great *patrikioi*'.<sup>66</sup> Choniates specifies that this *patrikios* was Manuel Maurozomes.<sup>67</sup>

The sultan’s mother was Christian, probably of Byzantine origin. This was the main point of the ‘information war’ that Rukn al-Din Süleymānshāh undertook against Kay-Khusraw I while the latter was still in Konya. According to Choniates, Süleymānshāh ‘loathed Kay-Khusraw I for having a Christian mother’ (literally ‘he loathed him as Christian on his mother’s side’ (*καὶ τοῦτον ὡς μητρόθεν Χριστιανὸν μυσαττόμενος*)).<sup>68</sup> It is strange that Choniates should attribute Süleymānshāh’s antipathy to Kay-Khusraw I’s having a Christian mother when Kay-Khusraw I himself was also a Christian.

The anonymous Seljuk chronicler writes that Kay-Khusraw I was the son of ‘the sister of the wife of the *takfūr* Kālūyān’ (*Ghiyāth al-Dīn az khʷāhar-i zan-i Kālūyān takfūr budh*).<sup>69</sup> The statement can easily be deciphered. Despite the name, we must exclude from the possible candidates Kaloyan, the Tsar of Bulgaria from 1197 to 1207, who was sent to Constantinople by his brother Theodore-Peter (1186–96) as a hostage in 1188. Kaloyan managed to flee from the Byzantine capital to Bulgaria in 1196 and became tsar the next year. He never met Kay-Khusraw I in person, though they formed an anti-Latin alliance in 1205.<sup>70</sup> Kaloyan’s wife was of Cuman origin; she was probably responsible for her husband’s murder in 1207 and she later married Kaloyan’s nephew Tsar Boril (1207–18). Her daughter Maria married Henry I of Hainault, Emperor of Constantinople, in 1213. But nothing is known about the sisters

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 17; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 30–1; cf. the full version: Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 57.

<sup>64</sup> Korobeinikov 2007: 97–101. <sup>65</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 522, ll.21–24.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 295; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 83.

<sup>67</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll.47–52; Ibn Bibi, p. 26; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 38.

<sup>68</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 521, ll.87–95; O City of Byzantium, *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Magoulias, p. 286.

<sup>69</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 84; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 41.

<sup>70</sup> ‘Litterae Henrici, fratri imperatoris’, in *MPL*, ccxv, col. 708.

of Kaloyan's wife.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, Kaloyan, his wife, and Kay-Khusraw I must have been of the same generation, born c. 1170–80. As the chronicle often reproduces Christian names incorrectly, the most likely candidate for the '*takfür* Kälüyān of Isṭtūnbūl' [sic] (from the Greek 'the Emperor Kaloyan (John the Fair) of Constantinople'<sup>72</sup>) was Alexios III Angelos, while his wife was Euphrosyne Kamaterissa Doukaina, who belonged to the Kamateroi family.<sup>73</sup>

The peculiar information about the sultan's 'mother' being from one of the noble Byzantine families can be understood with the help of Akropolites. He states that while in Constantinople, Kay-Khusraw I was baptized and adopted by Alexios III as his son (*βαπτίζεται τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ νιοθετεῖται*). The sultan even used to call the empress Anna, the daughter of Alexios III and wife of Theodore I Laskaris, his sister.<sup>74</sup> According to Orthodox canon law, the ties between godparents and their godchild are the same as natural ones. That is why the anonymous Seljuk chronicler, who was Muslim, did not understand the sophisticated relations between the sultan-in-exile and the Byzantine imperial family, with the empress' sister being the godmother of Kay-Khusraw I.<sup>75</sup> She might have been Theodora Kamaterissa, the only known sister of the

<sup>71</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 399, ll. 51–3, 472, ll. 13–33; Akropolites, i, p. 24, ll. 1–11; Barzos 1984: ii, p. 602; Bozhilov 1985: 58, 74, 93–4; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 183, nn. 213, 220; 186, nn. 248–250.

<sup>72</sup> The title *takfür* (of Armenian origin) was often applied to Byzantine emperors by Muslim authors. Cf. Shukurov 2001a: 49–50.

<sup>73</sup> On this family, see Kazhdan 1974: 171; Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997: 304: Gregory Kamateros, the *logothetes* of the *sekreta*, married a certain Eirene Doukaina, the kinswoman of the emperor John II (Choniates, *Historia*, p. 9, ll. 16–22). On them, see PBW (accessed 28 July 2013) Gregorios 105 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/107208>>; Eirene 25002 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/161346>>.

<sup>74</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 14, ll. 10–23; cf. the chronological stemma in Brand 1968: 278; cf. also Akropolites (Macrides), p. 128, n. 20.

<sup>75</sup> The possible source of the confusion of Kaloyan of Bulgaria and Alexios III Angelos was the events of 1203–4, a prelude to Kay-Khusraw I's return to Konya. When he was defeated by the Crusaders, Alexios III fled from Constantinople on the night of 17 and 18 July 1203; he arrived at Devletos and then moved to Adrianople or Philippopolis in August of 1203. Between July 1203 and April 1204 he chose Mosynopolis as his permanent residence. By the autumn of 1204 Alexios III had travelled south and met Leo Sgouros, the tyrant of Corinth, near Larissa: Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 546, l. 72–547, l. 84; 556, ll. 78–92; 608, l. 47–609, l. 76; Akropolites, i, pp. 8, l. 17–10, l. 9). On the further circumstances of Alexios III, see note 145 below. It is thought that between July 1203 and April 1204 Alexios III did not linger in Mosynopolis as, according to Choniates, p. 556, ll. 78–92, by November 1203 his nephew Alexios IV had tried to capture him in Thrace, the whole of which was searched, and Alexios III was forced to flee again. From this point of view, it is unlikely that he found shelter in Mosynopolis in 1203, as the latter was indeed in Thrace. Instead, Alexios III fled to Bulgaria where, together with Patriarch John X Kamateros (1199–1206), he conducted negotiations with Tsar Kaloyan. It is also thought that Alexios III even visited the Rus' principality of Galich. It seems that Alexios III tried to create an anti-Latin alliance, in order 'to reverse the decline of Roman power' (*διὰ τὸ ἀπογνώνων τῆς ἀνακλήσεως τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς*): Demetrios Chomatenus, *Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, p. 51, l. 127. If the author of the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq* knew about Alexios III's negotiations in Bulgaria, he might have confused the names of the two Christian rulers, Alexios III and Kaloyan. This episode in

empress Euphrosyne Kamaterissa Doukaina.<sup>76</sup> The sultan's godfather was the emperor himself.

The only source that contradicts the statement in Akropolites is Robert de Clari. When the participants in the Fourth Crusade had just established Isaac II and his son Alexios IV on the Byzantine throne (1 August 1203), the sultan of Konya (*soudans du Coine*) came to the Crusaders' camp and said to them:

Lords, I would like to ask you for one favour . . . I have a younger brother<sup>77</sup> who has treacherously usurped from me my land and my lordship over Konya, where I was lord and of which I am the true heir. If you are willing to help me conquer my land and lordship, I will give you great wealth from my treasure and I will become a Christian as will all those who hold themselves bound to me.<sup>78</sup>

The Crusaders refused to support him: they were too preoccupied with their affairs in Constantinople.

But does Robert de Clari really contradict Akropolites? The sultan, who lived in a Muslim environment, or at least had Muslim retainers, in Constantinople had every reason to conceal his recent baptism.<sup>79</sup>

This baptism of the Muslim ruler by Alexios III brought about an innovation in traditional Byzantine policy towards the Seljuks. The sultan did not just become the 'son' (the vassal) of the emperor, like his father Kılıç Arslān II during the reign of Manuel I (hence Kay-Khusraw I's enthronement beside Alexios III, as Kılıç Arslān II sat beside Manuel I in 1161): he also became

Alexios III's biography is absent from the commentaries to Akropolites by Macrides and Zhavoronkov: Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 114–17; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 50, 161–4. On Alexios III's flight to Bulgaria in 1203, see Demetrios Chomatenus, *Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, pp. 50, l.118–51, l.127; 145, l.92–146, l.110; 'Militum crucisignatorum expeditio quarta', eds. Tafel and Thomas, i, p. 297; Prinzing 1972: 3–16; Maiorov 2009: 71–116, esp. pp. 92–8.

<sup>76</sup> She is known from the seal of her husband, Michael Stryphnos, the notoriously greedy *megas doux* of the fleet, who for his own profit sold off the equipment of the Byzantine fleet so that the Empire had no vessels on the eve of the Fourth Crusade. On the couple, see Brand and Cutler, 'Stryphnos, Michael', in *ODB*, iii, p. 1968; Kurysheva 2011: 161–72; *PBW* (accessed 28 July 2013) Michael 260 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/143458>>, boulloterion 88 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/boulloterion/88>>; Theodora 20101 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/155758>>.

<sup>77</sup> This is a mistake: Kay-Khusraw I himself was the youngest brother: Ibn Bibi, p. 3; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 17.

<sup>78</sup> Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Noble, LII, pp. 66–7.

<sup>79</sup> Another possible explanation is that the sultan's promise to become a Christian was an invention of Robert de Clari himself. I can point to a similar case: according to Otto of St Blasien, after the battle of Myriokephalon in 1176 the victorious Kılıç Arslān II had sent a letter to Frederick I Barbarossa. In order to obtain a marriage alliance with the German emperor, he unnecessarily promised to convert to Christianity himself. Ottonis de Sancto Blasio, *Chronica*, ed. Hofmeister, p. 37; Magdalino 1997: 99–100. If it was not a diplomatic trick, Kılıç Arslān II's promise might have been an invention on the part of Otto of St Blasien, who might have shared an apocalyptic Latin visualization of Islam subject to Christianity. The mass conversion of Muslims to Christianity was part of this vision. Cf. Krey 1996: 158; cf. also Tolan 2002).

the godson of the imperial family. Moreover, the sultan married a daughter of Manuel Komnenos Maurozomes, who belonged to the Komnenian military élite.<sup>80</sup>

Two questions remain: why did Alexios III change his policy towards the sultan, whom he had previously rejected as his ‘son’ in 1196; and when did he baptize and then marry Kay-Khusraw I to the daughter of Manuel Maurozomes?

Choniates confirms that the marriage took place shortly before Kay-Khusraw I’s return to Rūm (1205).<sup>81</sup> Therefore, the wedding must have taken place in 1203 or 1204. From this point of view, it is important to establish who was that nameless *fāsilīyūs* in Ibn Bibī. It could have been either Alexios III (who took flight from Constantinople on the night of 17–18 July 1203<sup>82</sup>) or Alexios IV (who reigned from 1 August 1203 until 27–28 January 1204<sup>83</sup>). However, the context of the story excludes the latter. The Muslim community attended the ordeal by battle between Kay-Khusraw I and the Frank,<sup>84</sup> which would hardly have taken place *after* the Crusaders’ attack on the ‘synagogue of Agarenes called Mitaton’ and the consequent destruction of the Muslim quarter by fire on 19–22 August 1203.<sup>85</sup> Only after the fire did Alexios IV’s policy turn anti-Latin;<sup>86</sup> and Kay-Khusraw I had left Constantinople by this time.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, the *fāsilīyūs*’ words about the ‘the throat of malice and envy of the Franks’ that ‘would be stamped on’, were Alexios III’s and reflected the time when he had just received the news about the Crusaders approaching Constantinople (May–June 1203).<sup>88</sup>

The motives behind the emperor’s decision to elevate the sultan to the position of his godson, can be only understood in the context of Byzantine–Seljuk relations in 1195–1204.

Both Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh and Muhyī al-Dīn Mas‘ūdshāh remained at odds with Byzantium during this period. Muhyī al-Dīn supported the fourth pseudo-Alexios who appeared in Paphlagonia in 1195.<sup>89</sup> Like his father

<sup>80</sup> The Maurozomai family came to prominence in the second half of the twelfth century. In 1168 Manuel I appointed Theodore Maurozomes as commander of the armada that had to sail against Damietta in Egypt. In 1176 Theodore commanded the left wing of the Byzantine army at the battle of Myriokephalon: Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 160, ll.37–44, 180, ll.84–86.

<sup>81</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll.47–52.

<sup>82</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 546, l.72–547, l.84; O City of Byzantium, *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Magoulias, p. 299, with the dates.

<sup>83</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 563, l.70–564, l.3; O City of Byzantium, *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Magoulias, p. 308.

<sup>84</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 16; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 29–30.

<sup>85</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 553, l.91–555, l.64; O City of Byzantium, *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Magoulias, pp. 302–4; Queller and Madden 1997: 145–7.

<sup>86</sup> Queller and Madden 1997: 148–63.

<sup>87</sup> Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Noble, LII, pp. 66–7.

<sup>88</sup> On the date, see Queller and Madden 1997: 101–29.

<sup>89</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 461, l.14; Barzos 1984: ii, p. 477.

in 1189, Mas'ūdshāh gave the pretender his permission to raise an army on Seljuk territory.<sup>90</sup> The revolt lasted until 1196–7.<sup>91</sup> Finally, Muhyī al-Dīn Mas'ūdshāh openly supported the mutineer: he besieged and captured Dadybra (Devrek) at the end of 1196.<sup>92</sup>

The victory of Muhyī al-Dīn was short-lived. While he was quarrelling with Byzantium, his brother Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh conquered Sivas, Kayseri, and Aksaray after the death of Quṭb al-Dīn.<sup>93</sup> Muhyī al-Dīn made an attempt to take some of Quṭb al-Dīn's possessions but was defeated by Süleymānshāh and was forced to give up some of his own territories, probably Amasya, in 1197.<sup>94</sup> In AH 598 (1 October 1201–19 September 1202) at the latest, Rukn al-Dīn besieged Ankara. After a protracted siege that lasted several years, he finally took the city and killed Muhyī al-Dīn and his children on 24 Shawwal AH 600 (25 June 1204). However, he himself died 12 days later, on 6 Dhū al-Qa'da of the same year (6 July 1204).<sup>95</sup>

In 1200, when Kay-Khusraw I arrived at, or was on his way to, Constantinople, the emperor supported a piratical attack on the ships of Muslim merchants from Aminsos (Samsun). The Muslim traders applied for help to Rukn al-Dīn. Though Alexios III finally agreed to compensate the merchants for their losses and a peace treaty was signed in August 1200,<sup>96</sup> he soon dared to send an assassin (*χασίστον*) to kill Süleymānshāh. In response, the sultan supported the revolt of Michael Doukas Komnenos Angelos, the *doux* of the theme of Mylasa and Melanoudion.<sup>97</sup> The cities along the Maeander were ravaged once again by Rukn al-Dīn's troops, led by this aristocrat.<sup>98</sup> In his *History*, Choniates does not inform us how Alexios III's expedition against the

<sup>90</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 461, l.14–462, l.67.

<sup>91</sup> See the note in Choniates, *Historia*, p. 463, ll.68–77.

<sup>92</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 474, l.69–475, l.25. On the location of Dadybra as Devrek, see Pitcher 1972: map VI. Cahen suggests that the Turks also captured Krateia (Gerede) and Klaudiopolis (Bolu): Cahen 2001: 44. The sources do not contain any information about Krateia or Klaudiopolis at that time.

<sup>93</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 220; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 2, p. 404.

<sup>94</sup> According to Choniates, Muhyī al-Dīn ruled Amasya: Choniates, *Historia*, p. 520, ll.74–75. However, Ibn al-Athīr writes that Amasya and Niksar were taken by Rukn al-Dīn at the same time as he subdued Konya, i.e. in AH 593 (1197): Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 220–1; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 2, p. 404.

<sup>95</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 84; *Histoire* (Uzlułuk), 1952, p. 41. Ibn al-Athīr does not specify the date when the campaign started. However, he states that the siege lasted 'three years' or 'several years', i.e. two full years at the shortest. Ankara fell in AH 600 (1204); thus, the year when the siege began, was AH 598 (1202), if not earlier. Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 220–1, 292; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 2, p. 404; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 80. Cf. Kaya 2006: 92–3.

<sup>96</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 529, ll.8–10; Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 104, ll.4–10: after the revolt of John Komnenos the Fat on 31 July 1200. Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 526, l.47–528, l.80; Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 104, l.11–106, l.8.

<sup>97</sup> On him, see Cheynet 1996: 134, n. 190.

<sup>98</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 528, l.81–529, l.24.

sultan ended in November 1200,<sup>99</sup> but in one of his speeches, dated at approximately the same time,<sup>100</sup> he praises the emperor for starting his campaign against the Seljuks: ‘You drive the barbarian out of his senses, as lions [do] by [their] roar, and increase our spirit, and order us [to hunt] the easy prey (i.e. the sultan).’<sup>101</sup>

The Seljuks so frequently helped the rebel members of the Byzantine imperial dynasty and the aristocratic families of the Komnenoi clan that Choniates was moved to write his bitter but just words in his *History*:

If anything was the major cause of the decline of the Empire, the subjugation of [its] provinces and cities, and finally of her destruction, it was the rebels and pretenders to the throne from the Komnenoi. For they sojourned among the barbarian nations hostile to the Romans, [and thus] were the utter ruin of our fatherland.<sup>102</sup>

In response to the sultan’s support for the rebels, Alexios III decided to use the same weapon. When Kay-Khusraw I appeared in Constantinople in 1200, the emperor accepted him as his ‘son’, though he did not do so at once. The consequence of Alexios III’s act was crucial for the survival of the future Nicaean Empire. Choniates’ bitter words tell only part of the truth. The frequent Byzantine–Seljuk contacts, especially those between the royal dynasties and the aristocracy, were a two-edged sword. They helped the Seljuks to get involved in Byzantine affairs, but the reverse was also true. In times of common danger, both states united against their enemies, such as the Crusaders at the beginning of the thirteenth century and later the Mongols. Greek influence in the Sultanate, which was much stronger than Seljuk in Byzantium, helped to overcome the confessional barrier. The pattern for such relations had been established by Manuel I when he made Kılıç Arslan II his ‘son’ and ‘friend’. Let me demonstrate how the system worked in the early 1200s.

When the Crusaders arrived at Constantinople (23 June 1203),<sup>103</sup> Kay-Khusraw I was still there, as we know that he helped Alexios III to flee the capital on the night of 17–18 July 1203.<sup>104</sup> He then moved to the castle of his father-in-law Maurozomes in the environs of Constantinople.<sup>105</sup> Meanwhile the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn was besieging Ankara, thus finishing his task of uniting all the lands of the Sultanate. He may not have commanded his army in person

<sup>99</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 529, ll.32–33.

<sup>100</sup> van Dieten 1971: 98–102: Summer 1200, but the chronological limits can be extended until Autumn 1200.

<sup>101</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 66, l.30–67, l.2.

<sup>102</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 529, ll.25–29. <sup>103</sup> Queller and Madden 1997: 108.

<sup>104</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 14, ll.14–15.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn al-Athir, x, p. 295; Ibn al-Athir (Richards), 3, p. 83; according to Ibn Bibi, Kay-Khusraw I stayed in the *jazira*’ (the island or the peninsula). Most likely, Maurozomes’ castle was one of the aristocratic *villae* in the Kocaeli peninsula, on the road between Constantinople and Nikomedeia. Ibn Bibi, p. 17; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 31b.

at Ankara, as we know about his ceaseless activity on the eastern borders of his realm at that time. In AH 597 (12 October 1200–30 September 1201)<sup>106</sup> he conquered Malatya and Ablistān in Ramaḍān AH 597 (5 June–4 July 1201) and then Erzurum, where he deposed its ruler, the last Saltukid, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ibn Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad. Rukn al-Dīn granted Erzurum to his brother Mughīth al-Dīn Toghrulshāh, who had been the ruler of Ablistān.<sup>107</sup> The sultan then attacked Georgia, but in the battle near Basiani in 1203/4 the Georgian army defeated the Seljuk troops.<sup>108</sup> The preoccupation with eastern affairs was probably the main reason why he did not help the Byzantines when the chief citizens of Constantinople asked him for his support against the Crusaders in July 1203 (before the first great fire in August, but after the flight of Alexios III).<sup>109</sup> However, Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh concluded a peace treaty with the Crusaders when the latter besieged Constantinople for the second time (in winter–spring 1204). The sultan gave his permission for the Crusader army to pass through his country en route to Jerusalem (the official goal of the Fourth Crusade).<sup>110</sup> No Seljuk Sultan before him had willingly granted such permission, which meant that a Muslim ruler was giving free passage to Crusaders to struggle against his fellow-Muslims in the Holy Land. The only thing which could have united the Seljuks of Rūm and the Crusaders was their shared animosity towards Alexios III.

Constantinople was taken on the night of 12–13 April 1204. According to Oikonomidès, the Crusaders divided the former lands of Alexios IV, such as

<sup>106</sup> Ibn al-Athīr dates the beginning of the campaign in Ramaḍān AH 597 (5 June–4 July 1201). The same date (1201) can be found in *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens*, ed. Chabot, i, p. 210, ll.23–28; p.211, l.31–p. 212, l.1; ii, pp. 158–9.

<sup>107</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 275; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 60; Ibn Bibi, p. 22; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 35; Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 406; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 350; ii: MS Bodleian Library, Hunt 52, fol. 124v, cols. i–ii. See also: Kaya 2006: 73–9. The chronology and even the names of the rulers of Erzurum have still not been established. The reign of Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ended between 1189 and 1191: Khachatrian 1987: i, pp. 179–80. In 1191 the ruler of Erzurum was *malika Māmā Khātūn*: ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, ed. de Landberg, i, p. 405. Thus, the last Saltukid, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ruled between 1191 and 1201 or even, as Duda suggests, between 1194 and 1201–1202; cf. Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 35b. The problem is that, despite the exact date in Ibn al-Athīr, AH 597 was just the time when the campaign started. Nobody knows when it finished. According to the short Turkish chronicle, Erzurum was taken a year before the death of the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn, i.e. in AH 599 (20 September 1202–9 September 1203): *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 66–7. It should be noted that the date 2 Shawwal AH 598 (25 June 1202), established by Kaya (2006: 78) as the date of the conquest of Erzurum by Süleymānshāh II, is based on very late sources from the sixteenth (Gaffārī) and early eighteenth (Münecimbaşı) centuries and therefore cannot be trusted.

<sup>108</sup> *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, pp. 461–3; ‘Basili, istorik tsaritsy Tamary’, tr. Dondua, pp. 61–7; Ibn Bibi, pp. 21–3; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 34–6.

<sup>109</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 289; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 76; Bar ‘Ebrāyā, pp. 415–16; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 358: it was the population of Constantinople, and not the emperor, that asked for Seljuk help.

<sup>110</sup> *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens*, ed. Chabot, i, pp. 214, l.26–215, l.1; ii, p. 161.

they were at the end of 1203.<sup>111</sup> It should be noted that, from 18 July 1203 until the murder of Alexios IV on the night of 8/9 February 1204, there were two sovereigns in Byzantium: Alexios III in Adrianople (and then in Mosynopolis in Thrace) and Alexios IV in Constantinople. As far as Asia Minor is concerned, the *Partitio Romaniae* omits many Byzantine lands, which suggests that at the end of 1203 these territories were no longer under the control of the Emperor Alexios IV and recognized the authority of either Alexios III or various local rulers.

1. The *Partitio Romaniae* does not mention the theme of Thrakesion, whose centre was Smyrna.<sup>112</sup> It might have been that the theme was no longer in Byzantine control after 1198. We do not know who controlled the theme: it may have been Theodore Mankaphas of Philadelphieia.<sup>113</sup>
2. The *Partitio* does not mention Kerasous and Trebizond.<sup>114</sup> In April 1204 Alexios I Grand Komnenos, the grandson of Andronikos I, occupied Trebizond.<sup>115</sup> His troops, which were given to him by his aunt, queen T'amar of Georgia,<sup>116</sup> may have entered Pontos at the end of 1203, if not earlier.<sup>117</sup> The *Partitio* mentions Paphlagonia (Peflagonie), Oinaion ([O]nea, Ünye), Sinope (Sinopii, Sinop), and Paurae (Pabrei, Bafra),<sup>118</sup> which suggests that at the end of 1203 these locations were considered to be possessions of Alexios IV Angelos and were not still occupied by Alexios I Grand Komnenos.
3. A vast area that stretched from Nicaea via Prousa as far as Abydos (theme of Opsikion and the *episkepseis* (districts) of Lopadion and Appolonia)<sup>119</sup> is omitted from the *Partitio*.<sup>120</sup> This land may have been controlled by Theodore Laskaris, who left Constantinople in the autumn of 1203.<sup>121</sup>
4. The coastline from Seleukeia (Silifke) to Attaleia (Antalya) and probably farther, to the cities of Lykia, is also omitted from the *Partitio*.<sup>122</sup> We do

<sup>111</sup> Oikonomidès 1992: 16–22.

<sup>112</sup> Oikonomidès 1992: 18–19. However, the *Partitio* mentions lands south of the Thrakesian theme, such as Laodikeia, Maeander, Sampson, Melanoudion, and Mylasa: Carile 1965: 218, ll.22–24, 245–246.

<sup>113</sup> Ahrweiler 1965: 6–7.

<sup>114</sup> Oikonomidès 1992: 19–20.

<sup>115</sup> Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, p. 61, ll.1–6.

<sup>116</sup> *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, pp. 464–5; ‘Basili, istorik tsaritsy Tamary’, tr. Dondua, pp. 69–70; Karpov 2001: 5–15, 2007: 84–98.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Shukurov 2001a: 74–7: after 18 July 1203.

<sup>118</sup> Carile 1965: 21, ll.11–12, pp. 236–8.

<sup>119</sup> Abydos itself was included in the *Partitio*: Carile 1965: 217, l.14, p. 239. According to Carile, the *Pertinentia Lopadi* (*episkepsis* of Lopadion) mentioned in the *Partitio* was either Lebi(n)tha on the island of Naxos in the Aegean or Lopadion (Ulubad) in Asia Minor. The latter identification is less probable: Carile 1965: 219, l.56, pp. 258–9.

<sup>120</sup> Oikonomidès 1992: 20.

<sup>121</sup> Oikonomidès 1992: 22–8.

<sup>122</sup> Oikonomidès 1992:20–1.

not know who ruled this territory. It might have been Aldebrandinos,<sup>123</sup> the governor of Attaleia, whom Choniates referred to as ‘an Italian by birth, who nevertheless was strictly brought up [according] to Roman (i.e. Byzantine) traditions’.<sup>124</sup>

5. Both the *Partitio Romaniae* and the chronicles of Ibn al-Athīr and Bar Hebraeus list Laodikeia, one of the Byzantine key strongholds in Asia Minor and probably the centre of the ephemeral *theme* of Maeander mentioned in the sources in 1198 and 1203<sup>125</sup> among those Byzantine possessions which the Crusaders distributed among themselves and intended to conquer.<sup>126</sup> It seems that during the chaos of 1203–4 the Laodikeians recognized Alexios IV as their ruler; hence the mention of the city in the *Partitio*.

When Theodore Laskaris established his power in Nicaea (see Fig. 2) and Prousa, as well as in southern Bithynia, Mysia and probably Smyrna (after April 1204),<sup>127</sup> the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh, who was at that moment at Ankara, concluded a peace treaty with him. The *terminus ad quem* is 6 July 1204, the date of the death of Rukn al-Dīn. Theodore agreed to pay a *kharāj* (tribute) for five years,<sup>128</sup> probably in return for the safety of his eastern border.

After the death of the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh, his young son ‘Izz al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān III succeeded him.<sup>129</sup> Ibn Bibī tells us that an embassy of the *qaysara-i Rūm* (‘the *caesar* [emperor] of the Romans’) soon came to the new sultan.<sup>130</sup> The embassy could have been sent either by Baldwin I of Flanders, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, or by Alexios III<sup>131</sup> or by Theodore Laskaris, acting as the representative of Alexios III in Asia Minor, or by Theodore’s brother Constantine Laskaris, who may have had claims to the throne, having been proclaimed (but not crowned) emperor in the Church of St Sophia during the night of 12–13 April 1204, on the eve of the Latin capture of Constantinople.<sup>132</sup> The first two suggestions sound unlikely. As far as the

<sup>123</sup> On him, see Cheynet 1996: 147–8, n. 210.

<sup>124</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 639, ll.74–75.

<sup>125</sup> Foss, ‘Laodikeia in Phrygia’, in *ODB*, ii, p. 1177.

<sup>126</sup> Carile 1965: 218, 245–6; Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 289; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 77; Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 416; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 359.

<sup>127</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 10, l.26–11, l.1; Zhavoronkov 1977: 31–2.

<sup>128</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 19; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 32.

<sup>129</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 23; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 36; Wittek 1935b: 25.

<sup>130</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 23; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 36.

<sup>131</sup> Another emperor, Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos, was at the same time (summer 1204) blinded by Alexios III. Akropolites, i, pp. 8, l.17–9, l.26; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 608, ll.47–60.

<sup>132</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 571, l.55–572, l. 78; Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Noble, LXXIX, p. 96; *Chronicon Venetum quod vulgo dicunt Altinate*, p. 68, l.14: *Et una nocte imperavit frater Laskari*. Cf. Sinogowitz 1952: 352–3; Zhavoronkov 1977: 30–1; Queller and Madden 1997: 189–90.

wording of Ibn Bībī is concerned, he *never* calls the Latins Rūmī ('Romans'), preferring another designation for them: *farang, firenj, ifranj*, (a Frank, a Frenchman, Frenchmen).<sup>133</sup> Alexios III was not able to send an embassy at that time, as he was wandering in the Balkans, while the Crusaders were extending their power. Further events show that this *qayṣara-i Rūm* was none other than Theodore I Laskaris.

When Kılıç Arslān III came to the throne, his uncle Kay-Khusraw I was still living in the castle of Maurozomes in the environs of the Byzantine capital. The three brothers, the *beylerbeyi* (*malik al-umarā'*) Muẓaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Ẓahrīr al-Dīn İli, and Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf, the sons of Yağibasān, who belonged to the deposed Dānişmend dynasty in Sivas and who were military commanders in the lands of the *uj*, sent the chamberlain Zacharias (Zakariyyā' ḥājib) to Kay-Khusraw I. Zacharias was Christian. Not only did he disguise himself in 'clothes of the Christian priests (*jāma-i qissīsān*)' and a monk's cap (*kulāh*, lit. 'mitre') in order to perform his secret mission, but he also later swore on the Gospel and the Cross before the emperor of Nicaea.<sup>134</sup>

On hearing the news from Zacharias, the exiled sultan and Manuel Maurozomes hurried to Rūm. In Nicaea they were detained by a certain *fāsiliyūs* ('emperor'). He refused to allow Kay-Khusraw I to proceed because he had previously concluded a treaty with Kılıç Arslān III.<sup>135</sup> Ibn Bībī continues:

Several days passed in the dispute [between Kay-Khusraw I and the *fāsiliyūs* in Nicaea]. Finally, an agreement was concluded that all the lands from the country of Rūm<sup>136</sup> as far as the borders of Konya, like Chonai (Khūnās), Laodikeia (Lādiq) and other [places] on the lowland (*biqā'*) which the Seljuks had conquered, should be ceded to the deputies of the *fāsiliyūs*; and the Sultan should leave his sons and Zacharias as hostages (lit. 'as a pledge', *ba-rasm-i nawā*) here [in Nicaea], and he himself should proceed further [south]. When he sits on his throne and the aforementioned places will be ceded to the emissaries (*mu'tamādān*) of the *fāsiliyūs*, the sons [of the sultan] will be allowed to go [home].<sup>137</sup>

When did this conversation take place? Ibn Bībī mentions it between the wrong date of the death of Süleymānshāh, the beginning of AH 601, thus shortly after 29 August 1204 (the correct date was 6 July 1204), and Rajab AH 602 (11 February–12 March 1206), the date of Kay-Khusraw I's arrival in Konya.<sup>138</sup> The latter date is also wrong. According to both Ibn al-Athīr and the anonymous Persian chronicle, AH 601 (29 August 1204–17 August 1205) is the

<sup>133</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 354–6 (index).

<sup>134</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 23–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 36–9; Yıldız 2011: 60–6.

<sup>135</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 24–6; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 37–8.

<sup>136</sup> Here Rūm means the Byzantine Empire. <sup>137</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 26; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 38.

<sup>138</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 23, 27; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 36, 39.

year in which Kay-Khusraw I returned to the throne,<sup>139</sup> though the month mentioned, Rajab, is hardly Ibn Bībī's invention. Taken together, the sources suggest that it was Rajab AH 601 (22 February–23 March 1205) when Kay-Khusraw I became Sultan again. But the enthronement was the final stage of Kay-Khusraw I's return; he must have appeared in the Sultanate before Rajab AH 601, as, according to Ibn Bībī, the sultan lingered a while in the Seljuk boundary zone (*uj*) and took Konya after a siege.<sup>140</sup> It is the coinage that corrects the dates of the written sources: the first coins of Kay-Khusraw I's second reign were struck in AH 600 (10 September 1203–28 August 1204).<sup>141</sup> This means that the talks between the *fāsiliyūs* and Kay-Khusraw I took place in Nicaea between 6 July (the date of Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh's death) and 28 August 1204 (the last day of AH 600).<sup>142</sup>

Who was the *fāsiliyūs*, so eager to return Laodikeia to the Byzantine orbit? According to Zhavoronkov, it was Constantine Laskaris, the brother of Theodore I Laskaris, who was proclaimed (but not crowned) emperor in the Church of St Sophia during that terrible night of 12–13 April 1204. Zhavoronkov argues that in the second part of 1204 and the winter–spring 1205 Theodore had not been proclaimed emperor (the proclamation took place by May–June 1205<sup>143</sup>) and therefore Ibn Bībī could not have referred to him as *fāsiliyūs*, since Constantine was the only possible candidate.<sup>144</sup> Indeed, by the end of November 1204 both emperors, Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos and Alexios III Angelos had been taken prisoner by the Crusaders.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, Akropolites writes that before the fall of Constantinople:

<sup>139</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 295–6; Ibn al-Athir (Richards), 3, pp. 83; *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 84; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 41; Bosworth 2004: 213, N 107: AH 601 (Bosworth's dates are largely based on the coinage).

<sup>140</sup> Ibn Bībī, pp. 27–8; Ibn Bībī (Duda), pp. 39–40.

<sup>141</sup> Album 1998: 62, § 1206 (a unique coin). The traditional view is that the last coinage of Süleymānshāh dates to AH 600, while the first coins of Kay-Khusraw I's second reign were struck in Kayseri and Konya in AH 601. Erkiletlioğlu and Güler 1996: 79–80, NN 91–95.

<sup>142</sup> That the period between Süleymānshāh's death and Kay-Khusraw I's enthronement was brief is confirmed by the fact that the successor of Süleymānshāh, 'Izz al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān III, lacked any coinage. Erkiletlioğlu and Güler 1996: 75–6.

<sup>143</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 11, ll.5–15; Cheynet 1996: 143–4, n. 204. However, Theodore I was crowned later, in 1208, by the newly elected patriarch Michael Autoreianos (1208–14): Akropolites, i, p. 11, ll.15–21; Akropolites (Macrides), p. 83. Gounarides (1985: 59–71) argues that Michael Autoreianos was elected patriarch at Nicaea in March 1207 and therefore Theodore I was proclaimed emperor in 1206 (to be later crowned by the newly elected patriarch shortly after March 1207). His suggestion was rejected by Macrides and Angold. I agree with them: Akropolites (Macrides), p. 83, n. 517; Angold 2003: 215–16, n. 20.

<sup>144</sup> Zhavoronkov 1977: 30–3.

<sup>145</sup> By this time Alexios V had been blinded by Alexios III (in the summer of 1204). In November 1204 a small Latin army under Thierry of Loos captured Alexios V somewhere on the Asian shore either of the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles. The blind emperor was taken to Constantinople and sentenced to death by throwing from the Tauros column in the forum of Theodosios (Akropolites, i, pp. 8, l.21–9, l.25; Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 608, l.47–609, l.72; Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 306–8; Robert de Clari, *La*

Theodore Laskaris had already left [the City] . . . He appeared near Nicaea and demanded that the Nicaeans let him into the city and devote themselves to him as their master. They would not admit him. Laskaris entreated (*ἐκδυσωπῶν*) and tirelessly urged them to accept even his wife alone, and he barely persuaded them to be obedient (*πειθηίους*). Having left his wife there he then went through the environs of Nicaea, Prousa and its surrounding territory, in order to bring these lands under his power and to govern them as emperor in the stead of his father-in-law Alexios. In that he indeed succeeded. For in the meantime (*καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ*) he went to the ruler of the Persians (*περσάρχην*), who turned out to have been his intimate friend (*συνήθη τούτῳ τελοῦντα*), and took advantage of the military alliance with him, and achieved his aim.<sup>146</sup>

Thus, Zhavoronkov suggests, the Nicaeans rejected Theodore because they already had a legitimate emperor—Theodore's brother, Constantine Laskaris, who, according to Robert de Clari, after having been made emperor on the night of 12–13 April 1204,

did not dare to stay; instead he boarded a galley before it was daylight and crossed the straits of St George and went to Nicaea the Great which is a very fine city; he stopped there and was its lord and emperor.<sup>147</sup>

According to Zhavoronkov's interpretation of Akropolites, in 1204 the citizens of Nicaea did not accept Theodore Laskaris as their master and he was forced to choose Prousa as his first capital. His conclusions were also based on the assumption that Theodore Laskaris left the City *after* its fall,<sup>148</sup> thus after Constantine Laskaris' entrance into Nicaea.

This conclusion is not in accord with the account given by Akropolites. As for the evidence of de Clari, it is not entirely reliable, as the chronicler may have confused Constantine Laskaris with Theodore, his brother. Akropolites is explicit: while describing the Nicaean submission he chooses the term *πειθηίος*, literally 'obedient to the rein', like a horse; which means that once Anna entered the gate of Nicaea, the city became Theodore's. And it was Nicaea that became the first city to recognize Theodore as successor to Alexios III.

*Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Noble, CVIII–CIX, p. 126; Gunther von Pairis, *Historia Constantinopolitana: Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe*, ed. P. Orth (Hildesheim and Zurich, 1994), § 20). As for Alexios III, he was captured by Boniface of Montferrat when the latter was on his way from Corinth to Thessalonica in November 1204. Boniface sent the ex-emperor to Montferrat: Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 612, ll.41–45, 620, ll.67–68; Akropolites, i, pp. 12, l.22–14, l.10; Gregoras, i, p. 16, ll.13–18; Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 309; Anonymous of Gaeta, 'Qualiter caput beati Theodori martyris de Constantinopolitana urbe ad Caietam translatum est', ed. Riant, i, pp. 153–4; *Annales Ianuenses*, ed. Belgrano and Imperiale, ii, p. 95, ll.7–24.

<sup>146</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 10, l.14–11, l.4. The same treaty is mentioned by Akropolites on p. 14, ll.8–23, cf. Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 124, 129, n. 23.

<sup>147</sup> Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Noble, LXXIX, p. 96.

<sup>148</sup> Zhavoronkov 1977: 31, with a reference to Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 126, ll.33–34 (in my opinion, the reference does not support Zhavoronkov's view).

Otherwise (if we accept Prousa as the first capital city of Theodore Laskaris), we have to suggest that, while he remained near the walls of Nicaea (see Fig. 2) from the end of 1203, his brother Constantine managed to enter the city after 13 April 1204. The rationale for the behaviour of the Nicaeans, who rejected Theodore even before Constantine became emperor, cannot thus be explained.

Another Seljuk source, the so-called *Tārikh-i äl-i Saljūq*, which I will deal with in more detail below, calls Theodore's wife Anna, the daughter of Alexios III, *dhīsbinī* (*despoina*), the chief supporter of Kay-Khusraw I: she gave him money and troops.<sup>149</sup> This comes as no surprise, as the sultan, who was adopted by Alexios III, considered Anna as his sister.<sup>150</sup> If we put together the evidence of Akropolites, Ibn Bibī, and the *Tārikh-i äl-i Saljūq*, and if we accept Zhavoronkov's suggestion that the *fāsiliyūs* was Constantine Laskaris, we have a very strange picture of no fewer than three sovereigns of Nicaea at one and the same time during the summer of 1204: the first being Constantine Laskaris, the second Anna, the daughter of Alexios III, who also participated in the talks with the sultan, and the third Theodore Laskaris after his wife. The text in Akropolites does not allow any suggestion that Theodore, who began to create a polity of his own only after his wife Anna entered Nicaea, could have managed to give money and troops to the sultan while he himself was a refugee lingering, excluded, at the city's gates. Thus, the *fāsiliyūs* in Nicaea was someone other than Constantine Laskaris.

The titles of the Christian rulers are often given inaccurately in Oriental sources, where they serve as a sort of label. In the present case, Ibn Bibī and his Muslim readers knew that the neighbouring Christian country was governed by kings, the maliks of Rūm, each of whom also called himself *fāsiliyūs*. Whatever real names or dynastic relationships these rulers had was unimportant for Ibn Bibī, who was Muslim and paid little attention to Christian affairs: he does not even mention the fall of Constantinople in 1204.

I also see no reason why Constantine Laskaris, whose possessions can be located only in Nicaea, should have claimed Chonai and Laodikeia, which were separated from him by the lands of his brother Theodore, who, if we accept Zhavoronkov's theory, ruled further south, in Prousa. Thus, the *qayṣara-i Rūm* who concluded a treaty with Kılıç Arslan III in July 1204 and the *fāsiliyūs* who later detained Kay-Khusraw I in Nicaea in August of the same year are one and the same person: Theodore I Laskaris, the master of Nicaea and the lands nearby. Ibn Bibī must have called him emperor *post factum*: after the capture of both Alexios III and Alexios V by the Crusaders in November 1204, Theodore I Laskaris was the only legitimate ruler, via his marriage to Alexios III's daughter, in Byzantine Asia Minor.

<sup>149</sup> *Tārikh-i äl-i Saljūq*, p. 84; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 41; Korobeinikov 2007: 104–5.

<sup>150</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 14, ll.8–23.

If so, the reconstruction of the chaotic events of 1204 is as follows. According to Villehardouin, Theodore Laskaris acted as deputy-in-chief of Alexios III, whose son-in-law he was.<sup>151</sup> His wife Anna, daughter of Alexios III, was a ‘sister’ in the eyes of Kay-Khusraw I, the godson of Alexios III. Theodore’s treaties with Rukn al-Din Süleymānshāh and Kılıç Arslān III gave him no advantage other than the safety of his eastern borders. What Theodore needed to defeat his rivals was Seljuk military help.

Kay-Khusraw I promised to give him such help. The cities in question, Chonai and Laodikeia, could have been reached by Laskaris only by way of the lands of Mankaphas in Philadelphieia. It seems that the sultan agreed to support Theodore Laskaris in the campaign against Mankaphas, after which the important theme of Thrakesion would have been under the control of Laskaris. From then on, he would have enough resources to struggle with the Latins.

The plan worked well. As I have mentioned, according to the *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, the *dhiṣbīni* (ذیشبینی, from the Greek *despoina*), Kay-Khusraw I’s maternal aunt, gave the sultan lots of money and troops.<sup>152</sup> This is a reflection, albeit a rather fantastic one, of the ‘family’ relationships that existed between Kay-Khusraw I and Theodore I Laskaris. The ‘aunt’ of the sultan should have been the empress Euphrosyne, the wife of Alexios III, as her sister was Kay-Khusraw I’s godmother. However, at that moment Euphrosyne was not in Nicaea.<sup>153</sup> Thus, the *despoina* must have been the wife of Theodore Laskaris, Anna, who may have participated in the negotiations and whom the chronicler confused with her mother. The sultan also left his two sons as hostages.<sup>154</sup>

With the help of his supporters, and probably with the money that was given to him in Nicaea, Kay-Khusraw I returned to the throne in Rajab AH 601 (22 February–23 March 1205).<sup>155</sup> The text of Akropolites suggests that soon after Kay-Khusraw I became master of Rūm again, Theodore Laskaris visited him and ‘took advantage of the *military alliance*’ (*καὶ συμμαχίαν προσείληψε*).<sup>156</sup> Choniates also mentions Theodore’s visit to Kay-Khusraw I in 1205:

You elected to pay attention to the Persians and to visit their chief satrap (*ἀρχισταράπη*) for talks to try by this means to alleviate the condition of the

<sup>151</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 10, l.26–11, l.2. Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 313; *La terre d’autre part del Braz si avoit seignor un Grieu que on appelloit Toldre l’Ascre; et avoit la file l’empereor a fame dont il clamoit la terre*.

<sup>152</sup> *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 84; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 41.

<sup>153</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 612, ll.41–45: she was with her husband in Halmyros.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 26–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 38–9.

<sup>155</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 295–6; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 83–4; Ibn Bibi, p. 27; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 39; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 84; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 41.

<sup>156</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 11, ll.2–4; cf. Akropolites (Macrides), p. 118; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), p. 51.

Romans. [In so doing] you appeared to have exceeded expectations. For the Persians [you were the person] who was earlier reported to have been the son-in-law of the emperor, with all the greatness of nobility ( $\tauῇ εὐγενεῖᾳ πολύς$ ). They then [saw] this person<sup>157</sup> with their own eyes and from experience recognized you as having been the most magnificent, generous and adventurous in military affairs. They deemed [you] worthy of the greatest friendship, gathered ( $ἐπαμησάμενοι$ ) the allied force and then gladly ( $ἀσμενοί$ ) sent it to [you, who also] rejoiced ( $ἀσμενον$ ). Meanwhile you filled the Romans with good expectations, as the Persians now became of one mind with the Romans and shared together with them [the deeds] of Ares. You urged those who had given up [hope] of everything to be of good courage, as now the course of events was fortunate; you persuaded [them] not to delay nor to hesitate in any way whatever, but be manly and fight.<sup>158</sup>

There are some similarities between the texts of Akropolites and Choniates, in wording and content. Both stress Theodore Laskaris's connection with Alexios III (the former being son-in-law,  $κηδεστής$ , in Choniates,<sup>159</sup> the latter being father-in-law,  $πενθερός$ , in Akropolites) and the military character of the treaty

<sup>157</sup> Theodore I Laskaris. From a grammatical point of view, Choniates changes the person of the direct object from second person singular ('you') to third person singular ('him').

<sup>158</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 132, ll.21–33. Cf. the Russian translation by Zhavoronkov: Choniat, 'Rech', p. 220.

<sup>159</sup> The same notion of Theodore I's legitimate claim to the throne as Alexios III's son-in-law was advanced by Choniates in his 'Speech' (*Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 130, ll.29–32):

You were called on [the throne of] the kingdom, to sit high above all, by the royal marriage connection ( $κῆδος βασίλειον$ ), by the fortune and nobleness of your family ( $τὸ τοῦ γένους εὐποτμὸν καὶ ἐπίσημον$ ), which was but a little lower than the Angeloi who kept the sceptres of the Romans ( $καὶ τὸ βραχὺ τι παρ' Ἀγγέλους ἡλαττονῆσθαι τοὺς τὰ Πωμαῖων σκῆπτρα χειρίζοντας$ ).

Here Choniates borrowed from Ps 8:6, which read:  $\grave{\eta}\lambda\acute{a}t\acute{a}w\sigma\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha\tau\grave{\o}\nu$  (sc.  $\grave{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{a}\pi\acute{o}\nu$ )  $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{u}$   $\tau\iota$   $\pi\alpha\grave{\rho}$   $\grave{\alpha}\grave{\gamma}\acute{y}\acute{e}\grave{\l}ou\grave{s}$  (cf. King James Bible, Ps 8:5: 'For Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels'; cf. also Brenton's translation from his edition of the Septuagint (Ps 8:5): 'Thou madest him a little less than angels'; see also *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, eds. Pietersma and Wright, Ps 8:6(5): 'You diminished him a little in comparison with angels'). Choniates played with the family name of the Angeloi (lit. 'angels') and the word  $\grave{\alpha}\grave{\gamma}\acute{y}\acute{e}\grave{\l}ou\grave{s}$  ('angels') of Ps 8:6: *Septuaginta*, ed. Rahlfis, ii, p. 6; *The Septuagint with Apocrypha*, ed. Brenton, p. 702; *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, eds. Pietersma and Wright, p. 550. The juxtaposing of the family name of the Angeloi and the word  $\grave{\alpha}\grave{\gamma}\acute{y}\acute{e}\grave{\l}ou\grave{s}$  ('angels') was commonplace before 1204: see, for example, the seal of the *caesar* Michael Angelos of 1190, which reads: *Ο χαιρετισμός. Ἐπισφραγίζοις, ἡ χαρὰ τῶν Ἀγγέλων τοὺς Ἀγγέλους καὶ σαρὸς Μιχαὴλ λόγους* ('The Annunciation. May you enseal, joy of the Angeloi (and angels) the words of Michael Angelos, *caesar*'). A similar seal, that of the *caesar* John Angelos, also c. 1190, reads: *Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Κύρωμα γραφῶν τὴν χαρὰν τῶν Ἀγγέλων καὶ σαρὸς χαριτώνυψος Ἀγγελος φέρει* ('Mother of God. The *caesar* Angelos named for grace (Ioannes) bears as authentication of his writings the joy of the Angeloi (and angels) Angelos, *caesar*') (translations: PBW (accessed 30.vii.2013) Ioannes 20465, <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/153469>>, boulloteron 3051 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/boulloteron/3051>>, Michael 20236 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/154731>>, boulloteron 3050, <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/boulloteron/3050>>).

(the *συμμαχία* in Akropolites,<sup>160</sup> the *στρατιὰν συμμαχίδα* in Choniates), but, most importantly, both sources agree that the *military* alliance between Theodore I Laskaris and Kay-Khusraw I was concluded for the *first* time in 1205.

The date of this alliance was the end of March 1205: soon after Kay-Khusraw I's enthronement and certainly after 19 March 1205, the date of the battle at Adramittion (Edremit), when the Crusaders under Henry of Hainault (the future Regent, 14 April 1205–20 August 1206, and then Latin Emperor of Constantinople, 1206–16) defeated the armies of Theodore Laskaris under his brother Constantine and Theodore Mankaphas of Philadelphia.<sup>161</sup> Theodore Laskaris did not take part in the battle, and the best explanation for his absence is that he was visiting Kay-Khusraw I in Rüm at that time.<sup>162</sup>

The statements in the Byzantine sources concerning the *military* alliance of March 1205 do not contradict Ibn Bibi's information about the agreement in August 1204. The latter was a *political* alliance between the still exiled sultan-to-be, who as yet had no army, and Theodore I Laskaris, who had yet to make a polity of his own. Moreover, the agreement of August 1204 soon became void: despite the oaths given by Zacharias that the sultan's sons, who were kept hostages in Nicaea, would not make an attempt to escape, they nevertheless fled to Rüm at the earliest opportunity.<sup>163</sup> Kay-Khusraw I's consent to continue helping Theodore I Laskaris after the unpleasant episode in Nicaea in August of 1204 can be explained only by his deep devotion to Alexios III's family.<sup>164</sup>

Thus, in March 1205 the sultan gave Theodore a military force which helped Theodore to become popular among the Greeks,<sup>165</sup> to secure his control over the lands around Prousa,<sup>166</sup> to subdue his rivals, and finally to reconquer some of the lands which had been occupied by the Latins between November 1204 and the winter of 1205 and to compensate himself for the heavy losses at the battle at Adramittion 19 March 1205.<sup>167</sup> The sultan also concluded an alliance with John I Asen of Bulgaria, the chief enemy of the Latin Empire, sometime in March 1205.<sup>168</sup> The defeat of the Latin army in the battle at Adrianople in April 1205 strengthened Theodore's position: the

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Akropolites, i, p. 14, ll.20–23: the sultan 'gave the alliance' (*συμμαχίav δούs*) to Theodore I (Akropolites alludes to the same *συμμαχίa*, which he mentions earlier, on p. 11, ll.2–4).

<sup>161</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 322–323; Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 603, l.31–604, l.48.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Zhavoronkov 1977: 34–5. However, Zhavoronkov ignored Villehardouin's statement that at Adramittion Constantine Laskaris acted on the orders of his brother Theodore I.

<sup>163</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 27, Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 39.

<sup>164</sup> Korobeinikov 2007: 101–8.

<sup>165</sup> Choniates *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 132, ll.28–33.

<sup>166</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 10, l.26–11, l.4.

<sup>167</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 11, l.19–12, l.3.

<sup>168</sup> 'Litterae Henrici, fratris imperatoris', in *MPL*, ccxv, col. 708.

Latins were forced to evacuate almost all their armies from Anatolia.<sup>169</sup> The allied Seljuk force in Nicaea was used in operations whose aim was to consolidate Theodore Laskaris's positions south of Prousa. He was now ready to crush his rivals in Asia Minor: Theodore Mankaphas, Sabbas Asidenos, and probably Nikephoros Kontostephanos.<sup>170</sup>

Thus, the sultan helped Laskaris at the most crucial moment in the foundation of the Nicaean Empire. Theodore I was proclaimed emperor in May–June 1205. Apart from the Latins, he now faced only two rivals in Asia Minor: Manuel Maurozomes in the Upper Maeander and David Grand Komnenos in Paphlagonia.

Maurozomes was not too dangerous for Laskaris, but he claimed the imperial title and was father-in-law of the sultan, who supported him.<sup>171</sup> The main factor dividing Theodore I and Kay-Khusraw I was still unresolved despite the treaty in Nicaea at the end of 1204: they continued to dispute Laodikeia and Chonai. The two sons of the sultan, who were held as hostages in Nicaea, managed to flee to Rūm, so that Theodore could no longer make any use of them. While in Konya, the sultan did not agree to give up Laodikeia.<sup>172</sup>

With Seljuk help Maurozomes attacked Theodore Laskaris twice: before May<sup>173</sup> and between July and October 1205.<sup>174</sup> The dates of Maurozomes' invasions can be derived from the chronological sequence of events in the *History* of Choniates, as Choniates lists events after 1204 in a stricter chronological sequence, in brief passages which allow more precise dating, at least in comparison with the long *novellae* incorporated into the text of the previous chapters. He mentions Maurozomes' attacks between the withdrawal of the Latin armies from Asia Minor after the ill-fated battle at Adrianople (14 April 1205) and the recognition of Theodore I Laskaris as emperor by the 'eastern cities' (*τῶν ἔωων πόλεων*, the cities of the Byzantine Asia Minor) in May 1205. The text reads:

<sup>169</sup> Zhavoronkov 1977: 35–6.

<sup>170</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 12, ll.18–21. On Theodore Mankaphas, see above, p. 52, n. 86. Sabbas Asidenos was ruler of Sampson, while Nikephoros Kontostephanos had possessions near the river Maeander (see Chapter 3). We can establish how long Asidenos' and Kontostephanos' 'states' existed. As for Asidenos, the *pertinentia Sampson* is mentioned in the *Partitio*, which suggests that this city was still under the control of Alexios IV at the end of 1203 (Carile 1965: 218, l.23, p. 246). Thus, Sabbas ruled Sampson between the end of 1203 and the spring of 1205, when the city was conquered by Theodore I Laskaris.

<sup>171</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll.47–52; Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 136, l.33–137, l.7.

<sup>172</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 26–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 38–9. On the importance of Laodikeia and Chonai as chief strongholds of the territory along the river Lykos (tributary of the Maeander), see Whittow 1987: i, pp. 182–92; ii, p. 246, n. 5.

<sup>173</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll.47–56.

<sup>174</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 136, l.33–137, l.13.

And Manuel Maurozomes insinuated himself into favour (*ὑποδύσ*) with Kay-Khusraw (*Καϊχοσρόην*), who not long ago married his daughter and took back the kingdom of Ikonion (*Ικονιαρχίας*), which he had lost in former times. [This Maurozomes] schemed by every possible device to seize the chance to take the royal name. Having come with the Turks, he destroyed and ravaged all [the lands which] the Maeander waters.<sup>175</sup>

Then Choniates goes on to describe the successful campaign of Theodore I Laskaris which he undertook against David Grand Komnenos of Paphlagonia and his general Synadenos at Nikomedea. The military operations must have taken place between July and October of 1205.<sup>176</sup> It is in relation to the battle of Nikomedea that Choniates adds:

Soon afterwards [Theodore I] was engaged in a close fight with Maurozomes, and he forced him to flee (lit. ‘he proved him being a fugitive’, *φυγάδα δείκνυσι τοῦτον*). Having turned with all his strength against the Turks, he killed some, and took some captive. The latter were incorporated into the [Nicaean] army; and in that respect (lit. ‘kind’, *τὸ γένος*) they proved to be excellent (*ἐπίσημοι* [warriors]).<sup>177</sup>

Thus, the conflict between Theodore I, on the one hand, and Maurozomes and the Seljuks, on the other, began in May and ended after the battle at Nikomedea, most probably in October or November 1205. The data in Choniates’s *History* does not suggest that Laodikeia served as a base or a possession of Maurozomes in 1205. The city was still Seljuk. That the victory of Theodore I over the Seljuks in 1205 ended in the recapture of Laodikeia and Chonai is mentioned only in Choniates’s *Speech*, which has the prolix title: *The Speech published for presentation before the lord Theodore Laskaris, ruler of the eastern cities of the Romans, when the Latins took Constantinople and John of Mysia ravaged with the Scythians the western provinces of the Romans*.

The *Speech*, composed in the same year (1206), in which the *History* ends, has the same chronological sequence and as such can be used as a rhetorical commentary on the historical narrative of Choniates. The *Speech* begins with Theodore I’s triumphal return (though in reality the return was a mixed blessing) from his campaign against David Grand Komnenos of Paphlagonia at the end of 1206.<sup>178</sup> Then Choniates goes on to say: ‘Now one must record (lit. ‘give’) in the speech your valorous deeds (lit. ‘the meed of valour’: *δοτέον τοίνυν τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἀριστείας σου*).’<sup>179</sup> He kept his promise. He meticulously lists, one by one, all the victories of Theodore I, starting from the fall of Constantinople on the night of 12–13 April 1204 until the end of 1206. The

<sup>175</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll.47–52.

<sup>176</sup> Karpov 2007: 98–9.

<sup>177</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll. 72–75.

<sup>178</sup> Karpov 2007: 98–101.

<sup>179</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 130, ll.23–24; Choniatis, ‘Rech’, tr. Zhavoronkov, p. 218.

sequence of events in the *Speech* is chronological, despite the rhetorical imprecision and veiled hints that make any conclusion difficult. However, the only digression that does not entirely follow the sequence is a story about a mysterious ‘our fortress damaged by fire’, which the Persians once took and which Theodore I managed to recapture. Nevertheless, it still can be roughly dated, as Choniates places it between the first and the second campaigns of Theodore I Laskaris against David Grand Komnenos, i.e. between July–October 1205 and October–December 1206.<sup>180</sup> However, the text allows a more precise dating. It reads:

You have not already carefully piled your arms, [when] you lift your lance against the Persians who had come to our fortress damaged by fire (*ἡμέτερον φρούριον κακῶς παθὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός*). For the Persians took by assault the defences which were like swept quarters, just in the same manner as the evil spirit of the Gospels with other spirits, more mischievous than himself, falls into the depleted and uninhabited [house] of the human body.<sup>181</sup> But you arrived there, kindled the fire of war, suffocated the Persians like bees by the smoke of battle, and burned them like insects that jump about the fire and fly around the [burning] thick wick. As to the former inhabitants of the city, you appeared to them as a thrice-welcome angel that extinguished the [burning] furnace (*τοῖς δὲ πρώην τοῦ φρουρίου οἰκήτορων ὡς ὁ τῆς καμίνου σβεστὴρ ἀγγελος ἐφίστασαι τρισασπάσιος*).<sup>182</sup>

Just after that victory (lit. ‘in the heat of the victory’, *ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θερμῆς ταυτοὶ νίκης*) you attacked the new Ahithophel and destroyed his corps like children’s playthings of sand (*ὅσα καὶ παιδίων ἐπὶ ψάμμου ἀθύρματα τὰ τούτου διαλύεις συστρέμματα*).<sup>183</sup> Though by race he was Roman (lit. ‘he belonged to us by race’,

<sup>180</sup> On the dates of the campaigns of Theodore I against David Grand Komnenos, see Karpov 2007: 94–102.

<sup>181</sup> A reference to Matthew 12: 43–5 and Luke 11: 24–6.

<sup>182</sup> When comparing Theodore I Laskaris with an angel, Choniates alludes to the famous story in Daniel 3 about Hananiah (Shadrach), Mishael (Meshach), and Azariah (Abednego), who refused to fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. They were thrown into the burning furnace on the king’s orders; but were saved by the angel of the Lord that came to them (Daniel 3: 49–50, *Septuaginta*, ed. Rahlf, ii, p. 889). According to one of the versions of Daniel 3: 92 (3: 25 of the King James Version, see also: *The Septuagint with Apocrypha*, ed. Brenton, p. 1054; *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, eds. Pietersma and Wright, p. 1003), this angel was like the Son of God: *Septuaginta*, ed. Rahlf, ii, p. 895. The allusion was not accidental: Choniates calls Theodore I God’s angel for a second time; the first is in *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 130, ll.29–32.

<sup>183</sup> The phrase ‘children’s sand toys’ is borrowed from Homer, *Iliad* 15:360–4 (the fifth battle at the ships between the Trojans and the Achaeans):

[Apollo leads the Trojans against the defensive wall that protects the Achaean ships]

τῇ ρ̄ οἴ γε προχέοντο φαλαγγηδόν, πρὸ δὲ Απόλλων  
αἰγίδ̄ ἔχων ἐρίτιμον ἔρειπε δὲ τείχος Ἀχαιῶν  
ρέια μάλ̄, ὡς ὅτε τις ψάμμαθον πάις ἄγχι θαλάσσης,  
ὅς τ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιέησιν,  
ἄψ αντις συνέχενε ποσὶ καὶ χεροὶς ἀθύρων.

(At once the [Trojans] poured forward in phalanxes; in front of them Apollo [went] with his splendid aegis; he felled the Achaean wall

ὅ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ γένος ἡμῖν συναπτόμενος), he nevertheless showed himself a foreigner in his mind and was the implacable (lit. ‘dissolute’, ἀκρατής) enemy of his own homeland. This infamous deceiver, experienced in the snake-like wicked ways (*πρὸς ὁφεώδη πανουργίαν ἡκονημένος*),<sup>184</sup> thought to seize power and even imagined himself to be master (*ἐπιβῆτωρ*)<sup>185</sup> of the Roman provinces and cities if he were to use the connection by marriage with his Persian helpmate<sup>186</sup> and from there (i.e. ‘Persia’) receive the strong hand [of support]. And so, he, who seemed to have been manly only against his own kin, went with the Persian forces and annihilated those of his compatriots (*δμόγλωττον*) who [dared] to resist him, as if they were foreigners. But you, on hearing about that, at once came in order to stand against this bold [leader] of those lawless men. And you so easily expelled him like a jackdaw [that masqueraded itself] in other bird’s feathers (*ώσει καὶ κολοιὸν ξενόπτερον μάλα εὐχερώς ἀπελήλακας*).<sup>187</sup>

as easily as a child playing on the shore  
that in folly made playthings of sand  
again and again demolished these with his feet and hands.)

Choniates’ citation from Homer allows me to reject Zhavoronkov’s translation of the word *συστρέμματα* (‘anything twisted up together’, hence ‘corps, body of men’) as ‘intrigues’, in the sense that Theodore I Laskaris destroyed Maurozomes’ intrigues, and not an army. However, the context is certain: *συστρέμματα* (‘corps’) are juxtaposed in Choniates with the Achaean wall and the army behind it in Homer.

<sup>184</sup> The expression *ὁφεώδη πανουργίαν* comes from Aesop’s fable *The Snake and the Crab*, in which the crab, after having in vain urged its friend the snake to change its wicked ways (*πανουργίαν*), finally squeezes it to death between its claws. The fable’s moral is: ‘those treating their friends treacherously end up hurting themselves instead’; the fable even became an Athenian drinking song (cited by Athenaeus, III century AD). Aesopus, *Fabulae*, eds. Hausrath and Hunger, fable 211; *Aesop’s Fables*, trans. L. Gibbs [Oxford World Classics series] (Oxford, 2002), fable 141; *Aesopica*, ed. Gibbs, fable 141 <<http://mythfolklore.net/aesopica/oxford/141.htm>> [accessed 25 August 2009]; Athenaei Naucratitiae *deipnosophistarum libri XV*, ed. Kaibel, iii, liber 15: θ (16B), ll.55–9. Choniates suggests that Maurozomes’ wrongdoings against his compatriots were not limited to the events in 1206; but that the aristocrat, like an incorrigible snake, followed his ‘wicked ways’ at least from 1204.

<sup>185</sup> In Choniates’ wording, *ἐπιβῆτωρ* means ‘adulterer’ or ‘violator’ (see the critical apparatus in Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 137); but here he uses the term in its more general sense ‘master’ (albeit ‘an illegitimate one’).

<sup>186</sup> Sultan Kay-Khusraw I, Manuel Maurozomes’ son-in-law.

<sup>187</sup> In order to mock Maurozomes’ pretensions to be emperor, Choniates alludes to another fable, or indeed fables, of Aesop, concerning the jackdaw. The closest is the fable *The Jackdaw in Borrowed Feathers* about the jackdaw that wants to be proclaimed by Zeus the most beautiful bird and thus the king of the birds. The jackdaw collects the feathers which have fallen from other birds’ wings and sticks them on all parts of its body. However, on the appointed day of the show the birds protest against Zeus’ decision to make the jackdaw king. Each bird plucks from the jackdaw its own feathers, and the jackdaw becomes nothing but a jackdaw again: Aesopus, *Fabulae*, eds. Hausrath and Hunger, fable 103; cf. another variant in: *Aesop’s Fables*, tr. Gibbs, fable 329; *Aesopica*, ed. Gibbs, fable 329 <<http://mythfolklore.net/aesopica/oxford/329.htm>> [accessed 25 August 2009]; Aphthonius, *Fables*, fable 31, in Gibbs, *Aesopica* <<http://mythfolklore.net/aesopica/aphthonius/31.htm>> [accessed 25 August 2009]. However, the fables with a jackdaw as principal character are many, and some tell the story about the jackdaw that changes its appearance in order to join other birds, e.g. doves or ravens: Ésopé, *Fables*, ed. and trans. E. Chambray (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1927), fable 163; *Aesop’s Fables*, tr. Gibbs, fable 325; Aesopus, *Fabulae*, eds. Hausrath and Hunger, fable 125. By using so many allusions, Choniates

As to other enemies that came with him, you stabbed some, and sent them to the sleep of death (*εἰς ὕπνον κατεύνασας χάλκεον*);<sup>188</sup> you forced some to run quickly for their safety, either on their feet or on horses; you took [the rest] into captivity; and you subjected those of noble descent, abundant in riches and by no means humble, to be in the bonds up to their necks (*δεσμοῖς ἔως τραχῆλου*).<sup>189</sup>

Thus, the Persians, who suffered defeat in these two attacks and the [consequent] counter-attacks, were not manly enough to [risk] another battle . . . [Their master], the one girt with [the belt of] power, looks out for the terms of peace and openly vows to you to be your friend (*φίλιον*). Then the Romans, victorious just for the first time,<sup>190</sup> make peace with the Persians.<sup>191</sup>

The statement ‘you have not already carefully piled your arms’ refers to the time just after Theodore I’s campaign against David Grand Komnenos at Nikomedia in July–October 1205. Other persons mentioned can easily be identified: of all the Byzantine aristocrats, only Manuel Maurozomes had the ‘connection by marriage’ with the Seljuk sultan. So the references in the *Speech* to ‘our fortress damaged by fire’ and the battle against the ‘new Aithiophel’ suggest events that took place just after October 1205 and, from the point of view of chronology and the persons involved, explain the passage in Choniates’ *History* about the war between Theodore I and Manuel Maurozomes in c. October–November 1205.<sup>192</sup>

According to the *Speech*, the victorious Theodore I concludes a peace treaty with Kay-Khusraw I, but the *History*, when narrating the events of the beginning of 1206,<sup>193</sup> grimly states that in reality this military victory turned into a diplomatic defeat:

[Theodore I] concluded a peace with Kay-Khusraw [I], the sultan of Ikonion, and assigned (*ἀπένευμε*) a part of his realm to Manuel Maurozomes, the sultan’s father-in-law (*κηδεστὴ*). That part was Chonai, my, Niketas the historian’s,

promotes two ideas: first, that Maurozomes is unworthy of the imperial title; and secondly, that he is traitor, like a vain jackdaw which, contrary to the proverb ‘birds of a feather flock together’ (lit. ‘jackdaw to jackdaw’, *κολοιὸν ποτὶ κολοιόν*: Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, ed. Bywater, liber VIII: i [6], p. 1155a, ll.34–35; Aristotle, *Opera*, ed. Bekker, ii, p. 1155, ll.34–35), tries to join other birds but is repelled by them and then by other jackdaws. This might have implied that Maurozomes was rejected not only by the ‘Romans’, but also by the ‘Persians’ at the end of 1205.

<sup>188</sup> The idiom *χάλκεον ὕπνον* literally meant ‘brazen sleep’; it was borrowed from Homer, *Iliad* 11: 241.

<sup>189</sup> The words *δεσμοῖς ἔως τραχῆλου* (Habacuc 3:13, Odae 4:13) are among the most characteristic of Choniates: he uses these once in his *History* and no fewer than five times in his *Orations*: Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 7, 1.17, 30, 1.12, 127, ll.16–17, 137, 1.13, 174, 1.22; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 616, l.62; *Septuaginta*, ed. Rahlfis, ii, pp. 171, 537.

<sup>190</sup> Choniates suggests that Theodore I Laskaris’s victory is the first after a long period of defeats of the ‘Romans’ in the wars against the ‘Persians’, i.e. the Seljuks of Rûm.

<sup>191</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 136, l.23–137, l.20; Choniat, ‘Rech’, tr. Zhavoronkov, p. 224.

<sup>192</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll.72–75.

<sup>193</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 637, l.8.

homeland, and the neighbouring Phrygian Laodikeia, as far as [the lands where the river] Maeandros flows, belching forth its running waters into the sea (*ἀπερυγγάνων ἐς ἄλα τὰ νάματα*).<sup>194</sup>

This unhappy peace had been signed by March 1206 (the *terminus ad quem*).<sup>195</sup> Given that between 13 April and 6 July 1204 Laodikeia became Seljuk, that in August (the *terminus post quem*) of the same year Kay-Khusraw I refused to cede Laodikeia and Chonai to Theodore I, that Theodore I was forced to visit the sultan in person and being ‘hard-pressed’<sup>196</sup> concluded a military alliance with the sultan in March 1205<sup>197</sup>—all these facts suggest that sometime between March 1205 and March 1206 the Nicaean emperor managed to recover both Laodikeia and Chonai for his realm and immediately ‘assigned’ these to Manuel Maurozomes, doubtlessly at the sultan’s request. In his *History*, Choniates does not mention the conquest of Laodikeia and Chonai by Theodore I, but he describes the temporary liberation of Chonai in October–November 1205 in his *Speech*. The ‘our fortress damaged by fire’ could have been only Chonai: for of all the Maeander cities it is Chonai that Choniates mentions as a burnt city.<sup>198</sup> Choniates lists no fewer than two destructions of Chonai at the end of the twelfth century: the first had been carried out by pseudo-Alexios (II),<sup>199</sup> who enjoyed the support of Kılıç Arslan II, by the autumn of 1189 or 1192.<sup>200</sup> However, this pseudo-Alexios only robbed the famous cathedral of the Archangel Michael in Chonai, but did not burn it.<sup>201</sup> The second invasion, that of Theodore Mankaphas in 1193, which was supported by Kay-Khusraw I, was more dangerous: Mankaphas burnt the cathedral, the symbol of Chonai, and that suggests that he also burnt the

<sup>194</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 638, ll.65–69.

<sup>195</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 638 (*apparatus criticus*); Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1668 b; Cheynet 1996: 469; Savvides 1987: 231–45; cf. Akropolites (Macrides), p. 129, n. 23.

<sup>196</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 14, l.21: *στενοχωρηθέντι*.

<sup>197</sup> I do not think that Theodore I managed to make that treaty just after having conquered Laodikeia; besides, the ‘realm’ of Mankaphas, between Theodore’s lands in Bithynia and the river Maeander, existed at least until May 1205, see pp. 137–8.

<sup>198</sup> Zhavoronkov (Choniatis, ‘Rech’, p. 236, n. 51) thought this was the Byzantine Laodikeia, modern Denizli, at the source of the river Maeander. However, the text he referred to (Ibn Bibi, pp. 8–9; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 22) means another Laodikeia, called Combusta, or Kekaumenē, literally ‘the burnt one’, 38 km northwest of Konya, which was always Seljuk. The name *per se* was derived from the volcanic landscapes in the city’s vicinity; moreover, the name was known to the Arab authors as ‘al-Lâdhiqiyâ al-Muhtariqa’, with precisely the same meaning ‘the burnt Lâdhiq’. Belke and Mersich 1990: 327–8. I have translated the relevant piece in Ibn Bibî in Chapter 3.

<sup>199</sup> He was a pretender, the second of the four with the name of the emperor Alexios II, and was killed on the orders of his uncle Andronikos I.

<sup>200</sup> The date of 1192 was advanced by Brand (1968: p. 86), and later by Barzos (1984: ii, p. 473, n. 85). I do not agree: according to Choniates (*Historia*, pp. 419, l.6–421, l.54), Kılıç Arslan II supported the false Alexios (II) when himself still in power, i.e. before September 1189 (on the date, see: ‘Imâd al-Dîn al-Isfahânî, ed. de Landberg, i, p. 452).

<sup>201</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 422, ll.81–90.

city.<sup>202</sup> Thus, in the words about ‘our fortress damaged by fire’, the ‘our’ referred not only to the ‘Roman lands’ (as Theodore I’s campaign in Asia Minor, ‘encircled’, in Choniates’ wording, only the Byzantine territories<sup>203</sup>) but also, and more precisely, to Choniates’ homeland. However, this also meant that Laodikeia, which was closer to the Nicaean borders and which was en route to Chonai, was also taken soon after October 1205 (if one accepts my interpretation of the *Speech*). It was *both* cities, Laodikeia and Chonai, that were later ceded back by Theodore I to the Seljuks.

Thus, though Theodore I defeated Maurozomes and recovered Laodikeia and Chonai sometime in October 1205, by March 1206 he had been forced to conclude a new treaty with the sultan, according to which Manuel Maurozomes was to rule over Chonai, Laodikeia, and the lands on the Upper Maeander.<sup>204</sup> However, the Nicaean emperor had managed to capture and imprison Maurozomes.<sup>205</sup> The Turkish short chronicle and the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* help establish an exact date. According to both, Chonai and Laodikeia were taken by the sultan in AH 603 (8 August 1206–27 July 1207).<sup>206</sup> This meant that the ‘kingdom’ of Maurozomes came under direct Seljuk control in 1207, after the imprisonment of Maurozomes by the Nicaean emperor.

Interestingly, the dispute over Chonai and Laodikeia did not affect Nicaean–Seljuk relations, while Maurozomes was still active. Choniates mentions in his *Selention* (which he had completed by the spring of 1208<sup>207</sup>) the ‘frequent departures [of Theodore Laskaris] to the neighbouring nations, and the support from [them]’.<sup>208</sup> I agree with Zhavoronkov that this ‘support’ could have only been Seljuk,<sup>209</sup> as other ‘neighbouring nations’, namely the Latins and the Grand Komnenoi, were hostile to the Nicaean Empire. The ‘travels’ of Theodore Laskaris should be dated between the spring of 1205 and the spring of 1208,<sup>210</sup> at the time of the second conflict with (at the end of 1205), and the final defeat of Maurozomes (1207).

Manuel Maurozomes’ son entered the service of Kay-Khusraw I in 1204, when the latter was still in Byzantium.<sup>211</sup> He is mentioned by Ibn Bibī as *amīr*

<sup>202</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 399, l.54–400, l.1; Brand, ‘Mankaphas, Theodore’, in *ODB*, ii, pp. 1286–7; Cheynet 1984: 45–7.

<sup>203</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 139, ll.1–12.

<sup>204</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 638, ll.62–69; Akropolites, i, p. 14, ll.20–23; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1668 b; Cheynet 1996: 469; Savvides 1987: 231–45.

<sup>205</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 127, ll.15–17.

<sup>206</sup> *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 76–7; *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 85; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 42.

<sup>207</sup> van Dieten 1971: 142.

<sup>208</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, p. 127, ll.3–4.

<sup>209</sup> The plural form ‘neighbouring nations’ (*εθνη τὰ πρόσοικα*) may be a numerical exaggeration.

<sup>210</sup> Zhavoronkov 1977: 33.

<sup>211</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 26; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 38; Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 80.

Kumninūs Mafruzūm for the first time in relation to the visit of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I, the son of Kay-Khusraw I and now the Sultan, to Kayseri, where he punished some of his disobedient *amīrs* in Jumādā I AH 620 (June 1223). At this time the *amīr* Kumninūs, the sultan’s close friend, ‘who knew the intimate secrets of the palace’,<sup>212</sup> was appointed *beylerbeyi* as one of the chief supporters of the Sultan after he helped his suzerain overcome the powerful *amīr*, the royal carver (*chashnigir*) Sayf al-Dīn Aybe.<sup>213</sup> Sometime in 1225–6 the Sultan sent the *amīr* Kumninūs together with the *chāshnīgir* Mubāriz al-Dīn Chāwli (Çavlı) against Cilician Armenia.<sup>214</sup> There is a note in Ibn Bibī about this campaign that helps establish that the son of Manuel Maurozomes and the *amīr* Kumninūs, the first known Christian *beylerbeyi* in the Seljuk service, were one and the same person: in 1225, the Sultan appointed as the head of the army

the *amīr* Kumninūs Mafruzūm, who in the past, as was mentioned,<sup>215</sup> was the subordinate ruler (*malik-i mutā‘*) in the countries and lowlands (*biqā‘*) of Rūm<sup>216</sup> and master of [many] servants and fortresses. The martyr sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw<sup>217</sup>—let Allah enlighten him with His proof!—gave him a princess from among his young virgin ladies under the veil (i.e. one of his daughters: *az mukhaddarāt-i u*) in the ties of marriage. He was distinguished with the honour of the relationship and matrimonial connection with the Sultan.<sup>218</sup>

Later, when Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I ‘reached the degree of martyrdom’, the *amīr* Kumninūs Mafruzūm enjoyed great respect from Kay-Khusraw I’s sons, the sultans ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I.<sup>219</sup>

The statement about ‘the *amīr* Kumninūs Mafruzūm, who in the past, as has been mentioned, had been the subordinate ruler (*malik-i mutā‘*) in the countries and lowlands (*biqā‘*) of Rūm and master of [many] servants and

<sup>212</sup> Lit. ‘the second place of those two in the cave’. This is an allusion to the flight (*Hijra*) of Muhammad and Abū Bakr (‘those two’) from Mecca to Medina, when they sought shelter from persecutors in a cave. ‘The second place of those two in the cave’ is therefore a synonym for ‘a sacred, safe place like the cave of Muhammad’, that is, the sultan’s palace, which is compared to the cave of the Prophet.

<sup>213</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 112–17; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 117–21; *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 89; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 46. The date, Jumādā I AH 620 (June 1223), is provided by the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq* which, however, does not mention the name of *amīr* Komnenos.

<sup>214</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 129, 138–41; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 131, 140–2.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. Ibn Bibi, pp. 17–29; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 30–41.

<sup>216</sup> The term ‘lowland’ (*biqā‘*) was used by Ibn Bibi in relation to the Maeander Valleys and Laodikeia in particular in the episode of Kay-Khusraw I’s detention in Nicaea in August 1204: Ibn Bibi, p. 26; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 38. Here Ibn Bibi again mentioned Laodikeia and the lands along the Maeander under the same term *biqā‘*.

<sup>217</sup> This was of course Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I, who was killed by Theodore I Laskaris in the battle at Antioch on the Maeander in 1211.

<sup>218</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 305.

<sup>219</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 305; Ibn Bibi (Yazıcızâde Ali), pp. 444–5.

fortresses' requires explanation. As we have seen in the talks between Theodore I and Kay-Khusraw I in July–August 1204, the term *biqā'* meant the lowlands of the Maeander, including the cities of Laodikeia and Chonai, which were to become the centres of the 'state' of Manuel Maurozomes in 1206–7. If Manuel's son, the *amīr* Kumninūs Mafruzūm, was once the subordinate ruler (*malik-i mutā'*) in those lands, this means that he was, according to the usual Byzantine custom, a co-ruler with his father and the sultan's servant at the same time.

Manuel Maurozomes' descendants are found in the Konya inscription on a marble block of a sarcophagus dating from 1297. First, there was his son, John the Fair Komnenos Maurozomes (known also as Kumninūs Kalūyān Mafruzūm in the Arabic inscription originally on the walls of Konya c. 1220; his Greek seal, issued according to Byzantine traditions, though in the Sultanate, survives), his son, John Komnenos, and his grandson, Michael *Amīr* Arslan Komnenos.<sup>220</sup> It seems that John (the Fair) Komnenos Maurozomes was the son of Manuel Maurozomes. He was thus identical to the *amīr* Kumninūs Mafruzūm, the son-in-law of Kay-Khusraw I. These Maurozomai in the Seljuk service always remembered that they were the descendants of the *porphyrōgennetoi* emperors (lit. 'born in the Porphyra Chamber [of the imperial palace in Constantinople]'), i.e. of Manuel I Komnenos and his forefathers, and the members of the Komnenoi clan (*Kομ[νη]νοφυῆ*).<sup>221</sup>

It seems strange that Kay-Khusraw I continued to maintain close relations with the emperor of Nicaea, who was at odds with Manuel Maurozomes, his father-in-law. There are two possible explanations.

First, one should consider Nicaean–Seljuk relations in terms of 'family policy'. The daughter of Maurozomes was the wife of Kay-Khusraw I and her brother was in the service of the sultan;<sup>222</sup> but the Nicaean empress Anna was the daughter of Alexios III, to whom Kay-Khusraw I was indebted. The sultan supported both Maurozomes and Laskaris, who were, after all, distant relatives: Theodore I and his brother Constantine Laskaris each styled himself 'Komnenos Laskaris' on his seals; this alone suggests that Theodore I had the right to be a Komnenos by blood<sup>223</sup> even without his marriage to Anna, the

<sup>220</sup> On them, see Wittek 1935a: 505–15, 1937: 207–11; Barzos 1984: i, pp. 473–5, n. 189; ii, pp. 496–502; Korobeinikov 2007: 93–108; Métivier 2009: 197–208; Redford 2010: 48–50; Yıldız 2011: 68–72.

<sup>221</sup> Barzos 1984: i, pp. 473–5, n. 189; Métivier 2009: 199.

<sup>222</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 26; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 38; Ibn Bibi (Yazicizâde Ali), p. 219.

<sup>223</sup> Tafel and Thomas 1856–7: ii, pp. 205–7; Wassiliou 1997: 416–24; PBW (accessed 28 July 2013) Konstantinos 20453 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/154082>>, boulloteron 4953 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/id/boulloteron/4953>>; 'Ο ἄγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Διασορίτης. Σκέπτοις Κομνηὸν Λάσκαριν Κωνσταντίνον οὐδὲ καὶ γραφὰς σφράγιζε μαρτύρων κλέος ('St Georgios Diasorites. May you protect Konstantinos Komnenos Laskaris, and also seal his writings, glory of the martyrs'); PBW (accessed 28 July 2013) Theodoros 1 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/155776>>, boulloteron 3058 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/id/boulloteron/3058>>:

daughter of Alexios III, while Manuel Maurozomes was the son of the daughter of the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos.<sup>224</sup> That is why Choniates, when speaking about the withdrawal of the Latin armies from Asia Minor after the catastrophe at Adrianople (14 April 1205) and the Bulgarian advance, which caused much suffering to the Greek population of Thrace, accuses the leaders of the still independent parts of Byzantine Asia Minor, namely Manuel Maurozomes, Theodore I Laskaris, and David Grand Komnenos, the ‘three-headed monster’ (*θηρίον τρικάρηνον*), as he calls them, of unwillingness to help their compatriots in the Balkans. Instead, they struggled against each other, ‘having forgotten about their common ancestry’ (*τῆς ὁμογενείας ἀπαλλοτρίωσιν*).<sup>225</sup> Moreover, when speaking about Maurozomes in his *Speech*, Choniates compares the ‘treachery’ of Maurozomes with the betrayal of Ahithophel the Gilonite (whose name can be translated as ‘brother of insipidity’ or ‘foolishness’), the counsellor of King David the Prophet who was renowned for his sagacity. Ahithophel nevertheless betrayed his sovereign in favour of Absalom, the rebellious son of David (2 Samuel 15: 12–17; 23; 1 Chronicles 27: 33–34). The Bible contains many examples of betrayal, but Choniates chooses one ‘inside the royal family’. Indeed, if Theodore I Laskaris was the ‘new David’ (contrary to David Grand Komnenos)<sup>226</sup> and Manuel Maurozomes the ‘new Ahithophel’, then Kay-Khusraw I was the ‘new Absalom’, i.e. the ‘son’, however rebellious, of the ‘new David’. Choniates refers to the ‘father–son’ relations that existed between the Byzantine emperor and Seljuk sultan of Rüm, though by 1206, the date of the composition of the speech, Theodore I had only been proclaimed, but not crowned, emperor (on the presumptive place of his coronation, see Fig. 3).<sup>227</sup>

The quarrels between the two relatives by baptism, the sultan of Rüm and the Nicaean emperor, were merely conflicts, not war on a large scale. Kay-Khusraw I tried to take advantage of the disintegration of the Byzantine empire and to add territories to his realm, but it is noteworthy these were lands which belonged to other rulers: Trebizond (the capital of Alexios

<sup>224</sup> Ο ἄγιος Θεόδωρος. Μάρτυς, Κομνηνὸν Θεόδωρον δεσπότην ἀνακτόπαιδος σύζυγον "Αννης σκέπαις" ('St Theodoros. Martyr, may you protect Theodoros Komnenos despotes, husband of the emperor's daughter Anna'); boulloteron 2980 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/id/boulloteron/2980>>; <sup>225</sup> Ο ἄγιος Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατηλάτης. Θεόδωρος δεσπότης Κομνηνὸς Λάσκαρις ('St Theodoros Stratelates. Theodoros Komnenos Laskaris emperor'); cf. boulloteron 5877 <<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/id/boulloteron/5877>>. All the translations of the seals are those of the PBW.

<sup>226</sup> Barzos 1984: i, pp. 496–502.

<sup>227</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 625, ll.28–46. To comprehend Choniates' accusations, one should read the next page, p. 626, ll.47–71.

<sup>226</sup> Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 134, ll.14–16, 138, ll.8–10, 139, ll.13–29.

<sup>227</sup> On the ‘father–son’ image of Byzantine–Seljuk relations, see Korobeinikov 2008b: 713–19.

I Grand Komnenos), which the sultan attacked in 1205, and Attaleia (Antalya), which he conquered on 3 Sha'bān AH 603 (5 March 1207).<sup>228</sup>

Secondly, both states, Nicaea and Rūm, had a common enemy or, indeed, enemies. The Grand Komnenoi, Alexios I and his brother David, the grandsons of the Emperor Andronikos I, were masters of Pontos and Paphlagonia respectively. They were of a nobler descent (a direct branch of the Komnenoi dynasty) and therefore had claims to the imperial title that were superior to those of Theodore Laskaris or even of Manuel Maurozomes. From this point of view, the Emperor Alexios I Grand Komnenos was the most dangerous rival to the Nicaean emperor.<sup>229</sup>

Alexios I remained in Trebizond; it was his brother David who established himself in Herakleia Pontike, threatening Nikomedea. Between July and October of 1205 Theodore had defeated Alexios Synadenos, David's general.<sup>230</sup>

It would seem that about the same time in AH 602 (18 August 1205–7 August 1206) Kay-Khusraw I attacked Trebizond. According to Ibn al-Athīr, it was Alexios I who was responsible for the *casus belli*: he refused to allow the Muslim merchants of Syria, 'Irāq, Mawṣil and al-Jazīra to pass through his land to the countries of al-Rūm (the Empire of Trebizond), al-Rūs (Russians), and Kipçak (Qifjāq, Cumans). The emperor's decision took the merchants by surprise: they gathered in Sivas, unable to proceed to Trebizond and suffered heavy losses; only a few managed to recover their money.<sup>231</sup> The account suggests that the sultan's attack took place at the end of the navigation season, so that the merchants did not manage to travel from Sivas after the campaign finished. This helps to establish a more precise date. The period for navigation on the Black Sea for mediaeval ships lasted from the beginning of spring until the end of autumn; sailing in winter was dangerous because of the severe storms.<sup>232</sup> The chronological limits of the Seljuk attack are 18 August 1205–7 August 1206. If the campaign was undertaken in 1206, the merchants would have had some time, from August until November 1206, to recover their losses, as the sailing season was still not over. Thus, the attack must have taken place in August–October 1205 at the latest, just before the navigation season ended and at about the same time as Theodore Laskaris defeated David Grand Komnenos.

In his commentary on this campaign, Choniates mockingly writes:

<sup>228</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 33–5; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 44–6; Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 328; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 121; M. E. Martin 1980: 326.

<sup>229</sup> Shukurov 2001a: 62–92.

<sup>230</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll.63–71; V. Laurent 1962b: 213–14; Karpov 2007: 98–9.

<sup>231</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 321; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 113.

<sup>232</sup> Karpov 1994: 31.

David from [the dynasty of] the Komnenoi, having enlisted Paphlagonians and the inhabitants of Herakleia Pontike and having hired as mercenaries the division of the Georgians from [the banks of the river] Phasis (lit. ‘who drink from Phasis’), subdued [various] towns and cities. He exalted his brother whose name was Alexios, and became his forerunner and herald. However, that [Alexios] was to linger in the regions of Trebizond and, like the proverbial Hylas,<sup>233</sup> his name was invoked but he was never seen.<sup>234</sup>

This is possibly an allusion to events in 1205, when a Seljuk attack prevented Alexios I Grand Komnenos from helping his brother.

I suggest, following other scholars, that both actions (Theodore I’s attack on David and Kay-Khusraw I’s campaign against Alexios I Grand Komnenos) were concerted, as these happened simultaneously.<sup>235</sup> Ibn al-Athīr does not say why Alexios I imposed an economic blockade on the sultan. This might have been Alexios’s response to a Nicaean–Seljuk alliance as well as to Seljuk military help to Nicaea at that time (from March 1205 onwards) and the recognition by Kay-Khusraw I of the claims of Theodore Lascaris to the imperial title (the *causa sine qua* of the alliance between the two sovereigns).

His special relationship with Kay-Khusraw I helped Theodore I Laskaris survive during the most troublesome period of 1204–8. However, the situation turned against him in 1210–11. During this period the Emperor Alexios III Angelos left Epiros and arrived at Antalya (c. 1210).<sup>236</sup> The sultan decided to restore his godfather to the throne and wrote a letter to the Nicaean emperor saying that ‘he had illegally seized the power of another [person]’.<sup>237</sup> He even concluded an alliance with the Latin Empire: the Emperor Henry I of Constantinople wrote that in 1211

<sup>233</sup> On the *Argonaut* Hylas, a boy beloved by Herakles, who was carried off by a water nymph on Lemnos, see Zenobios 6.21 (‘Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarraei et Didymi’, in *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, ed. von Leutsch, Ludov, and Schneidewin, i, p. 167, ll.1–17).

<sup>234</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 626, ll.57–63. My translation is different from Magoulias’s. Cf. O City of Byzantium, *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Magoulias, p. 343.

<sup>235</sup> Kuršanskis 1988: 110–11; Shukurov 2001a: 89–90; Karpov 2001: 17.

<sup>236</sup> Alexios III was captured by Boniface of Montferrat when the latter was on his way from Corinth to Thessalonica in November 1204. Boniface sent the ex-emperor to Montferrat. Later Michael I of Epiros ransomed Alexios III, who then left Epiros for Antalya: Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 612, ll.41–45, 620, ll.67–68; Akropolites, i, pp. 12, l.22–14, l.10; Gregoras, i, p. 16, ll.13–18; Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and tr. Faral, ii, § 309; Anonymous of Gaeta, ‘Qualiter caput beati Theodori martyris de Constantinopolitana urbe ad Caietam translatum est’, ed. Riant, i, pp. 153–4; *Annales Ianuenses*, ed. Belgrano and Imperiale, ii, p. 95, ll.7–24. Unfortunately, the sources do not provide us with any exact date for Alexios III’s appearance in Antalya. As the first tensions between the sultan and Theodore I might have started in 1210 (Longnon 1948: 444–6), I suggest that Alexios III came to the sultan at approximately the same time (1210). Cf. Brand, ‘Alexios III Angelos’, in *ODB*, i, p. 65: Alexios III was ransomed in 1209–10 by Michael I of Epiros.

<sup>237</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 15, ll.6–7. Cf. Gregoras, i, p. 17, ll.8–21.

the sultan of Konya, who had strengthened by oath the alliance with us, and had pledged assistance against this Laskaris, entered with a great Turkish army the land of Laskaris.<sup>238</sup>

The Seljuk army led by the sultan himself besieged the city of Antioch on the Maeander. Alexios III was with Kay-Khusraw I. No doubt, the sultan pursued his own ends: to conquer or to gain control of part of the former Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor,<sup>239</sup> so that the unpopular Alexios III, who entirely depended on Seljuk support, would have been a puppet in his hands.

Theodore I had no choice but to fight. In the battle at Antioch on the Maeander the Nicaean army was almost defeated, but Laskaris met the sultan in person and after a short duel killed him.<sup>240</sup> The battle took place after 15 June 1211, probably on 17 June.<sup>241</sup> The elder son of Kay-Khusraw I, Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I, immediately signed 'an inviolable alliance' (*σπονδὰς ἀρρήκτους*) with the Nicaean emperor.<sup>242</sup>

How did the Seljuk defeat and the death of the sultan affect Nicaean–Seljuk relations? Can we suggest that the special ties that bound Theodore I and Kay-Khusraw I, were not reproduced after 1211, this time between Theodore I and the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I? To answer this, we need to establish the chronology of the events of 1211–15. There are two opposing points of view. According to Zhavoronkov, the two states remained hostile during the period 1211–15, and a peace treaty that settled all the problems was signed in 1216.<sup>243</sup> According to the other view, in 1214 both states united against the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>244</sup>

As far as these two suggestions are concerned, three points need to be considered. First, in the battle at Antioch on the Maeander, Alexios III Angelos was taken captive by the Nicaeans. According to usual Byzantine practice, he abdicated and finished his days in the monastery of St Hyakinthos (Koimesis) in Nicaea.<sup>245</sup> From then on, Theodore I Laskaris was the undisputed ruler of the Empire of Nicaea, and the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I recognized him as such.

Secondly, Ibn Bibī writes that after the battle Theodore I Laskaris sent Kay-Kāwūs I rich gifts and 20,000 *dīnārs* to be distributed as alms at the funeral of Kay-Khusraw I. Moreover, Ibn Bibī confirms the information in Akropolites

<sup>238</sup> Prinzing 1973: 414, ll.83–6; Hendrickx 1988: N 121, pp. 85–6.

<sup>239</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 15, ll.9–11.

<sup>240</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 15, l.13–17, l.16; Gregorius, i, pp. 17, l.21, l.12; Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 170, l.1–171, l.21; Ibn Bibi, pp. 36–9; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 47–50; Abū al-Fidā', ed. Dayyub, ii, p. 206.

<sup>241</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 39; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 50; Abū al-Fidā', ed. Dayyub, ii, p. 206; Prinzing 1973: 414, ll.83–90; Longnon 1948: 447–50; Zhavoronkov 1976: 48–50.

<sup>242</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 17, ll.16–18.

<sup>243</sup> Zhavoronkov 1976: 50–61.

<sup>244</sup> Kuršanskis 1988: 112; Shukurov 2001a: 92–109.

<sup>245</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 17, ll.19–23. Janin 1975: 121–4.

about the ‘inviolable alliance’: he writes that both sovereigns exchanged mutual oaths of alliance (lit. ‘agreement’, *ridā*).<sup>246</sup> I suggest that both chroniclers may have possessed the text of the Nicaean–Seljuk treaty of 1211.<sup>247</sup> However, the question arises: if an ‘alliance’ was concluded, against whom was it? The only state which had a common border with the Sultanate of Rūm and the Empire of Nicaea was the Empire of Trebizond. I therefore think that Theodore I and Kay-Kāwūs I agreed to undertake a final campaign against David and Alexios I Grand Komnenoi. In particular, Akropolites writes that after the treaty with the Seljuks in 1211, the Emperor Theodore I ‘overcame David, the ruler of Paphlagonia, and subdued Herakleia (Pontike) and Amas-tris, and all the surrounding territory as well as the small towns’.<sup>248</sup>

However, we know (and this is the third point) that Theodore I was unable to occupy Paphlagonia in 1211–12, before the death of David Grand Komnenos, who died on 13 December 1212 as the monk Daniel.<sup>249</sup> After his victory at Antioch on the Maeander, the Nicaean emperor, who suffered great losses, faced the invasion of Henry I, the Latin emperor, in July 1211. The Greek army was twice defeated: first at Pegai (July 1211) and then at the river Rhindakos near Prousa (15 October 1211).<sup>250</sup> In January 1212 Henry reached Nymphaion<sup>251</sup> and then turned back to Pergamon.<sup>252</sup> In the spring of 1212 Laskaris managed to raise some troops and captured a Latin detachment near Pegai.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>246</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 46–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 57–8.

<sup>247</sup> The remnants of the diplomatic protocol in both Ibn Bibi and Akropolites lead me to reject the opinion of Dölger (Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1682) and Zhavoronkov (1976: 50–1) that in 1211 both states signed a truce, not a treaty. The mutual oaths of the sovereigns were a part of the ratification of the treaty; the procedure for the conclusion of a truce required only a mutual agreement signed by the representatives of both parties. On the procedure according to which treaties were to be concluded, see Malingoudi 1994: 51–87.

<sup>248</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 18, ll.1–4.

<sup>249</sup> Ψαλτήριον (*Psalter book*), MS Vatopedi 760, fol. 294r; Chrysanthos 1933: 355, 360; Bryer 1988–9: 184–5; Karpov 2001: 22, n. 132. The suggestion that David died in Athos (as his passing was mentioned in the colophon of the eleventh-century Psalter book which is now in Vatopedi monastery), advanced by Bryer (1988–9: 184–5) and Shukurov (2001a: 82–8) cannot be accepted. As three other colophons mention prominent members of the Philanthropenoī family, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the manuscript belonged to the Philanthropenoī (or was in the monastery or church whose donators or benefactors were the Philanthropenoī) and was most likely in Constantinople at the end of the thirteenth century, if not earlier. In 1725 the Psalter book was still outside Athos in the library of Constantine Maurokordatos from the famous Phanariot family, before he became the Hospodar of Wallachia in 1730. It seems that the Psalter book was donated to, or purchased by, the Vatopedi monastery sometime after 1725. Ψαλτήριον (*Psalter book*), MS Vatopedi 760, fols. 9r, 294r–294v; Eustratiades and Arkadios Vatopedinos 1924: 149; Kadas 2008: 94–5.

<sup>250</sup> Prinzing 1973: 415, l.96–417, l.158; Longnon 1948: 446–8, 1949: 125–8; Zhavoronkov 1976: 52.

<sup>251</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 27, ll.16–22.

<sup>252</sup> There, he wrote a letter (13 January 1212) to the pope, which is our main source for the campaign of 1211–12: Prinzing 1973: 418, ll.177–178.

<sup>253</sup> Heisenberg 1922–3, 3, p. 9, ll.5–10; Zhavoronkov 1976: 53–4.

It was in 1212 that Theodore I and Henry I signed a truce (*ἐκεχειρία*),<sup>254</sup> the final treaty was not concluded until December 1214.<sup>255</sup>

Likewise, the Sultan Kay-Kāwūs I did not manage to engage in any activity abroad until 1214. His brother, the young *shāhzādah* ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād, refused to recognize him (1211). The internal struggle lasted until the spring of 1214, when ‘Alā’ al-Dīn surrendered in Ankara.<sup>256</sup> It was only after this date that the sultan could have helped Theodore I, and he did so in the second part of 1214, when he sent his troops against Alexios I Grand Komnenos. As a result, by the end of 1214 Theodore I Laskaris had conquered Herakleia Pontike.<sup>257</sup> In October of the same year Alexios I was taken into captivity by the sultan. Sinope, which Alexios I was forced to give up to the sultan, became the price of his release.<sup>258</sup>

If my suggestion that Akropolites saw the text of the Nicaean–Seljuk treaty of 1211 is correct, it explains why he dates the campaign in Paphlagonia to 1211, while in reality it was in 1214. The treaty in 1211 was concluded against the Empire of Trebizond, at the moment when David still ruled Paphlagonia. Akropolites may have confused the events to come in 1211, when the Nicaeans and the Seljuks planned to attack David and Alexios I Grand Komnenos, with those which actually took place in 1214, when Theodore I and Kay-Kāwūs I undertook a successful joint onslaught against the Empire of Trebizond. From then on, Paphlagonia was divided between the Nicaeans and the Seljuks.

However, Zhavoronkov argues that during the period of 1211–16 the Empire of Nicaea and the Sultanate of Rūm remained hostile. His arguments are based on two suggestions: (1) that the matrimonial alliance between Theodore I and Levon I of Cilician Armenia at the end of 1214 was concluded against the Seljuks; and (2) that Theodore I Laskaris took Attaleia/Antalya from the Seljuks in 1214 and lost it in 1216.<sup>259</sup> In my opinion, the chronology does not support Zhavoronkov’s view.

Levon I was an ally of the *shāhzādah* ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād when the latter revolted against his elder brother in 1211 and even besieged the sultan in

<sup>254</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 27, ll.16–22; Zhavoronkov 1976: 54, n. 55.

<sup>255</sup> The chronology of this campaign and Nicaean–Latin reconciliations has been established by Zhavoronkov (1976: 54–5). Cf. Hendrickx 1988: N 129, pp. 90–1.

<sup>256</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 40–4, 47–50; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 51–5, 58–61; Abū al-Fidā’, ed. Dayyub, ii, pp. 207–8. The chronology of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād’s revolt has been established by Shukurov (2001a: 95–6).

<sup>257</sup> Heisenberg 1922–3, 3, pp. 11, l.25–26, l.33; Bryer 1988–9: 185; Vasiliev 1938: 181; Zhavoronkov 1982: 186; Shukurov 2001a: 98–9; Karpov 2001: 24–5.

<sup>258</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 54–8; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 64–7; Kuršanskis 1988: 113. The Seljuk banner was hoisted over the city wall on 1 November 1214. There is a bilingual Greek–Arabic inscription in the tower in Sinop which states that the Sultan Azatin (‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I) conquered the city in November (1214) and built the tower in the year AM 6724 from April to September (1215); the builder was the sultan’s slave Badr al-Dīn Abū Bakr (*Πατραπίνης Πουνάκης*): Heisenberg 1922–3, 3, p. 71.

<sup>259</sup> Zhavoronkov 1976: 56–61.

Kayseri. However, Kay-Kāwūs I managed to come to terms with Levon I, who withdrew in 1212 at the latest.<sup>260</sup> Theodore I Laskaris started his negotiations with the king during the summer of 1213 at the earliest, when Cilician Armenia was at peace with the Sultanate. He married Philippa, the niece of Levon I, on 25 December 1214, shortly after the campaign in Paphlagonia.<sup>261</sup> This marriage should probably be considered as part of a complex diplomatic game to maintain the balance of power: Theodore I gained an ally, Levon I, who could have been useful if the sultan had decided to attack the Empire. The common enemy, the Empire of Trebizond, which might have united Nicaea and Rūm in 1211–14, was not dangerous after its disastrous defeat in 1214, and the new alliance secured the eastern borders of Nicaea against any change in the sultan’s policy. But the matrimonial alliance with the king of Cilician Armenia can hardly be considered as evidence that Theodore I was at war with the sultan in 1214–16.

Secondly, Attaleia was never under the rule of Theodore I. Zhavoronkov writes that there is a Greek inscription on the city wall which states that Antalya had been fortified (we do not know by whom) for two years. The inscription is dated AM 6724, the fourth induction, i.e. 1 September 1215–31 August 1216. Mesarites writes that by 14 September 1214 ‘the emperor had ordered me to go to the land of the Lydians in Sardis’ to meet him.<sup>262</sup> Bar Hebraeus informs us that in 1215 the sultan took Antalya from the ‘Romans’ (Rhōmāyē/Rōmāyē) for the second time.<sup>263</sup> Zhavoronkov interprets these pieces of evidence to suggest that by 14 September 1214 the emperor had taken Antalya from the Seljuks (he arrived at Sardis after a successful campaign), fortified the port by 1 September 1215, but lost it sometime at the end of 1215 or the beginning of 1216.<sup>264</sup> If this is correct, my hypothesis about a permanent Nicaean–Seljuk alliance in 1205–14, interrupted only by the ‘family’ quarrel in 1211, cannot be taken for granted.

However, none of these sources (the inscription, the texts of Mesarites and Bar Hebraeus) clearly demonstrates that Antalya was taken by the Nicaean emperor shortly before the campaign in Paphlagonia in 1214. The inscription does not specify the name of the person or corporation that reconstructed the city walls (was it the emperor or a city magistrate?); the date of the inscription contains lots of *lacunae* and cannot be read for certain. According to Grégoire, the date reads AM 6424, i.e. AD 915–916.<sup>265</sup> The term *Rhōmāyē* (or *Rōmāyē* in

<sup>260</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 40–4; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 51–4; Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk'*, ed. Agélean, p. 218; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, tr. Dédéyan, p. 88; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, tr. Bedrosian, p. 101; Shukurov 2001a: 95–6.

<sup>261</sup> Pavlov 1897: 164–5; Heisenberg 1922–3, 3, p. 47, ll.20–31; Oikonomidès 1967: 128–9; Zhavoronkov 1976: 56–7.

<sup>262</sup> Heisenberg 1922–3, 3, p. 8, ll.31–33.

<sup>263</sup> Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 429; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 369.

<sup>264</sup> Zhavoronkov 1976: 58–60. <sup>265</sup> Grégoire 1922: i, N 303, pp. 103–4.

the manuscripts) in Bar Hebraeus is not necessarily restricted to Byzantine subjects: the *Rhōmāyē* might have also been the Rūmī, the Greek population of the Sultanate. Finally, the text in Mesarites does not specify where the emperor came to Sardis from in September 1214.

It is the Seljuk as well as Latin sources that shed some light on the problem. Because of the uprising by the Greek population,<sup>266</sup> which may have been led by the sultan's brother, *malik* Kay-Faridūn Ibrāhīm, Antalya revolted against Kay-Kāwūs I after 6 Ṣafar AH 608 (20 July 1211).<sup>267</sup> In 1212 the rebels were supported by Crusaders from Cyprus.<sup>268</sup> The sultan retook Antalya four years later, on the last Friday of Ramadān AH 612 (22 January 1216), according to his own *fath-nāma*, the Turkish calendar chronicles, the letter that he sent to Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III b. Muḥammad II Nawmusalmān (1210–21) of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs,<sup>269</sup> or Assassins, in Persia, and the inscription that Kay-Kāwūs I left in the city.<sup>270</sup>

In other words, Antalya in 1211–16 was a unique case of cooperation between the rebel Seljukid prince, the Greek population of the city, and the Latin military unit from Cyprus that helped them. Theodore I Laskaris had not the slightest chance of ruling over the port: the main road from his possessions to Antalya led through Chonai and Laodikeia, which were under Seljuk control. If he had made any attempt to gain Antalya, it would have been a long and laborious campaign. Thus, the campaign of 1211 was the only serious clash between the Sultanate of Rūm and the Empire of Nicaea.

If so, we now come to the important point. The primary concern of this chapter lies mainly in investigating the complex sequence of the events before and after the Fourth Crusade in 1204 as well as in defining the nature of the Nicaean–Seljuk relations.

This scrutiny shows the importance of the Seljuk Sultanate as the chief guarantor of the very existence of the Nicaean Empire. Theodore I Laskaris began to amass all the former Byzantine lands in Asia Minor, while the Byzantines had no state apparatus and army. Seljuk military support in 1205 helped him defeat his rivals and concentrate on the struggle against the Latins. The Seljuk onslaught on Trebizond in 1205 also aided Theodore I, as it prevented Alexios I Grand Komnenos from supporting his brother David, who had been attacked by the Nicaeans. Likewise, in 1214 the joint campaign

<sup>266</sup> Redford and Leiser 2008: 14–16, 92–4.

<sup>267</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 87; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 43.

<sup>268</sup> *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. Raynaud, p. 18 (69); Ibn Bibi, pp. 51–3; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 61–4; Turan 1971a: 310–11.

<sup>269</sup> On Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III Nawmusalmān, see Daftary 1990: 405–7.

<sup>270</sup> Turan 1958: 1–7; *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 76–7; *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, x, 3757, pp. 109–12; Turan 1971a: 310 and n. 97; Redford and Leiser 2008: 17, 30–4, 63, 95, 108–12, 141.

of the Seljuk and the Nicaean forces against Paphlagonian possessions of the Empire of Trebizond led to the ultimate defeat of Alexios I. From then on, the Grand Komnenoi were no longer rivals of the Laskarids in the struggle for the Byzantine inheritance. The war of 1214 and the consequent division of Paphlagonia established the final sector of the Nicaean border in Asia Minor. From that point, the boundary line of the Empire remained unchanged until the 1280s, running from Western Paphlagonia to the right bank of the river Sangarios, then southwards to the Maeander Valleys.<sup>271</sup>

The data of the present chapter also demonstrates, in my opinion, that relations between Nicaea and the Sultanate of Rūm were friendlier than they are generally portrayed. The very fact that the Seljuks took no advantage of the difficult circumstances of Theodore I Laskaris in 1204–7 speaks for itself.

The Seljuks also recognized the imperial title of the Nicaean emperors. Ibn Bibī, while describing the alliance of 1211 (after the battle at Antioch on the Maeander), uses the terms *fāsiliyūs* and, more notably, *malik al-Rūm*, the traditional royal epithets of Byzantine emperors in Oriental diplomatic practice.<sup>272</sup> In contrast to this was the title of the emperor of Trebizond as seen by the Sultanic chancery. Ibn Bibī, while listing the terms of the treaty between Alexios I Grand Komnenos and the Sultan Kay-Kāwūs I, regards the emperor of Trebizond as a local ruler of non-imperial dignity—as a *takwūr*.<sup>273</sup>

However, the Sultan of Rūm, while having recognized Theodore I Laskaris and his possessions, did not do so in the case of other Greek rulers. Kay-Khusraw I conquered Attaleia, the Byzantine naval base surrounded by Turkish settlements,<sup>274</sup> and annexed the ‘principality’ of Manuel Maurozomes in 1207. Later Kay-Kāwūs I took Sinope from Alexios I in 1214. Neither Sinope, Chonai, Laodikeia, nor Attaleia was in the possession of Theodore I Laskaris at the moment of the Seljuk conquest.

The Seljuks also recognized the Patriarch of Nicaea. This was a very important achievement for Nicaean diplomacy. The Orthodox Greek population was a vital element of the population of the Sultanate, probably constituting a majority.<sup>275</sup> After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, a question about the status of the Church organization in Asia Minor inevitably arose. Were the Rūmī Orthodox parishes to recognize the supremacy of the Patriarch in Nicaea or to be separated from him? Like the rulers of Epiros,<sup>276</sup> the Grand Komnenoi tried to establish their own Church organization, sometimes outside the borders of their Empire, independent from that in Nicaea. For example, the metropolitans of Kerasous and Gangra, who were under the

<sup>271</sup> A more detailed description of the Nicaean border will be given in Chapter 6.

<sup>272</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 46; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 57. On the significance of these terms, see Chapter 2.

<sup>273</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 57–8; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 67–8.

<sup>274</sup> Foss, ‘Attaleia’, in ODB, i, pp. 228–9; Redford and Leiser 2008: 11–16, 89–95.

<sup>275</sup> Vryonis 1975b: 59. <sup>276</sup> Hussey 1990: 208–9.

control of the Grand Komnenoi, ordained the metropolitans of Trebizond, Neokaisareia (Niksar), Amastris, and Herakleia Pontike as well as other clergymen of Pontos and Lazike without the consent of the Nicaean Patriarch Michael IV Autoreianos (1208–14).<sup>277</sup> Of these prelates, the metropolitan sees of Neokaisareia and Gangra were situated on Seljuk territory. However, after the division of Paphlagonia between the Nicaeans and the Seljuks in 1214, all these sees were most probably subordinated to the Nicaean Patriarch.<sup>278</sup> Only the metropolitan of Trebizond continued to remain outside Nicaean control, until 1 January 1261, when a special agreement was concluded: from then on, the metropolitan of Trebizond was to be elected by a local synod and then ordained by the Patriarch in Nicaea.<sup>279</sup> Other metropolitan sees in Seljuk Asia Minor, like those of Melitene (Malatya), Kaisareia (Kayseri), or Ankara, remained subordinate to the Patriarch in Nicaea throughout the whole Nicaean period.<sup>280</sup> Moreover, inscriptions in Cappadocia demonstrate that its Greek population recognized Theodore I Laskaris and his successors as their Christian sovereigns (the other sovereign was the Sultan of Rūm).<sup>281</sup> Thus, Theodore I Laskaris managed to continue the traditional policy of Byzantine emperors as protectors of the Orthodox population of the Sultanate, which was a very important component of Nicaean influence over the internal affairs of Rūm.

These three elements—the recognition of the Nicaean emperor, the Patriarch, and the possessions of the Nicaean Empire—were the backbone of Nicaean–Seljuk relations. However, tensions existed between the two states. One of them, support for Alexios III Angelos by Kay-Khusraw I, ended in 1211. Nevertheless, there were other points at issue. The Sultanate continued to give shelter to rebellious Byzantine nobles, as had been the case in the twelfth century (many of these revolts have been described above). Because the Nicaean emperors were very successful in maintaining the balance of power in their relations with the aristocracy, revolts by the nobility were relatively rare. Of all the rebellions, the two most dangerous were the revolt by Andronikos Nestongos against the Emperor John III Batatzes in 1225 (Andronikos later

<sup>277</sup> Vasil'evskii 1896: 274, ll.21–27, 290, ll.15–23; V. Laurent 1971: i, 4, N 1236, p. 46.

<sup>278</sup> In 1226–9 the metropolitans of Ankyra (Ankara), Amastris, Herakleia Pontike, and Pompeioupolis (Taşköprü) attended in person the synod organized by the Patriarch Germanos II (1223–40) of Nicaea (MM, iii, p. 65; V. Laurent 1971: i, 4, N 1244, p. 52; N 1248, p. 55). In September 1229 Gregory, a bishop of Theodosiopolis (Erzurum), signed a *tomos* (decree) of Germanos II: Nicole 1894: 79, ll.19–21, 80, ll.23–24.

<sup>279</sup> Petit 1903: pt. 3, pp. 170–1; V. Laurent 1971: i, 4, pp. 153–5.

<sup>280</sup> V. Laurent 1971: i, 4, N 1235, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1290, 1309.

<sup>281</sup> Jerphanion 1935b: 239–56. See also the inscriptions of the later period: Thierry and Thierry 1963: 202, 204; Bees 1922: 7; Jolivet-Lévi 2002: 76–7, 289; Warland 2013: 80–129; V. Laurent 1968: 371; Vryonis 1977: 11–22; Shukurov 2006: 210–17; Uyar 2010: 617–25.

escaped from prison and sought shelter in the Sultanate, where he died)<sup>282</sup> and the flight of Michael Palaiologos to Rūm in 1256.

Besides, there was one point that divided Nicaea and Rūm: the boundary conflicts in the Maeander Valleys and, in particular, the status of Laodikeia, which ought to have been a Nicaean possession according to the treaty at the end of 1204, but which was finally conquered by the sultan in 1207. I shall now demonstrate how these problems affected Nicaean–Seljuk relations in the period 1215–31, up to the first appearance of the Mongols near the Seljuk eastern frontier.

The period 1215–31 is remarkable for the almost total absence of any information about Nicaean–Seljuk relations. One cannot explain this by the scantiness of our sources. The Empire of Nicaea was engaged in the long and laborious task of retaking Constantinople, while the Sultanate was deeply involved in the affairs of Eastern Anatolia;<sup>283</sup> thus, both states had an interest in the stability of their shared border. Of other Christian states, the Sultanate waged war mostly against Cilician Armenia and especially against the Empire of Trebizond: one can count three wars (in 1225, 1228, and 1230) between Trebizond and Rūm during the period 1215–31.<sup>284</sup> Yet conflicts also took place between Nicaea and Rūm, as the chronicle of the Ayyubid historian al-Ḥamawī records. Because there is no full translation of these four excerpts,<sup>285</sup> and because these is evidence of the Nicaean onslaught against the Seljuk territory, I now translate them.

Al-Ḥamawī writes:

(1) In this [year AH 622 (13 January 1225–1 January 1226)] the Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn [Kay-Qubād], the Sultan of Rūm, defeated al-Ashkarī (‘Laskaris’) and seized some of his fortresses; he likewise defeated Aliks (Alexios), [who was] also a Rūmī (a Byzantine),<sup>286</sup> and captured him.<sup>287</sup>

We do not know which fortresses ‘Alā’ al-Dīn [Kay-Qubād] seized from al-Ashkarī (John III Batatzes, as Oriental authors often applied the dynastic name ‘Laskaris’ to this emperor<sup>288</sup>), but the statement in al-Ḥamawī is confirmed by the Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I himself. He wrote to the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn that he had been waging *jihād* against ‘the infidels

<sup>282</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 36, l.16–38, l.5. The revolt by Nestongos took place after the battle at Poimanenon in 1225; cf. Akropolites, i, p. 35, ll.7–9.

<sup>283</sup> On the Seljuk military campaigns in Eastern Anatolia at that time, see Chapter 3.

<sup>284</sup> Shukurov and Korobeinikov 1998: 178–200.

<sup>285</sup> An incomplete translation is given by Cahen 1974d: 147–8.

<sup>286</sup> According to the suggestion of Shukurov, the ‘Aliks’ was Alexios Paktiāres (*Αλέξιος ὁ Πακτιάρης*), a high official of the tax service (*δημοσιακός ἄρχων*) of the Empire of Trebizond, who was captured by the Seljuks near Sinope while delivering to Trebizond the revenues from the Crimea: Rosenqvist 1996: 310, l.1161–p. 312, l.1182; Shukurov and Korobeinikov 1998: 194.

<sup>287</sup> al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dūdū, p.113; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaزnevich, pp. 150b–151a; Cahen 1974d: 147; cf. the Russian translation in Shukurov and Korobeinikov 1998: 192–3, n. 68.

<sup>288</sup> Cf. Ibn Bibi, p. 119; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 123.

on the four sides' of his realm.<sup>289</sup> This letter was in reply to an earlier message from the Khwārazm-shāh, written at the end of Jumādā II AH 622 (10 June–8 July 1225).<sup>290</sup> The sultan's campaigns of 1225 against the northern 'side', the Crimea (to which he sent *amīr* Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban) and Cilician Armenia (the southern 'side') are mentioned by Ibn Bibī (who stresses that these expeditions were contemporaneous),<sup>291</sup> while the Seljuk expeditions in the other two directions—the western 'side' (against the Empire of Nicaea) and the eastern (the Empire of Trebizond)—are recorded by al-Ḥamawī. Ibn Bibī also writes that the *amīr* Mubarīz al-Dīn Chāwlī (Çavlı) took part in the expedition against Kāhta (1226).<sup>292</sup> He may have been the person who defeated the Nicaeans in 1225. For Ibn Bibī writes that Mubarīz al-Dīn went against Kāhta with the military equipment which was 'very effective against Laskaris' (*bā Lashkarī girān*); Ibn Bibī may have been alluding to siege machines. Moreover, the *amīr* received assistance from five brothers 'who were known as the sons of Fardhakhlā and who recently arrived from the land of Laskaris and became the favourites of the padishah (*pādshāh*, i.e. the Sultan).'<sup>293</sup> The arrival of the 'five sons of Fardhakhlā' took place shortly before 1226, i.e. in 1225, thus at the same time, or shortly after Andronikos Nestongos' rebellion against John III Batatzes; the sultan simultaneously besieged some Nicaean fortresses. If so, it was a full-scale war, which the sultan planned carefully, as in 1224–5 the Nicaean army of the *protostrator* John Ises and John Kammytzes tried to take Adrianople from the Latins and was therefore absent from Asia Minor.<sup>294</sup> Moreover, the struggle over Adrianople caused the first Nicaean–Epirote military conflict, as the army of Theodore Angelos, the despot in Epiros (1215–30) and emperor at Thessalonica (1224–30), also marched on the city. Theodore Angelos managed to win the sympathies of the citizens of Adrianople; and the Nicaean army was forced to retreat. Though the conflict was settled peacefully and no battle was fought, nevertheless the Nicaean military expedition *per se*, when the two armies, the

<sup>289</sup> Turan 1958: ۱۰۷; cf. Nasawī, p. 180 (Arabic text), pp. 195–6 (Russian translation).

<sup>290</sup> Turan 1958: 82–90 (commentary).

<sup>291</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 127–42; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 130–43, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 469–70; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 279–80; Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 454–5; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 389–90; Cahen 1940: 634–5, 2001: 54–6.

<sup>292</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 119; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 123; Turan 1971a: 351; Cahen 2001: 55–6.

<sup>293</sup> Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 277; cf. Ibn Bibī, p. 119; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 123, Ibn Bibī (Yazıcızade Ali), pp. 412–13. Cf. Apanovich 2009: 107–8. Apanovich believes that the 'sons of Fardhakhlā' were sent by John III Batatzes to Kay-Qubād I according to the 'treaty of 1216/1217' (when Theodore I 'ceded' Attaleia to the Seljuks). The treaty does not exist, as Attaleia never was Nicaean. Moreover, Apanovich translated the shortened version of Ibn Bibī, and was therefore unaware that the 'sons of Fardhakhlā' enjoyed the Sultan's favour. It is unclear how the 'five brothers, the sons of Fardhakhlā' became the favourites of Kay-Qubād I, as they, according to Apanovich, remained the Nicaean commanders-in-chief of the allied forces, only temporarily in the Seljuk service. It seems more likely that the 'sons of Fardhakhlā' were renegades or indeed Turks of the *uj* who came from the Nicaean–Seljuk boundary war.

<sup>294</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 38, l.6–41, l.4.

Nicaean and the Epirote, hurried to Adrianople, was fraught with the danger of a protracted war. That is why Theodore Angelos concluded an alliance with ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I beforehand in order to force the Nicaeans to fight a war on two fronts.<sup>295</sup> It seems that good relations between the sultan and the Nicaean aristocracy were vital for the actions of Kay-Qubād I. Even Theodore Angelos, the ally of the sultan in 1225, was the *oiketēs* of Theodore I Laskaris and remained at the Nicaean court until 1208 or 1213.<sup>296</sup>

Al-Ḥamawī continues:

(2) In this [year AH 625 (12 December 1227–29 November 1228)] the news arrived that al-Rūmī<sup>297</sup> had seized a great fortress after a siege of eight days. However, al-Ashkarī returned [and] took up a position for battle (lit. ‘arranged a line’), and broke al-Rūmī, and captured a part of the army of al-Rūmī, and defeated him.<sup>298</sup>

This information is confirmed by another letter by the Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād to the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn, written at the end of AH 625 or the beginning of 626. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn informed the Khwārazm-shāh about his struggle against ‘the infidels on [his] border’ whose fortresses had been taken by him.<sup>299</sup> The word ‘infidels’ may have indicated that Kay-Qubād I waged war against both the Empire of Trebizond and the Empire of Nicaea. As far as Trebizond is concerned, Ibn al-Athīr confirms the statement in the letter of Kay-Qubād I. He writes that at the end of AH 625 the sultan retook the fortress of Sinope from the emperor of Trebizond.<sup>300</sup>

The next excerpt in al-Ḥamawī is noteworthy:

(3) In this [year AH 626 (30 November 1228–19 November 1229)] the news about the battle between al-Rūmī and al-Ashkarī came. [Al-Ashkarī] overcame al-Rūmī. A certain number [of people], like the son of the sister of Māfarīdūn,<sup>301</sup> fled (lit. ‘jumped’) from al-Rūmī to him (al-Ashkarī). The sultan imprisoned a person called Kızıl (لُجْة).<sup>302</sup>

<sup>295</sup> Germanos II, ‘Ἀντιγραφὴ’, ed. Pitra, , vi, col. 485; V. Laurent 1971: i, fasc.4, N 1243, pp. 50–1. The letter of the Patriarch Germanos II, which mentions the Epirot–Seljuk alliance, should be dated to 1226–7.

<sup>296</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 24, l.12–25, l.3; Akropolites (Macrides), p. 146, n. 6.

<sup>297</sup> ‘al-Rūmī’ (the Rūmī) is a designation by al-Ḥamawi of the Sultan of Rūm.

<sup>298</sup> al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dūdū, pp. 155–6; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaزnevich, p. 168b; Cahen 1974d: 148 (with a mistake in dating: AH 624 instead of AH 625).

<sup>299</sup> Nasawī, p. 194 (Arabic text), p. 209 (Russian translation).

<sup>300</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 478–9; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 291; Shukurov and Korobeinikov 1998: 191–2; Shukurov 2001a: 135–8.

<sup>301</sup> al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dūdū, p. 174: ماتریدون al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaزnevich, p. 180b: مافریدون. According to Cahen, this is a corrupted form of the name of the *malik* Kay-Faridūn Ibrāhīm, who revolted in Antalya in 1211: Cahen 1974d: 148, n. 15.

<sup>302</sup> al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dūdū, p. 174; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaزnevich, p. 180b; Cahen 1974d : 148. On the *amir* Sayf al-Dīn Kızıl, see Ibn Bibi, pp. 40–4; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 60; 329, n. 58; Turgal 1939: 17; Koca 1990: 942.

The excerpts (1) (2) and (3) in al-Ḥamawī and the letters of Kay-Qubād I describe the long border warfare that took place between the Sultanate of Rūm and the Empire of Nicaea in AH 622–6 (1225–9). There is no other source that sheds light on this war, apart from two hagiographical texts dedicated to John III Batatzes. The first text, which was composed by George of Pelagonia in the fourteenth century, describes the Seljuk attack on the Empire of Nicaea.<sup>303</sup> The Seljuk troops penetrated as far as Thera (Thyraia, modern Tire) but were then defeated in two subsequent campaigns by the emperor.<sup>304</sup> The second text which was published by Langdon, was composed by an anonymous author of the post-Byzantine era.<sup>305</sup> Unfortunately, the text bears no exact date, only a vague indication that the Nicaean–Seljuk conflict started ‘in the fourth year’ of the reign of the Emperor John III Batatzes (i.e. in 1225–6).<sup>306</sup> It describes the onslaught of the sultan against Philadelphiea and the Maeander Valleys, and the successful counter-attack of John III Batatzes. The conflict, which included the struggle for the cities in the Maeander Valleys (John III Batatzes finally besieged and took Laodikeia), ended in a peace between the emperor and Kay-Qubād I.<sup>307</sup> It is difficult to compare the information of these two texts with that in al-Ḥamawī, since the texts are not precise and are based on popular folktales about Emperor John III Batatzes.<sup>308</sup> However, the news about the peace between John III Batatzes and Kay-Qubād I is confirmed by other Greek sources.<sup>309</sup> Al-Ḥamawī explains when and why the peace treaty was concluded:

(4) In this [year AH 629 (29 October 1231–17 October 1232)] the lord of Rūm (*ṣāḥib al-Rūm*) made peace with al-Ashkari and collected a considerable amount of money from his country by reason of the raids of the Tatars.<sup>310</sup>

In summary, from 1161 the special relationship between Byzantium and the Sultanate of Rūm intensified, especially when the Sultan Kay-Khusraw I, who was baptized by Alexios III Angelos, was reinstalled on the Seljukid throne. Seljuk support was one of the major causes of the survival of the Nicaean Empire in 1204–14. Little is known of how relations developed between Nicaea and Rūm in 1215–31, but from 1231 on both states faced a new enemy: the Mongols.

<sup>303</sup> Heisenberg 1905: 193–233.

<sup>304</sup> Heisenberg 1905: 214, l.22–215, l.19 (the first campaign), 215, l.20–217, l.8 (the second campaign); Langdon 1992: 26–31.

<sup>305</sup> Langdon 1992: 90–104.

<sup>306</sup> Langdon 1992: 99.

<sup>307</sup> Langdon 1992: 104.

<sup>308</sup> Langdon 1992: 25–33.

<sup>309</sup> Akropolites, ii, p. 18, ll.14–25; Theodorus II Ducas Laskaris, ‘In laudem Iohannis Ducae imperatoris’, ed. Tartaglia, p. 28, ll.97–106; Langdon 1992: 18–19.

<sup>310</sup> al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dündü, p. 234; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaznevich, p. 213a; Cahen 1974d: 148 (with a mistake in the dating: AH 628 instead of AH 629).

## TWO CAPITALS: CONSTANTINOPLE AND NICAEA



**Figs. 1a-b.** Triple Theodosian land walls of Constantinople. Built in AD 404–13, these walls protected Constantinople from its enemies, including the Byzantines of Nicaea in 1247–61.



**Figs. 2a-d.** Walls and 114 towers of Nicaea (near Constantinople Gates (Istanbul Kapi)). Built in AD 258–69, the walls were a formidable structure even in the thirteenth century. Emperor Theodore I Laskaris built additional fortifications at some wall locations. It was probably through the Constantinople Gates of Nicaea (see book cover) that the refugees from Constantinople entered the city in 1204.



Figs. 2a-d. Walls and 114 towers of Nicaea (near Constantinople Gates (Istanbul Kapi)), continued.



Figs. 3a-c. Church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea. The church, the location of the First and the Seventh Ecumenical Councils (held in AD 325 and AD 787 respectively), was rebuilt in 1025. It served as a coronation cathedral church of the Nicaean emperors. Its synthronon (Fig. 3b) is still extant, as well as some frescoes (Fig. 3c) that survived the destructions of 1922.

(c)



Figs. 3a-c. Church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea, continued.



**Figs. 4a-b.** Golden Gates of Constantinople. They were used as triumphal gates for solemn processions. On 17 April 1204 Patriarch John X Kamateros and Nicetas Choniates escaped from the sacked Constantinople through the northern entrance of the Golden Gates; and on 15 August 1261, on the feast day of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos entered the City through the same gates in a solemn procession celebrating the liberation of Constantinople from the Latins.

## EASTERN ANATOLIA



**Fig. 5.** Ruins of Ani. Church of Tigran Honents' (1215). In the thirteenth century Ani was outside Seljukid control: the city was a part of the domains of the atabeg Ivanē (1187–1227) and Zak'arē Zakharid-Mkhargrdzeli (1187–1213) under the Georgian queen Thamar.

MARIA (MELANIA) DIPLOBATATZINA



Fig. 6a. Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora (renovated by Theodore Metochites in 1315–21) (Kariye Cami).



Fig. 6b. Maria Diplobatatzina, wife of the Ilkhān Abaqā. This portrait, from the frescoes of the Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora, shows Maria Diplobatatzina, later the nun Melania, the illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII and the wife of the Ilkhān Abaqā. Her title 'Empress of the East' in Philes' poem emphasizes not only her high position as the Ilkhān's widow but also her protection for the Melkite communities of Iran (on these, see Korobeinikov 2005: 3–4). (Wikimedia Commons/Caner Cangül.)



**Fig. 6c.** Deesis of the Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora with the portraits of the two church benefactors: the 'Lady of the Mongols' Maria Diplobatatzina, later the nun Melania, the consanguine sister of Andronikos II, and the prophryogennetos sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos (1093–after 1152), the son of the Emperor Alexios I and the father of Andronikos I. Both church patrons had connections with eastern countries. Maria was in Tabriz, the capital city of Mongol Iran, in 1265–82, during the lifetime of her husband Abaq. Isaac Komnenos, who opposed the Emperor John II, spent fourteen years in exile, from 1122 (or early 1123) to 1136, travelling across the Sultanate of Rüm, the emirate of the Dânişmendoğulları, Cilician Armenia, and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. His son John preferred to settle permanently in the Sultanate of Rüm in 1140, where he married a daughter of the Sultan Mas'ud I. © The Dumbarton Oaks Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives.

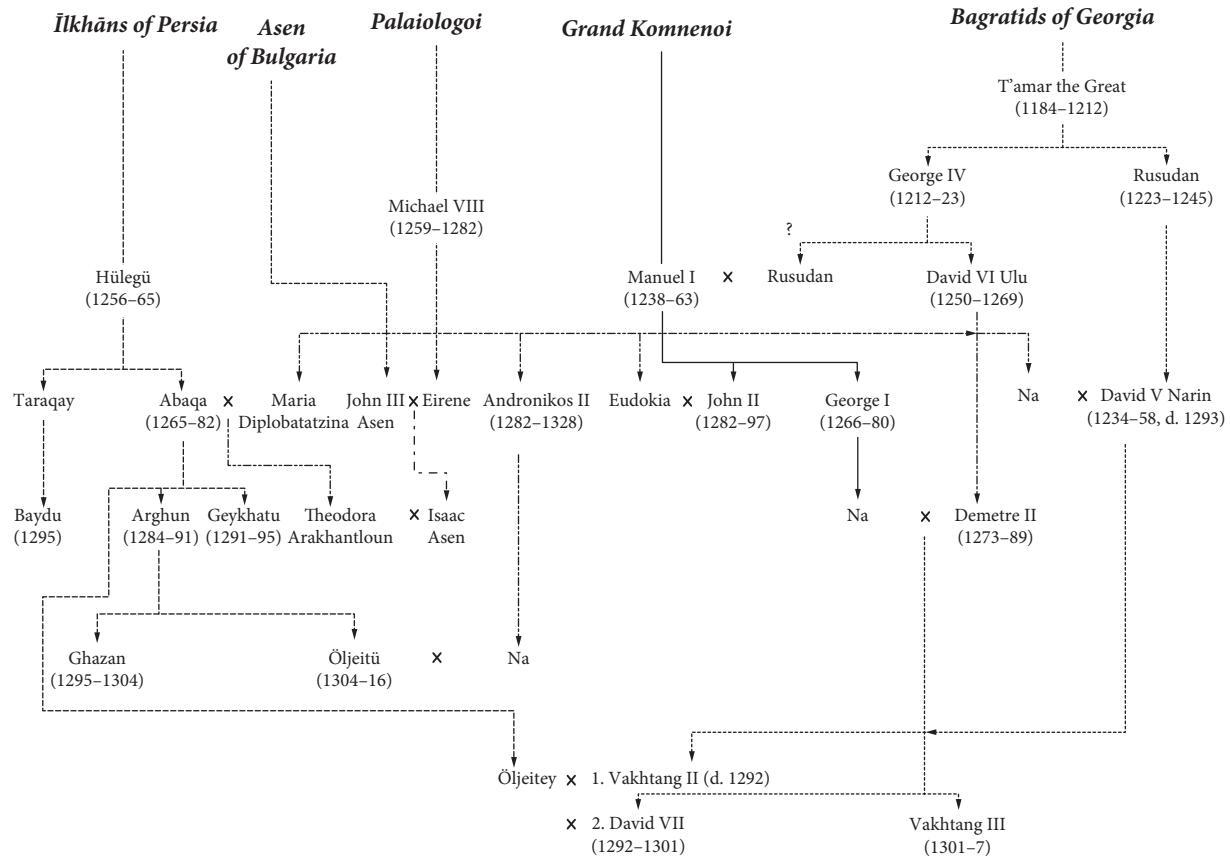


Fig. 7. Genealogical table.

# Chapter 5

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## The Mongols

After the series of border conflicts with the Empire of Nicaea in 1225–9, the Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I hastened to conclude a peace treaty (*sullh*) with John III Batatzes in 1232.<sup>1</sup> He needed to protect his western border in order to concentrate on eastern affairs, since he faced the most dangerous enemy the Seljuks had ever met: the Mongols.

The Mongol state was founded by Temüchin, who united the Mongol tribes and was then enthroned under the name Chinggis Khān<sup>2</sup> as master of all the Mongols in the *khuriltai* (Great Assembly) in 1206.<sup>3</sup> The newly established Mongol state began to wage war against its neighbours, the Jurchid Empire in Northern China (in 1211–16), the Tangut state Hsi-Hsia (in 1205, 1207–10, 1226–7), and finally the state of the Khwārazm-shāhs in Central Asia in 1219–21.<sup>4</sup> The last campaign opened the Muslim world to the Mongol armies. From that time on, the Mongols steadily conquered Central Asia, Īrān, ‘Irāq, Ādharbāyjān, Armenia, and Rūm, to be stopped only by the Mamluks in the battle near ‘Ayn Jälüt in Syria in 1260.<sup>5</sup>

The war against the Khwārazm-shāh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad II was a personal revenge of some kind on Chinggis Khān’s part. At the end of 1218 ‘Alā’ al-Dīn allowed his relative Ināl-khān, the governor in Uṭrār, to plunder a large Mongol caravan and kill Chinggis Khān’s merchants.<sup>6</sup> Still worse, the

<sup>1</sup> al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dūdū, p. 234; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaznevich, p. 213a.

<sup>2</sup> *Khān* is a Turkic title given to a supreme ruler, from the Old Turkic *qayan*↔*qan* (in the Old Turkic inscriptions of the eighth century); *khaqan*↔*khan* (in the dictionary of Maḥmud of Kāshghar, 1072–4). Its Common Mongol form is *qa'an* (from its Written Mongol form *khakhan*, also attested in Middle Mongol, i.e. the Mongol language of the thirteenth and fourteenth century): Šcerbak 1997: 132, 165 (N 463); *Drevnetiurkiskii slovar'*, eds. Nadeliaev *et al.*, pp. 405, 417, 636; Clauson 1972: 611, 630 (lemmata: *xağan* and *xa:n*); Doerfer 1963–75: iii, pp. 141–80 (1116); Janhunen 2003: 7. However, I will use the term *khān*, as it is found in Arabic and Persian sources of the thirteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Ratchnevsky 1991: 89–96. <sup>4</sup> Ratchnevsky 1991: 103–34, 140–1.

<sup>5</sup> On the battle at ‘Ayn Jälüt, see Amitai-Preiss 1995: 26–48; Thorau 1992: 75–88. On the Mongol advance westward, see Jackson 2005: 31–57, 74–5.

<sup>6</sup> Nasawi, p. 42 (Arabic text), p. 74 (Russian translation); Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 401; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 205; Rashīd al-Dīn, i, pp. 341–6; Rashīd al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), i, pp. 471–8; Rashīd al-Dīn (Arends), i, 2, pp. 187–90; Rashīd al-Dīn (Thackston), i, pp. 233–6; Juwaynī, i,

Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-shāh ordered Chinggis Khān's ambassadors to be put to death when they arrived to ask him to give up Ināl-khān.<sup>7</sup> According to al-Nasawī, the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-shāh 'paid [a lot] for his anger, and [finally] gave up one province for each [Mongol] ambassador [killed].'<sup>8</sup>

In 1219 the hordes of Chinggis Khān invaded the lands of the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-shāh. 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad II dispersed his troops among the chief cities of Transoxania (Mā warā'a al-Nahr, Maverannahr), in the vain hope of organizing resistance in Khurāsān, Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, Īrān, and 'Irāq-i 'Ajām (Persian 'Irāq).<sup>9</sup> Chinggis Khān took city after city; he also sent a special detachment under the command of Jebe and Sübedei to pursue the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-shāh in the depths of Khurasān and Māzandarān. 'Alā' al-Dīn managed to escape to a remote island on the Caspian Sea, near Abaskūn in the Gurgān estuary, where he died at the end of 1220.<sup>10</sup> His elder son Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburnī<sup>11</sup> succeeded him.

News of these events, though they had occurred in a remote land, soon reached the Sultan of Rūm as a first warning of danger. The expedition of Jebe and Sübedei did not stop after the death of the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-shāh. Indeed, they proceeded farther to Māzandarān, 'Irāq-i 'Ajām, Ādharbāyjān, Arrān, and finally to the Kipčak steppes by way of Darband Shirwān, between the Caucasus and the shores of the Caspian Sea.<sup>12</sup> In their struggle with the Cuman (Kipčak) tribes, Jebe and Sübedei invaded the Crimea. On 27 January 1223 they took Soghdāq (Soldaia, Sudak),<sup>13</sup> a port in Eastern Crimea. After the victory at Kalka (31 May or 16 June 1223), in which the joint Rus'-Kipčak army was defeated, they returned to Mongolia.<sup>14</sup> According to Ibn al-Athīr, some of the citizens of Soghdāq in January 1223, as well as some of the Rus' merchants in the Crimea in June 1223, escaped the Mongols and sailed to the

pp. 60–2; Juvaini (Boyle), pp. 79–81; *Mongol-un Niguca Tobchiyan*, ed. Tserengsodnom *et al.*, § 254, p. 86; *Histoire secrète des Mongoles*, ed. Ligeti, § 254; de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, i, § 254; ii, pp. 922–31.

<sup>7</sup> Nasawī, p. 43 (Arabic text), pp. 74–5 (Russian translation); Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 402–3; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 206.

<sup>8</sup> Nasawī, p. 43 (Arabic text).

<sup>9</sup> Nasawī, p. 43–5 (Arabic text), pp. 75–6 (Russian translation); Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 403; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 206–7; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzi, *Mirāt al-zamān fi tārikh al-a'yān*, viii, 2, pp. 608–9; Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 446–7; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 382–3.

<sup>10</sup> Nasawī, p. 55–8 (Arabic text), pp. 84–7, 312, nn. 13, 15 (Russian translation); Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 403–7; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 207–12; Juwaynī, ii, pp. 94–117; Juvaini (Boyle), pp. 362–86; al-Makin, ed. Cahen, pp. 129–30; al-Makin, tr. Eddé and Micheau.

<sup>11</sup> I prefer the form 'Mankburnī', literally '[the one with] a birthmark on his nose', instead of the common form 'Mengübirti'. See Nasawī, p. 292, n. 4 (Russian translation).

<sup>12</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 408–17; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 212–23.

<sup>13</sup> Nystazopoulou 1965: 119, n. 8; Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 417; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, p. 223.

<sup>14</sup> *Mongol-un Niguca Tobchiyan*, ed. Tserengsodnom, § 262, p. 92; *Histoire secrète des Mongoles*, ed. Ligeti, § 262; de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, i, § 262; ii, pp. 258–61; Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 417–18; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 223–4; *Ipat'evskaiā letopis'*, ed. Shahmatov, cols. 740–745; Dimnik 2003: 293–8.

Sultanate of Rūm. The Sultan Kay-Qubād I was informed of these events.<sup>15</sup> Such were the first signs of the new enemy to come.

However, the Mongol threat to the Sultanate of Rūm was postponed by the last Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburni. A gifted warrior, he resisted Chinggis Khān and, though unable to defeat overwhelming Mongol forces in the battle near the river Sind (Indus) 8 Shawwāl AH 618 (25 November 1221), found shelter in Northern India.<sup>16</sup> Thence he returned to the western territories of the state of the Khwārazm-shāhs, still untouched by the Mongols. He arrived in Kirmān in AH 621 (24 January 1224–12 January 1225) and then in Ādharbāyjān (at the beginning of 1225).<sup>17</sup> For a while, the realm of Jalāl al-Dīn separated the Sultanate of Rūm and the possessions of the Ayyubids in Syria from the Mongol armies. However, Jalāl al-Dīn continued his conquests on the western border, and these finally alarmed the Sultan Kay-Qubād I. In order to put a stop to the Khwārazm-shāh's aggression, he united with al-Malik al-Ashraf (1229–37), the Ayyubid ruler of Syria and al-Jazīra. The joint Seljukid–Ayyubid army defeated the Khwārazm-shāh in the battle at Yāssı Çamān (var. Yāssı Çimen, Mecidiye, near Erzincan) on 28 Ramadān AH 627 (10 August 1230).<sup>18</sup> This was a turning point for Jalāl al-Dīn. Without an army, he became an easy prey for the Mongols. Trying to save his life from the advancing Mongol troops of Chormaghun (Chormāghūn),<sup>19</sup> he was killed by marauding Kurds in the mountains near Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan) in the middle of Shawwāl AH 628 (middle of August 1231).<sup>20</sup> His state disintegrated after him.

From this point on, the Sultanate of Rūm had to deal with the Mongols face to face. The Mongols, who attacked the remnants of the Khwārazm-shāh's state in Ādharbāyjān, started their campaign from Ujān (in Iranian Ādharbāyjān). They had taken Marāgha, Tabrīz, Rayy, and Sukmānābād near Khū'i (in southern Ādharbāyjān) by the spring of AH 628 (9 November 1230–28

<sup>15</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 417–18; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 223–4.

<sup>16</sup> Nasawī, pp. 98–106 (Arabic text), pp. 119–25 (Russian translation); Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 422–3; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 228–30.

<sup>17</sup> Nasawī, pp. 116–34 (Arabic text), pp. 133–50 (Russian translation); Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 443–5, 447–9; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 251–3, 256–60.

<sup>18</sup> Nasawī, pp. 232–4 (Arabic text), pp. 246–9 (Russian translation); Gottschalk 1960: 57–67; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Dūdū, pp. 205–11; al-Ḥamawī, ed. Griaznevich, pp. 196a–199a; Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 486–7; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 299–300; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'at al-zamān fī tārikh al-a'yān*, viii, 2, pp. 659–62; al-Makīn, ed. Cahen, p. 139; al-Makīn, tr. Eddé and Micheau, pp. 44–5; Ibn Bibi, pp. 168–75; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 166–72. On the location of Yāssı Çamān, see Shukurov 2001a: 141.

<sup>19</sup> He is mentioned for the first time in 1229: al-Nasawī, p. 256 (Arabic text), p. 272 (Russian translation); Sebastats'i, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, ii, p. 139; Galstian 1962: 24.

<sup>20</sup> Nasawī, pp. 270–4 (Arabic text), pp. 286–90 (Russian translation); Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 490–2; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 303–5; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'at al-zamān fī tārikh al-a'yān*, viii, 2, pp. 668–70.

October 1231). Then Chormaghun entered the plain of Mūqān/Mūghān, the heart of Ādharbāyjān and Arrān, which he made his base soon after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn.<sup>21</sup> By this time his troops' raids had reached Edessa (al-Ruhā), Sūmeysat (Samosata, Sumaysāt), Diyarbakir (Āmid, Diyār Bakr), and Mayyā-fāriqīn<sup>22</sup> in the south and, if the information in Georgian sources is correct, Darband Shirwān (Bāb al-Abwāb, Derbent), Kaxet'i, Somxit'i, Dvin, and Ani (see Fig. 5) in the north and the west.<sup>23</sup> Ganja (Ganjak) and Shamkūr (Shamk'or, Shankori) fell in the same year (1231).<sup>24</sup> In AH 629 (29 October 1231–17 October 1232) Chormaghun attacked the environs of Sivas. The Mongol detachment returned to Mūghān before the Seljuks organized any resistance. When the news reached Kay-Qubād I, he immediately sent troops to Sivas under the command of Kamāl al-Dīn Kāmyār, who marched to Erzurum and took the Georgian fortress of Khākh (var. Khākhū, modern Haho, east of Ispir in Turkey), thus securing the northern approach to Erzurum.<sup>25</sup> As has been mentioned, the sultan concluded a peace treaty with the Nicaeans at the same time. According to Bar Hebraeus, in 1232 Kay-Qubād I also agreed to pay tribute to the Mongols.<sup>26</sup> In AH 633 (16 September 1235–3 September 1236) a Mongol embassy, headed by the *amir* Shams al-Dīn 'Umar Qazwīnī, arrived in Rūm, bringing the *pāiza* ('diploma') and *yarlīgh* ('order') of the Great Khān Ögedei, offering an alliance (*ili*, Middle Mongol *el(i)*).<sup>27</sup> Ibn Bibī reproduces the authentic text of the *yarlīgh*. In exchange for Mongol protection, the Great Khān required the sultan to become his vassal (which implied a visit in person to Qaraqorum, the Mongol imperial capital).<sup>28</sup> Kay-Qubād I died on 3 Shawwāl AH 634 (30 May 1237), before any agreement was concluded.<sup>29</sup> His

<sup>21</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 490–6; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 303–10; Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 463; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 396–7: the Mongols became masters of Ādharbāyjān and Shahrazūr/Shahāzūr in the province of Jibāl (south of Ādharbāyjān) in AH 628 (1231).

<sup>22</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 492–3; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 305–7; Hovsep'ean 1951: n. 403, cols. 877–878; Mat'evosyan 1988: n. 131b, p. 175; Babayan 1969: 100–1.

<sup>23</sup> *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, p. 513.

<sup>24</sup> Nasawī, pp. 244 (Arabic text), pp. 259–60 (Russian translation); Step'annos Episkopos, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, i, p. 40; Galstian 1962: 34; Grigor of Akanc', eds. and trs. Blake and Frye, pp. 294–7; Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 234–43, Kirakos (Khanlarian), pp. 153–8; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 196–205; Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, p. 144; Thomson 1989: 214.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Bibī, pp. 182–3; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 175–6; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 89–90; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 46; *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 78–9.

<sup>26</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 466; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 398–9.

<sup>27</sup> On the etymology of *eli* in Mongol (from the Old Turkic *el*, 'agreement', 'peace', cf. the expression *el bolmak*, 'to come to terms', 'to make peace') see Ščerbak 1997: 248–9 and Index; *Drevneturkskii slovar'*, eds. Nadeliaev *et al.*, p. 169; Clauson 1972: 121–3, lemma: *éł*; Doerfer 1963–75: ii, pp. 194–201 (653).

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 203:

You (i.e. the sultan) [should] in praiseworthy fashion follow that road, [as] it is necessary for us to demonstrate to you your duties (lit. 'circumstances') and to invite you to the road of agreement and obedience.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Bibī, pp. 202–5; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 193–7; Cahen 2001: 65.

successor, the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II sent to the Great Khān the letter originally composed by his father, in which he stated ‘I also commit myself to the way of agreement and obedience’.<sup>30</sup> His statement was timely and cautious, as the Mongols were steadily occupying territory after territory westwards from their power base in Ādharbāyjān. They took Berkri and Arjish (Archēsh) near Ahlat and attacked Arbīl in October 1231.<sup>31</sup> The Mongol acquisitions in Ādharbāyjān and northern Īrān gave them an excellent opportunity to start their victorious campaign in Armenia. They took Tawush in Little Siwnik‘, as well as the other fortresses of Gardman, Katsarēt‘, Nor Berd, Tērunakan, Ergevank‘/Erk‘ewank‘, K‘avazin, Gag, and Matsnaberd of the principality of Vahram Gageli-Mkhargrdzeli of Gag, in 1233.<sup>32</sup> The Mongol armies did not stop there: they continued to ravage the Georgian and Armenian territories of K‘art‘li, Somxit‘i, Javaxet‘i, T‘rialet‘i, Samc‘xe, Klarjet‘i, Kola, Artani, and the environs of Ani (see Fig. 5) and Dvin.<sup>33</sup> To the south, they plundered Arbīl (5 November 1235) and reached Karmālis and Sinjār in northern Mesopotamia at the beginning of 1236.<sup>34</sup> The year was indeed a watershed in the Mongol conquests in the Caucasus, as in 1236 the prince of princes Sargs called Awag (1213–50), the son of the Georgian *atabeg* Ivanē (1187–1227) Zakharid-Mkhargrdzeli, who had been besieged by the Mongols in the fortress of Kayean (near Tawush), finally surrendered. He was gladly received by Chormaghun, who sent him to the Great Khān. Other powerful Armenian princes, such as Shahnshah (1227–61) Zakharid-Mkhargrdzeli, the son of Zak‘arē (1187–1213) and nephew of Ivanē, prince Vahram Gageli-Mkhargrdzeli and his son Aghbughay, and Hasan called Jalal (c.1214–65/6), a prince of the Xach‘en area, followed Awag. Their cooperation with the invaders helped the Mongols quickly subdue the chief cities of Greater Armenia: Ani, Kars, Lori (Lōrē), and Surb Mari in Ayrarat (Hagia Maria, Sürmelü of the Ottoman sources, modern İğdir<sup>35</sup>) in 1236–7.<sup>36</sup> The union between the

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 204–5; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 196–7.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 492–4; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 307–8.

<sup>32</sup> Step‘annos Episkopos, ‘Taregrut‘yun’, in *Manr zhamanakagrut‘yunner*, i, p. 40; Alishan 1881: 102; idem, *Hayapatum* (Venice, 1901), part 2, p. 463; Hovsep‘ean 1951: n. 411, cols. 903–904; Galstian 1962: 34, 43; Kirakos Gandzakets‘i, pp. 243–52, Kirakos (Khanlarian), pp. 157–62; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 205–14; Grigor of Akanc‘, eds. and trs. Blake and Frye, pp. 296–7; Vardan Arewelc‘i, *Hawak‘umn patmut‘ean*, pp. 143–5; Thomson 1989: 214–15.

<sup>33</sup> *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, p. 514.

<sup>34</sup> Bar ‘Ebrāyā, pp. 469–70; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 402; Giwargis Wardā Arbelāyā, ‘Ūnitē, ed. Hilgenfeld, song V, pp. 20–7 (Syriac text); 49–59 (German translation).

<sup>35</sup> Hewsen: 2001: map 52, p. 59.

<sup>36</sup> *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, pp. 514–17; Step‘annos Episkopos, ‘Taregrut‘yun’, in *Manr zhamanakagrut‘yunner*, i, p. 41; Hovsep‘ean 1951: n. 412, cols. 905–906; Mkhit‘ar Ayrivanets‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Hayots‘* 1867: 81–2; Mkhit‘ar Ayrivanets‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Hayots‘* 1860: 66; Samuel Anets‘i, *Hawak‘munk‘*, ed. Tēr-Mik‘elean, p. 150; Davit‘ Baghishets‘i, ‘Zhamanakagrut‘yun’, in *Manr zhamanakagrut‘yunner*, ii, pp. 345–6; Mat‘evosyan 1988: nn. 146b (the colophon mentions the date of the fall of Lori/Lōrē and Surb Mari as Sunday 10 Arats‘ 685 of

Armenian nobility and the Mongol commander was cemented by the marriage of Հuzuk'ān, Hasan Jalal's daughter, and Bora-noyan, Chormaghun's son.<sup>37</sup> According to Bar Hebraeus, in 1240 the Mongols 'laid waste [the land] from the country of the Georgians so far as the frontier of Erzurum (Arzan al-Rūm)',<sup>38</sup> the latter being a Seljukid possession. The Mongol headquarters were now on the borders of the Sultanate, and according to the evidence of the coinage, the newcomers felt themselves strong enough to establish a civil administration in the Caucasus: the first Mongol coins were minted in Ardabil in AH 637 (3 August 1239–22 July 1240), in Tabrīz and Tiflīs (Tbilisi) in AH 638 (23 July 1240–11 July 1241), and in Bāzār and Ganja in AH 639–640 (12 July 1241–20 June 1243).<sup>39</sup>

According to Ibn Bībī, when Ögedei received Kay-Khusraw II's letter, he appointed Shams al-Dīn Qazwīnī as chief *bāsqāq* (tax inspector) in Rūm.<sup>40</sup> However, when Shams al-Dīn arrived in 'Irāq from Mongolia, it was too late: the large army of Kay-Khusraw II had been defeated by Baiju (Bāyjū), the deputy-in-chief of Chormaghun,<sup>41</sup> at Köse Dağı (26 June 1243).<sup>42</sup>

Why did Baiju attack Kay-Khusraw II, despite the relationship of the latter and his father, Kay-Qubād I, with the Great Khān? And what was Nicaean policy towards the Mongols and the Seljuks before the battle at Köse Dağı?

It has been suggested that in 1232 the Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I concluded not only a peace treaty but also a military alliance with Nicaea against the Mongols and that John III Batatzes sent a military unit to Kay-Qubād I.<sup>43</sup> The sources do not support this point of view. Indeed, the 'Greeks' (*yawnāyē*) in the army of Kay-Qubād I are mentioned by Bar Hebraeus after

the Armenian era, i.e. 29 June 1236), 150a, pp. 191, 196; Galstian 1962: 34, 44, 70–1, 78, 90, 104; Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 253–70, Kirakos (Khanlarian), pp. 162–71; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 214–33; Grigor of Akanc', eds. and trs. Blake and Frye, pp. 296–307; Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, pp. 144–7; Thomson 1989: 214–16; Orbeli 1963: 152–3. On these dynasties, see Toumanoff 1976: 239, 291–2, 297.

<sup>37</sup> Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 391, Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 235; Kirakos (Bedrosian), p. 327; Orbeli 1963: 153.

<sup>38</sup> Bar 'Ebreyā, p. 473; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 405.

<sup>39</sup> Kolbas 2006: 104–14. <sup>40</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 205; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 196–7.

<sup>41</sup> In 1241–1242 Chormaghun became dumb (*hamrats'eal*) [Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 278–9, Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 175; Kirakos (Bedrosian), p. 240; Davit' Baghishets'i, 'Zhamanakagrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, ii, p. 346; cf. Galstian 1962: 104. Galstian, who translated Baghishets'i's *Zhamanakagrut'yun* directly from two manuscripts in Matenadaran in Erevan, preferred to describe Chormaghun's condition as 'deaf' in a battle and Baiju was advanced to the position of commander-in-chief, though Chormaghun nominally preserved his post. Cf. Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, p. 147; Thomson 1989: 216.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 205; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 197. Grigor of Akanc' (eds. and trs. Blake and Frye, p. 302) called Baiju 'the commander of all the [Mongol] armies' (*glukh amenayn zōrats'n*) in his list of Chormaghun's *noyans*.

<sup>43</sup> Zhavoronkov 1978: 94; Langdon 1992: 65–6, n. 103.

1234.<sup>44</sup> However, the Greek detachment was used by the sultan against the Ayyubids, with whom he quarrelled in 1232–7.<sup>45</sup> I am not sure that these Greeks were Nicaeans; they might have been sent from the Empire of Trebizond<sup>46</sup> or, more probably, have been hired from among the Greek population of the Sultanate.<sup>47</sup> It seems unlikely that in 1232, after a series of successful campaigns against the Seljuks, the Emperor John III Batatzes could be forced by Kay-Qubād I to serve as a vassal and to send troops to eastern Anatolia and al-Jazīra, from which he would certainly derive no profit. I therefore suggest that the agreement between John III and Kay-Qubād I was not a military anti-Mongol alliance. The aim of the treaty was to secure the western border of the Sultanate as well as to ensure the loyalty of the Greek population of Rūm, which, as has been mentioned, had two sovereigns: the sultan and the emperor. It was the agreement in 1232 that allowed the sultan to use his Greek subjects *en masse* as troops.

Thus, Kay-Qubād I secured his western border, unified all the military resources of his country, and concluded a provisional agreement with the Mongols in 1232. However, his son Kay-Khusraw II, a less cunning politician, did not follow these policies. Though he continued negotiating with the Great Khān, we have no evidence that he sent any tribute to the Mongols or had contacts with Baiju, the commander of the Mongol army in Ādharbāyjān. That is why, in 1242, at the moment when Ögedei, who had started negotiations with the Sultan of Rūm, died, Baiju did not consider the Sultanate a vassal, but rather a hostile state. As I have mentioned, in 1240 his troops had appeared in dangerous proximity to the eastern frontier of the Sultanate, near Erzurum, which he took two years later, at the end of 1242.<sup>48</sup>

According to Armenian sources, Baiju attacked Erzurum by order of a Khān (*ghan*, var. *khaghan*).<sup>49</sup> As the throne of the Great Khān was vacant in 1242,

<sup>44</sup> Bar ‘Ebrāyā, pp. 467–70; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 400–2.

<sup>45</sup> Cahen 2001: 63–4.

<sup>46</sup> Little is known about the relations between the Empire of Trebizond and the Sultanate of Rūm in 1230–43. According to the hypothesis advanced by Shukurov and myself, after the battle at Yāssı Çamān in 1230, the Seljuks attacked the Empire of Trebizond, the ally of the Khwārazmians at that time. However, the Seljukid army was defeated and a peace treaty favourable to the Empire was signed. According to the treaty, the Empire of Trebizond ceased to be the vassal of the Sultanate. Rosenqvist 1996: 308–35; Shukurov and Korobeinikov 1998: 184–200; Shukurov 2005: 92–112. I do not understand why in 1234 the Empire of Trebizond should have acted as a state subordinate to Rūm and should have sent its troops to the Seljukid–Ayyubid war.

<sup>47</sup> On Greek Christian military contingents in Seljukid service, see Vryonis 1971: 234.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 234–6; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 222–4; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 91–2; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 48, with the date: AH 639 (12 July 1241–30 June 1242); Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 475; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 406; Sebastats‘i, ‘Taregrut‘yun’, in *Manr zhamanakagrut‘yunner*, ii, p. 139; Step‘annos Episkopos, ‘Taregrut‘yun’, in *Manr zhamanakagrut‘yunner*, i, p. 41; Galstian 1962: 26, 35; Kirakos Gandzakets‘i, pp. 278–80; Kirakos (Khanlarian), pp. 175–6; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 240–2; Vardan Arewelc‘i, *Hawak‘unn patmut‘ean*, p. 147; Thomson 1989: 216.

<sup>49</sup> Sebastats‘i, ‘Taregrut‘yun’, in *Manr zhamanakagrut‘yunner*, ii, p. 139; Galstian 1962: 26; Kirakos Gandzakets‘i, p. 278; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 175; Kirakos (Bedrosian), p. 240.

the only possible assumption is that the Khān was Batu (1239–55), the grandson of Chinggis Khān. Batu played a prominent role in the 1240s and 1250s in Asia Minor. A brief explanation of how his state was founded is in order.

After the death of Chinggis Khān, in the *khuriltai* of 1229 Batu was granted, besides the western part of the *ulus* of his father Jochi (the territories of Western Siberia, modern Kazakhstan and the basin of Sayḥūn/Sir-Daryā), lands yet to be conquered—namely those of the Volga Bulghar, the Kipçaks, the Alans, the As, and the Rus’,<sup>50</sup> ‘as far [westward] as the hoof of the Tartar horse would have penetrated’.<sup>51</sup> The great campaign of Batu against Rus’ and Eastern Europe ended in 1241, when, hearing of the death of the Great Khān Ögedei, he returned from Hungary to Dasht-i Kipçak, the steppes of modern South Russia. There he founded his own state in 1242, called the Golden Horde by Russian chronicles. Besides Dasht-i Kipçak, he was suzerain of Rus’, Rūm, Syria,<sup>52</sup> Georgia, and Armenia.<sup>53</sup>

It seems that Batu was not satisfied with the slow progress of the negotiations between the Great Khān and Kay-Khusraw II. He, therefore, ordered Baiju, who was under his direct command,<sup>54</sup> to bring the Sultanate of Rūm into submission. Kay-Khusraw II decided to resist. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, he formed a large coalition which included Cilician Armenia (together with the principality of Lambron), the Ayyubid sultans of Damascus, Mayyāfāriqīn, Aleppo, the Empire of Trebizond, and the Empire of Nicaea.<sup>55</sup> It is interesting to note that the Empire of Nicaea, the mightiest Anatolian state apart from the Sultanate itself, joined the alliance at the last moment, after the fall of Erzurum in 1242. We learn from a letter from the Latin Emperor Baldwin II to Blanche of Castile, the Queen of France, dated 5 August 1243, that the sultan negotiated with him, asking for a matrimonial alliance against Batatzes; the contents suggests that the exchange of embassies took place

<sup>50</sup> Juwaynī, i, p. 222; Juvaini (Boyle), p. 267.

<sup>51</sup> Tiesenhausen 1941: ii, p. 264.

<sup>52</sup> Juwaynī, i, pp. 222–3; Juvaini (Boyle), p. 267.

<sup>53</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Kitāb al-tuhfa al-mulukiyya*, ed. Ḥamdān, p. 33; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xxvii, pp. 348, 357–8; al-‘Umari, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*, ed. and tr. Lech, pp. 15–18 (pp. 100–2 of the German translation); ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘ibar wa diwān al-mubtadā wa al-khabar fī ayyām al-‘arab wa al-‘ajam wa al-barbar wa min ‘asārahum min dhawī al-sultān al-akbar*, v, pp. 533–4; Abū al-‘Abbās Ahmad ibn ‘Ali al-Qalqashandi, *Kitāb shubḥ al-ašāfi qīnat al-inshā’*, iv, pp. 308–9; al-‘Aynī, ed. Amin, i, pp. 76–7, 89–90; Juwaynī, i, pp. 221–6; Juvaini (Boyle), pp. 266–71; al-Makin, ed. Cahen, p. 130; al-Makin, tr. Eddé and Micheau, p. 25; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, pp. 96, 128–31, p. 133 (n. 1), 222–4, 366–7, 396–7, 475–8 (pp. 121, 149–51, 153 (n. 2), 244–6, 377–8, 404–5, 502–6 of the Russian translation), 1941: ii, pp. 15–16, 29–30, 34–42, 48–53, 65–7, 84–6, 91, 204–5; Morgan 2000: 136–45; Barthold [and Boyle], ‘Batu’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, pp. 1105–6.

<sup>54</sup> al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xxvii, p. 348; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, pp. 133 n. 1; 476 (pp. 153–4, n. 2; 504 of the Russian translation); Shukurov 2001a: 154, n. 109.

<sup>55</sup> A full list of the rulers who offered their help to Kay-Khusraw II in 1243 can be found in Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, pp. 70–1.

earlier, in 1242.<sup>56</sup> It was the Mongol danger that forced Kay-Khusraw II to change his position. John III Batatzes possibly visited the sultan<sup>57</sup> but in any case agreed to send a detachment of 400 'lanceis', the largest of all Christian military units.<sup>58</sup> I suggest, after Langdon, that the Nicaean emperor *voluntarily* agreed to help the sultan. Though Simon de Saint-Quentin, our major informant on Seljukid preparations in 1242–3, interpreted this agreement as the obligation of a vassal of Kay-Khusraw II, he nevertheless stressed that John III Batatzes 'served' the sultan of Rūm as and when he wanted (*quociens volebat*). It was Kay-Khusraw II who needed Nicaean support, and not *vice versa*. Though both the sovereigns were keenly interested in stopping the Mongols before they penetrated into Anatolia, the danger was more imminent for the sultan, whose realm bordered lands under Mongol control.<sup>59</sup>

Nevertheless, all these efforts failed: after the first serious battle with Baiju at Köse Dağı (6 Muḥarram AH 641 (26 June 1243)), the large Seljukid army existed no more.<sup>60</sup> A new era began in the history of Asia Minor.

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Though Kay-Khusraw II had managed to collect a large army before the battle, not all his allies arrived at the battlefield in Köse Dağı. For example, al-Malik Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī, the Ayyubid master of Mayyāfāriqīn, promised to come, but did not; so also did Het'um I, the king of Cilician Armenia.<sup>61</sup> We also do not know whether the 3,000 'Franks' (Latins) and Greeks in the Seljuk army mentioned by Ibn Bibī as *rūmī* ('Romans') and by Bar Hebraeus as *yawnāyē* ('Greeks') came from Nicaea: they may have been sent by Manuel I Grand Komnenos of Trebizond.<sup>62</sup> Most probably, the Empire of Nicaea did not send

<sup>56</sup> Du Chesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, v, p. 424–6; M. E. Martin 1980: 322; Zhavoronkov 1978: 94–5; Cahen 2001: 69; Hendrickx 1988: NN 219–221, pp. 141–3.

<sup>57</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 70: *idem quoque Vathacio fecit cum ad ipsum* (i.e. *soldanum*) *venit*. Cf. Langdon 1992: 65–6, n. 103.

<sup>58</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 70: *Vathachius quoque in CCCC. lanceis eidem* (i.e. *soldano*) *serviebat quociens vel quantum volebat*.

<sup>59</sup> Theodorus II Ducas Laskaris, 'In laudem Iohannis Ducae imperatoris', ed. Tartaglia, pp. 31, l.174–32, l.198; cf. Langdon 1992: 65–6, n. 103.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Bibī, pp. 236–41; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 224–30; *Tārīkh-i äl-i Saljūq*, p. 92; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 48–9; *Istanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 68–9; 78–9; Sibīt ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'at al-zamān fi tārīkh al-a'yān*, viii, 2, p. 742; Baybars al-Manṣūri, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 20–2; al-Makīn, ed. Cahen, p. 154; al-Makīn, tr. Eddé and Micheau, p. 75; Cahen 2001: 70–1.

<sup>61</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 475; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 406–7; Ibn Bibī, p. 238; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 226 (f); Cahen 2001: 71.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Bibī, pp. 238–9; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 226–7; Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 475; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 406; Shukurov 2001a: 160–1. Het'um of Korykos (Hayton), who composed his famous work *La flor des estoires de la terre d' Orient* in 1307, mentions the names of the leaders of the Franks' detachment of the sultan's army: John of Limniati ('Jehan de Liminatta' in the French version, 'Johannes de Liminata' in the Latin version) from Cyprus and Boniface de Molinis from Venice ('Bonifaces des Molins' in the French version, 'Bonifacius de Molinis' in the Latin version); *Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korkyros*, ed. Dörper, p. 255; Richard 1952: 173; Apanovich 2009: 105–9.

any troops to the sultan in 1243: in the enkomion to John III Batatzes, his son Theodore II Laskaris states (with regard to the events of 1241–1243): '[The sultan] threatens the Tatar boaster to make war in alliance with you (i.e. John III Batatzes), having as protection the fear that you [cause].'<sup>63</sup> If the sultan relied only on this fear, this implies that he could not call on any Nicaean army.<sup>64</sup>

However, after the battle, the Empire of Nicaea remained the only state that supported the sultan. His other allies, Cilician Armenia and the Empire of Trebizond, rejected him; Het'um I even handed over to Baiju the sultan's family, which had sought shelter in his realm.<sup>65</sup>

Following the battle at Köse Dağı the defeated sultan rushed westwards to Antalya by way of Tokat,<sup>66</sup> Ankara,<sup>67</sup> and Konya.<sup>68</sup> While in Antalya, at the end of 1243, he sent an embassy to John III Batatzes to conclude a new alliance against the Mongols. The two sovereigns met in person in the city of Tripolis, on the river Maeander.<sup>69</sup> However, the alliance was short-lived. According to Akropolites, after the meeting

the emperor returned to Philadelphieia, and the sultan [came back] to Ikonion (Konya), where his capital was situated. At that time, as far as the military campaign was concerned, they were at rest, because the Tartar army remained in its base (*καθ' ἐαυτῆν*) and did not wage war, as was usual.<sup>70</sup>

The information in Akropolites is confirmed by the anonymous Persian chronicle:

Ghiyāth [al-Dīn] fled [from the Tartars and] reached the side of the river Mindirūs (مِنْدِرُوس, Maeander, modern Büyük Menderes), in order to go to İstانبول (i.e. the Empire of Nicaea). [However] when the news about the peace [with the Mongols] arrived, he turned back [and] went to Konya.<sup>71</sup>

What had happened? When the sultan, terrified by the very thought of a possible Mongol attack,<sup>72</sup> rushed from city to city, his *wazir* Muhadhdhab

<sup>63</sup> Theodorus II Ducas Laskaris, 'In laudem Iohannis Ducae imperatoris', ed. Tartaglia, p. 28, ll.104–106.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Apanovich 2009: 108–9, though she used other sources.

<sup>65</sup> Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 284–5; Kirakos (Khanlarian), pp. 178–9; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 246–7; Davit 'Baghishets'i, 'Zhamanakagrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, ii, p. 346; Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk'*, ed. Agélean, pp. 226–7; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, tr. Bedrosian, p. 106; Galstian 1962: 47, 104. On the Empire of Trebizond after the battle at Köse Dağı, see Shukurov 2001a: 160–1.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 240; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 229.

<sup>67</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 475; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 406.

<sup>68</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 92–3; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 49; Turan 1971a: 442.

<sup>69</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 68, l.20–70, l.12; Zhavoronkov 1978: 95.

<sup>70</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 70, ll.7–11.

<sup>71</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 93; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 49.

<sup>72</sup> After the battle at Köse Dağı Baiju subdued Sivas and massacred the inhabitants of Kayseri. Ibn Bibi, pp. 241–3; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 229–31; Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 282–4; Kirakos (Khanlarian), pp. 177–8; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 244–5; Sebastats'i, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr*

al-Dīn acted on his own and went to the Mongol camp. He visited Baiju near Erzurum, and then went to the plain of Mūqān/Mūghān where he met Chormaghun. The *wazīr* concluded an agreement, according to which the Sultanate became a Mongol vassal and was obliged to pay tribute.<sup>73</sup> Batu confirmed the terms of the treaty when, at the end of 1243 or the beginning of 1244, a Seljukid embassy, headed by the *nā'ib* Shams al-Dīn al-İsfahānī, visited the Golden Horde. Moreover, Batu issued a *yarlıgh*, according to which al-İsfahānī was appointed a representative of the Khān of the Golden Horde in the Sultanate of Rūm.<sup>74</sup> Thus, the new Seljuk–Mongol treaty made the Nicaean–Seljuk alliance of 1243 void.

The Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II died in the middle of Rajab AH 643 (22 November–21 December 1245),<sup>75</sup> having left a heavy burden to his successor, the new sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II. Submission to the Mongols did not resolve every problem. According to Mongol practice, Kay-Kāwūs II had to confirm his vassal status by visiting the court of the Great Khān in person. Bar Hebraeus writes that in 1246

the ambassadors of the Mongols came requiring the sūltān 'Izz al-Dīn to come and to pay homage to the Khān (*kān*). And he excused himself, saying that if he turned aside, the Greeks and Armenians (*b-yawnāyē w-armnāyē*), who were his enemies, would snatch his country from him. Therefore he sent his brother Rūkn al-Dīn as a mediator, and he promised that at some other time he himself would go.<sup>76</sup>

The Arabic version of the chronicle of Bar Hebraeus contains a clearer statement: instead of the general phrase ‘the Greeks and Armenians’ of the Syriac text, it mentions, more precisely, ‘the *kings* of the Greeks and Armenians’ (*min mulūk al-yūnāniyyīn wa al-arman*).<sup>77</sup> We know from

*zhamanakagrut'yunner*, ii, p. 140; Step'annos Episkopos, ‘Taregrut‘yun’, in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, i, p. 41; Mkhitar Ayrivanets'i, *Patmut‘iwn Hayots'* 1867: 82; Mkhitar Ayrivanets'i, *Patmut‘iwn Hayots'* 1860: 67; Davit' Baghishets'i, ‘Zhamanakagrut‘yun’, in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, ii, p. 346; Galstian 1962: 26, 35, 90, 104; Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 78; Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 475–6; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 406–7.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 243–5, 247; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 231–3, 235–6; *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 93; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 49; Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, pp. 79–80; Cahen 2001: 173.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 247–9; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 236–7; Cahen 2001: 174.

<sup>75</sup> The date of the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II can be found in the *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 94; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 50. Coinage confirms the date: the first 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II's *dirham* (silver coin) was struck in Konya in AH 643 (29 May 1245–18 May 1246): Artuk and Artuk 1970–4: i, p. 368, N 1122; Ghālib *et al.* 1893–1903: iv, pp. 241–2, NN 485–486; Album 1998: 63. The short Seljuk chronicles often give the date of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II's death wrongly as AH 645 (8 May 1247–25 April 1248): *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 78–9.

<sup>76</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 480; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 410; cf. Ghrīghūriyūs Abū al-Faraj, *Tārikh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, pp. 255–6.

<sup>77</sup> Ghrīghūriyūs Abū al-Faraj, *Tārikh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, p. 256.

other sources that Het'um I, the king of the Armenians, was at war with Kay-Khusraw II and his successor Kay-Kāwūs II in 1245–6.<sup>78</sup> It is more difficult to determine the identity of who the ‘king’ of the Greeks hostile to Kay-Kāwūs II was. I suggest that it was Manuel I Grand Komnenos of Trebizond, and not John III Batatzes of Nicaea.<sup>79</sup> The Greek sources inform us that the Nicaean emperor considered the Sultanate of Rūm as a buffer state that separated his Empire from the Mongols.<sup>80</sup> Thus, John III, unlike the emperor of Trebizond, could hardly have been interested in weakening his Seljukid ‘shield’.

If so, Bar Hebraeus helps us to understand the policy of Kay-Kāwūs II. Kay-Kāwūs II nominally recognized the supremacy of Batu, but refused to go himself to the Great Khān. For the khān (*kān*), whom the sultan had to visit (according to Bar Hebraeus), was not Batu, but the newly elected Great Khān Güyūg (1246–8), a bitter enemy of the Khān of the Golden Horde.

Güyūg was crowned in October 1246, despite all the efforts of Batu to postpone the coronation.<sup>81</sup> The hostility between Batu and Güyūg nearly brought the Mongol Empire to civil war.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, the Great Khān undertook several actions aimed at eliminating the influence of Batu in Anatolia and the Caucasus.

First, Güyūg appointed Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV (1248–54, 1256–65), the younger brother of Kay-Kāwūs II, as Sultan of Rūm.<sup>83</sup> It was Rukn al-Dīn

<sup>78</sup> The war was the initiative of Kay-Khusraw II who besieged Tarsus (according to the Armenian sources, the sultan died in 'Alā'iyya during the siege). Het'um I was forced to pay tribute and to yield up the fortress of Brākanā: Ibn Bibi, pp. 249–50; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 237–9; cf. *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 94; *Histoire* (ed. Uzruk), p. 50. According to Armenian sources, the army of the sultan was led by Constantine of Lambron, an Armenian prince of royal blood who was hostile to Het'um I: Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 286–8; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 180; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 247–50; Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk'*, ed. Agélean, p. 227; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, tr. Bedrosian, p. 106; Galstian 1962: 47–8. On the relations between Cilician Armenia and the Sultanate of Rūm after 1243, see Cahen 2001: 175; Shukurov 2001a: 157–8.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Shukurov 2001a: 163–4.

<sup>80</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 69, ll.9–23; Gregoras, i, p. 41, ll.10–23; Zhavoronkov 1978: 95, n. 12.

<sup>81</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, i, pp. 567–9; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, pp. 804–8; Rashid al-Dīn (Arends), ii, pp. 118–19; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, pp. 392–4; Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 480–1; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 411; Allsen 1986–91: vi, p. 385.

<sup>82</sup> At the end of 1247–beginning of 1248 Güyūg collected a large army and marched against Batu. Only the death of Güyūg in the spring of 1248 saved the Mongol Empire from civil war, Allsen 1986–91: vi, pp. 388–9.

<sup>83</sup> The date of Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV's accession to the throne poses some problems. According to Ibn Bibi and Āqsarāyī, after the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II all three brothers sat on the throne but it was 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II who was proclaimed the reigning sultan despite his father's last will (according to which his youngest son 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II was to be heir: Ibn Bibi, p. 251; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 239–40; Aksarayī, p. 36). Indeed, the coinage of AH 643–6 (29 May 1245–15 April 1249) was struck with the name of 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II without any reference to his brothers: Artuk and Artuk 1970–4: i, pp. 367–9, NN 1121–1128; Ghālib *et al.* 1893–1903: iv, pp. 234–8, 241–6, NN 468–476, 485–495, 501–502; Album 1998: 63; N. D. Nicol *et al.* 1982: 117, N 3447; Hennequin 1985: 769–75, NN MLXVI–MLXXIII; Erkiletlioğlu and Güler 1996: 148–57, NN 340–358. Soon after 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II's enthronement in December 1245 Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV set off for a long trip to the

and his retainers who brought from the Great Khān a *yarlıgh* according to which the *wazīr* Shams al-Dīn İsfahānī, the representative of Batu in Rūm, was arrested and executed.<sup>84</sup>

Secondly, Güyüt dismissed Baiju from the post of commander-in-chief of the Mongol army and appointed the *noyan* Eljigidei (var. Eljidei). The *terminus post quem* of the appointment was summer 1247. The new commander was subordinate to Güyüt, and not to Batu.<sup>85</sup> Interestingly, Eljigidei may have

Great Khān Güyüt: he attended the coronation of Güyüt, which took place 24 August 1246 (on St. Bartholomew's feast) according to Plano Carpini, Kirakos of Gandzak and Juwaynī: Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 317–18; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 196; Kirakos (Bedrosian), p. 266; Iohannes de Plano Carpini, *Ystoria Mongolorum*, ed. van den Wyngaert: i, pp. 118–19; Giovanni di Plan di Carpina, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. Menestò, tr. Lungarotti, pp. 319–20; Juwaynī, i, p. 205; Juvaini (Boyle), pp. 249–50; on Carpini's mission, see Jackson 2005: 87–92.

<sup>84</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 264–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 252–5; Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 482–3; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 412–13. Unfortunately, the text of Ibn Bibī is somewhat uncertain. Both versions of his work (the *Mukhtaṣar* and the *al-Awāmir al-'alā'iyya*) relate that Rukn al-Dīn returned from 'His Majesty', without any further specification: Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 253 (a); Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 584. I suggest that this was Güyüt, because a few pages above Ibn Bibi writes that it was the Great Khān whom Rukn al-Dīn was going to visit: Ibn Bibi, p. 258; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 246 and note f, cf. Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 561. The date of Kılıç Arslān IV's return to Rūm can be established with the help of both the coinage and the written sources. According to Bar Hebraeus, Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV was back in Rūm in 1248; we also know that, according to Kirakos of Gandzak, he returned with Smbat Sparapet (or Smbat the Constable), lord of Paperawn (Çandır Kalesi) and brother of King Het'um I (Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 318; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 196; Kirakos (Bedrosian), p. 266). As far as Armenian sources are concerned, they provide us with the *terminus post quem* of the return: Smbat left Cilician Armenia for Mongolia in 1246; cf. Het'um II, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, i, p. 81; Galstian 1962: 71. Eight months later in 1247 he was in Samarkand on his way to the Great Khān (Galstian 1962: 65), and, according to *Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korkyros*, ed. Dörper, pp. 262–3, Smbat's journey lasted four years (1246, 1247, 1248, 1249). All the data suggests that both Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV and Smbat the Constable returned at the beginning of 1249 (Galstian 1962: 67). The dates of Smbat's departure and return to Cilicia given in his own chronicle (1248 and 1250 respectively) are wrong, as these were inserted by a scribe: Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk'*, ed. Agélean, p. 228; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, tr. Bedrosian, p. 107; Galstian 1962: 48, 121, n. 139). The *terminus ante quem* of Kılıç Arslān IV's return was Dhū al-Hijja AH 646 (17 March–15 April 1249), as by this date he had resumed his struggle against Kay-Kāwūs II: *Tārikh-i ʿal-i Saljūq*, p. 96; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 51–2. Kılıç Arslān IV issued his coinage as sole ruler only in Sivas in AH 646–647 (26 April 1248–4 April 1250) (his brother Kay-Kāwūs II also continued his independent coinage earlier in Sivas and then in Konya): Album 1998: 63; Artuk and Artuk 1970–4: i, p. 370, N 1129.

<sup>85</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 481; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 411; Juwaynī, i, pp. 211–12; Juvaini (Boyle), pp. 256–7; Rashid al-Dīn, i, p. 570; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawī), ii, pp. 807–8; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), ii, p. 120; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, p. 394; cf. Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 357 (Kirakos (Bedrosian), p. 294; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 218):

Batu... ordered many kinsmen and grandees killed, among whom [was] a certain great prince (*gökhan*) whose name was Elch'i-Gada and who had received orders from Güyüt-khan (*Giug-ghan*) to be commander (*zōravar*) of the T'at'ar army in the east and the land of Armenia in place of Baiju-noyan (*Bach'u-nuin*).

Eljigidei was in charge in 1247–51.

received the right to collect taxes on the territory of the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>86</sup> Güyüt also ordered Eljigidei to arrest the deputies of Batu in Arrān.<sup>87</sup> The sources help us establish the chronology of the time Eljigidei remained in the Near East.

On 24 May 1247 an embassy of Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) led by the Dominican monk Ascellinus visited Baiju.<sup>88</sup> The embassy stayed in the Mongol camp in Sisian (*castrum Sitiens*, north of Nakhichevan) until 25 July 1247.<sup>89</sup> In response, Baiju sent an embassy of Aibeg and Sarghis to the pope. The Mongol ambassadors reached Innocent IV in the summer of 1248 and remained until 22 November 1248.<sup>90</sup> According to Matthew of Paris, the Mongols asked the pope for a military alliance against the Nicaean emperor.<sup>91</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin provides us with evidence that Baiju was still master of Armenia, West Irān, and Ādharbāyjān in the summer of 1247.

Thus, Eljigidei was commander of the Mongol army in Mūghān from the summer of 1247<sup>92</sup> until the summer of 1251. When Güyüt died in 1248, Batu acted swiftly to get rid of Eljigidei. The Khān of the Golden Horde used as a pretext the uprising of Eljigidei's sons against the newly elected Great Khān Möngke (1251–9) (who became such with Batu's support<sup>93</sup>) and ordered Eljigidei to be executed.<sup>94</sup> Once again, in 1251 Baiju was appointed to his former post of commander-in-chief of the Mongol armies in Irān and

<sup>86</sup> See the previous note. The text of Juwaynī mentions 'Tākwar' instead of 'Diyār Bakr': Juvaini (Boyle), p. 257, n. 29. As Lippard and Bryer have demonstrated, the 'sultan of Tākwar' who attended the coronation of Güyüt was Manuel I Grand Komnenos: Lippard 1984: 179–80; Bryer 1994: 257–61. If so, there is a peculiar designation of the Empire of Trebizond in Juwaynī by the title of its sovereign ('tākwar'): Langdon 1998: 120, n. 140. On the title *tākwar*, as far as the emperors of Trebizond are concerned, see Shukurov 2001a: 48–50.

<sup>87</sup> Al-'Umarī, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*, ed. and tr. Lech, pp. 15–16 (pp. 100–1 of the German translation); Tiesenhausen 1884: i, p. 223 (pp. 244–5 of the Russian translation). On the other mentions of Eljigidei in the sources, see Lech's commentary in *Das Mongolische Weltreich*, ed. and tr. Lech, pp. 222–6; and Jackson 2005: 98–9, 115, 181, 184; Kolbas 2006: 134–5.

<sup>88</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, pp. 94–5.

<sup>89</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, pp. 113 (n. 1), 115; Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum quadruplex sive Speculum majus*, iv, p. 1303.

<sup>90</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 115 (n. 1); *Acta Innocentii PP. IV (1243–1254)*, 67, pp. 119–20; Jackson 2005: 89.

<sup>91</sup> Matthaei Parisiensis, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, v, pp. 37–8: *movere guerram in proximo contra Battachium generum Fretherici Graecum, scismaticum et Romanae curiae inobedientem*; cf. Zhavoronkov 1978: 95.

<sup>92</sup> We also know that Eljigidei sent an embassy to Louis IX of France which arrived in Cyprus by Christmas Eve 1248 and remained there until 2 February 1249. Eljigidei tried to conclude an alliance against the Caliph of Baghdad: *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre*, tr. Shirley, pp. 68–9; Morgan 2000: 181–2.

<sup>93</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 487–9; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 416–17; Allsen 1986–91: vi, pp. 390–3.

<sup>94</sup> Rashid al-Din, i, p. 591; Rashid al-Din (Rawshan-Müsawi), ii, p. 837; Rashid al-Din, (Arends), ii, p. 137; Rashid al-Din (Thackston), ii, p. 407; Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 489; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 417; Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 357; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 218; Kirakos (Bedrosian), p. 294.

Ādharbāyjān.<sup>95</sup> However, his new status was different from that of 1243–7. This time Baiju, like Eljigidei, was subordinate to the Great Khān and not to Batu. In 1251 Möngke made his brother Hülegü ruler over Īrān, Syria, Egypt, Rūm, and Armenia (of these, Syria and Egypt were still to be conquered).<sup>96</sup> It was Baiju who had to organize food supplies for Hülegü's future army.<sup>97</sup>

Batu resented all these plans. He forbade Hülegü to cross the river Jayḥūn/Āmū-Daryā.<sup>98</sup> The Great Khān did not dare oppose Batu, who at that time was the most influential member of the Chinggisid clan.<sup>99</sup> That is why Hülegü did not start his campaign until after the death of Batu in 1255, having spent two years (1253 and 1254) on the right bank of Āmū-Daryā.<sup>100</sup> Owing to the halting of Hülegü, the three sultans, 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV, and 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II, ruled over Rūm in 1249–54 under the protection of Batu; then Kay-Kāwūs II reigned undisturbed in 1254–6, being a sovereign subordinate only to the Khān of the Golden Horde.

What was the nature of Nicaean–Mongol relations during the period 1246–56, from the beginning of the reign of Güyüğ until the crossing of the river Jayḥūn by Hülegü's army? In the difficult circumstances of the global change of the political map of the Near East, the Emperor John III Batatzes showed himself a cunning diplomatist. By the time of Güyüğ's coronation, the Empire of Nicaea was the only Anatolian state that still had not sent an embassy to Qaraqorum.<sup>101</sup> According to Mongol political theory, a state that

<sup>95</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 684; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawi), ii, pp. 973–4; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 22; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, pp. 477–8. The appointment of Baiju took place in the summer of 1251, after the coronation of Möngke and the execution of the grandsons of the late Great Khān Ögedei; cf. Allsen 1986–91: vi, pp. 390–3.

<sup>96</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, pp. 685–6; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawi), ii, p. 974; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 23; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, p. 478.

<sup>97</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, pp. 685–6; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawi), ii, pp. 975–6; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 23; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, p. 478; al-Makin, ed. Cahen, p. 163; al-Makin, tr. Eddé and Micheau, p. 95.

<sup>98</sup> Al-'Umarī, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*, ed. and tr. Lech, p. 17 (pp. 101–2 of the German translation); Tiesenhausen 1884: i, p. 224 (p. 246 of the Russian translation); Trepavlov 1993: 81.

<sup>99</sup> On the influence exerted by Batu at that time, see Allsen 1986–91: vi, p. 391.

<sup>100</sup> Al-'Umarī, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*, ed. and tr. Lech, p. 17 (p. 102 of the German translation); Tiesenhausen 1884: i, p. 224 (p. 246 of the Russian translation). Rashid al-Dīn confirms this information. Hülegü arrived at his camp near Āmū-Daryā in February 1253, but crossed the river no earlier than 1 January 1256. Rashid al-Dīn, ii, pp. 687–9; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawi), ii, pp. 978–9; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 24–5; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, pp. 479–80.

<sup>101</sup> Neither Plano Carpini nor Juwaynī mentions a Nicaean embassy being present at Güyüğ's coronation in 22 July–24 August 1246: Iohannes de Plano Carpini, *Ystoria Mongolorum*, ed. van den Wyngaert: i, pp. 89–90, 118; Giovanni di Plan di Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. Menestò, tr. Lungarotti, pp. 289–90, 319; Juwaynī, i, p. 205; Juvainī (Boyle), pp. 249–50, Rashid al-Dīn, i, p. 568; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawi), ii, p. 805; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), ii, pp. 118–19; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, p. 392. Plano Carpini arrived at Güyüğ's residence on 22 July 1246; and 24 August 1246 (St. Bartholomew's feast) was the day of Güyüğ's coronation. On Carpini's chronology, see Giovanni di Plan di Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. Menestò, tr. Lungarotti,

rejected Mongol supremacy and did not maintain diplomatic relations with the Great Khān should be considered a hostile one.<sup>102</sup> That is why the Mongols undertook two actions against the Empire: they supported Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV and offered a military alliance to Pope Innocent IV in 1247–8. The Nicaean emperor replied by concluding an alliance with the Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II; as for the pope, the emperor offered to start negotiations about the union of the Church at the beginning of 1248.<sup>103</sup> According to Kirakos of Gandzak, while returning from the Great Khān at the beginning of 1249, the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn and the *sparapet* Smbat, the brother of the king Het’um I, heard in Erzincan the strange news

that the brother of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*Ghiyat’adin sultan*) had become a son-in-law (*p’esayats’eal*) of Lascaris (*Leshk’are*),<sup>104</sup> king of the Romans, who [was] in Ephesus, and, with the latter’s help, had become sultan in Konya (*Kōn*); whilst his young brother [had become sultan] in Alaya, in the principal throne-place. [Sultan Rukn al-Dīn] feared to go there; instead, in this situation he stopped [his travel] in Erznka [in order] to see what would be the end of this affair.<sup>105</sup>

The text of Kirakos of Gandzak requires some explanation. The name of the sultan in Konya is definitively a mistake: ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II was the son, and not the brother, of the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II; the mistake arose because Kirakos believed that Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II had only two sons,<sup>106</sup> while Kirakos’ source explicitly mentions three people: Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV, who had just arrived, his elder brother ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, who ‘had become sultan in Konya’, and, finally ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II, ‘the sultan in Alaya’ and the only younger brother of Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV. However, one of Kirakos’ manuscripts (dated to the

pp. 389, 391; *Die Mongolengeschichte des Johannes von Piano Carpine*, ed. and tr. Griessauf, pp. 79–80, 215, 218.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Giovanni di Plan di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. Menestò, tr. Lungarotti, pp. 284–5 (= Iohannes de Plano Carpini, *Ystoria Mongolorum*, ed. van den Wyngaert: i, p. 84): *Sciendum est quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem nisi subdantur eis, quia, ut dictum est supra, a Chingiscan habent mandatum et cunctas, si possunt, sibi subciant nationes.*

<sup>103</sup> Zhavoronkov 1978: 95; Langdon 1998: 122–4.

<sup>104</sup> Another variant reads that ‘Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn had married (*p’esayats’uts’eal*) [a daughter] of Lascaris’. The second meaning of the verb *p’esayats’uts’eal* (‘to give one’s daughter in marriage’) should be rejected, as we know that John III Batatzes never married a Seljukid *khātūn*. On the wives of John III Batatzes (Eirene (d. 1239), the eldest daughter of Theodore I Laskaris, and Constance/Anna (d. between 1307 and 1313), the daughter of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen), see D. I. Polemis 1968: n. 72, p. 108; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 150, 213–14, 274–6; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 189–90, 222–3, 253–4.

<sup>105</sup> Kirakos Gandzakets’i, p. 318; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 196; Kirakos (Bedrosian), p. 266. On the date, see Het’um II, ‘Taregrut’yun’, in *Manr zhāmanakagrut’yunner*, i, p. 81; Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk’*, ed. Agélean, p. 228; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, tr. Bedrosian, p. 107; *Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korkyros*, ed. Dörper, pp. 262–3; Galstian 1962: 48, 64–5, 67, 71, 121, n. 139.

<sup>106</sup> Kirakos Gandzakets’i, p. 317; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 196; Kirakos (Bedrosian), p. 266.

seventeenth or eighteenth century) gives another name: 'Alā' al-Dīn (*Aladin*) instead of Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*Ghiat'adin*). I accept the reading *Aladin*, as Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II was indeed the brother of 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II. Thus, according to Kirakos of Gandzak, in 1249 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, mentioned in the text as brother of 'Alā' al-Dīn (*Aladin*) Kay-Qubād II, is in Konya, while the 'young brother' of both Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV and 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, none other than 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II himself, is in Alaya.

The manuscripts also give two different readings of how 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II became a relative of John III Batatzes ('Laskaris' in Kirakos of Gandzak): the sultan either 'espoused' (*p'esayats'eal*), or 'married' (*p'esayats'uts'eal*) 'Laskaris'. From the point of view of the grammar and vocabulary the former meaning, which suggests the sultan's being the son-in-law of John III Batatzes, seems to be more tenable. However, the latter term 'married' is closer to historical circumstances. It is unlikely that 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II married a daughter, otherwise unknown, of John III Batatzes. Thus, the new wife of the sultan might have been a close relative of the Emperor of Nicaea; in this case, she belonged, like John III Batatzes, to the Doukai and the Komnenoi clans. It should be noted that according to Byzantine practice, if the sultan indeed married a relative, or even an adopted daughter, of the Emperor of Nicaea, he would have been considered as the 'son' of the emperor. Diplomatic etiquette together with the fact of the marriage might have misled Kirakos of Gandzak, who interpreted this data as evidence for the marriage of the sultan and the emperor's daughter. Kirakos of Gandzak's text suggests three facts: the marriage of the sultan to a member of the Byzantine aristocracy, his status as a 'son' of the Byzantine emperor, and the support that John III Batatzes agreed to show for him at the beginning of 1249, on the eve of the arrival of Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV back from his long and laborious journey to the Great Khān.

'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II's mother was Orthodox, a daughter of an Orthodox priest.<sup>107</sup> Ibn Bibi calls her *mukhaddara-i Burdūliyya* (مخدره بردوليye<sup>108</sup>), literally 'the secluded [woman] of Burdūl', the feminine adjective *Burdūliyya* being derived from the name of the fortress of Burdūl (Burdür, on Lake Burdur) and probably given to her as an appanage by her husband, the Sultan, and the noun *mukhaddara* meaning 'a woman concealed behind a curtain', 'the secluded one'.<sup>109</sup> Her two brothers, the uncles of the sultan, Kir Khāya and

<sup>107</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 82; Pachymeres, i, p. 183, ll.20–29; Shukurov 2008: 90–6.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 472; Ibn Bibi (Yazicizâde Ali), p. 625; cf. Ibn Bibi, p. 213; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 204 and n. a.

<sup>109</sup> Shukurov's attempt to read the name as the Greek *Προδονλία* ('the one devoted [to the Lord]') cannot be accepted, as such a name did not exist: Shukurov 2008: 90–2. He read the expression *mukhaddara-i Burdūliyya* (مخدره بردوليye) as *mukhaddara Bardūliyya*, which led him

Kir Kedid were also Orthodox and enjoyed great influence at the sultan's court.<sup>110</sup>

Both rival sultans, 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II and Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV, were young: the former was only fifteen years old in 1249; the latter was two years younger.<sup>111</sup> They reigned; their *wazirs* ruled. Shams al-Dīn al-İsfahānī was the powerful *wazir* of 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, and Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV also had his own *wazir*, Bahā' al-Dīn Yūsuf, in 1249.<sup>112</sup> Even before 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II's marriage to a Byzantine lady, the *wazir* Shams al-Dīn al-İsfahānī took as his wife the sultan's Greek mother, the *wālida-i sultān*, 'the secluded [woman] of Burdūl'. He even had a son with her. This marriage, a clear manifestation of Shams al-Dīn al-İsfahānī's omnipotent position in the Sultanate, aroused indignation among the people.<sup>113</sup> I have no doubt that the *wālida-i sultān*, the mother of 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, belonged to the Greek nobility: her nickname, *mukhaddara*, 'the secluded woman', was earlier applied by Ibn Bībī to the daughter of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I himself.<sup>114</sup> Later tradition even named the '*mukhaddara* of Burdūl' as the 'sister', otherwise unknown, of Michael VIII Palaiologos (*fāsilīyūs'uñ qız qardaşıydi*).<sup>115</sup> All these facts point to a Nicaean-Seljuk alliance concluded by Shams al-Dīn al-İsfahānī in 1248. Despite the accusations of being arrogant and haughty (because of his marriage to the *wālida-i sultān*), Shams al-Dīn al-İsfahānī was nevertheless supported by part of the nobility, whom Ibn Bībī calls *khawāssān-i jahūl*, 'the ignorant nobles'.<sup>116</sup>

Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV, who had the *yarlıgh* of the Great Khān, which made him the only legitimate ruler in Rūm, was proclaimed sultan in Erzin-can, Diyarbakır (Āmid), Malatya, Sivas, and Kayseri. He was supported by both the Mongols and the frontier Turks.<sup>117</sup> Despite the Greek blood in his

to the translation 'Lady Prodoulia' (which implies the combination of the title Lady and the name Prodoulia). However, in *mukhaddara-i Burdūliyya* we quite logically have the Arab feminine adjective (*Burdūliyya*, literally, 'the she-Burdulian', 'a woman of Burdūl') which, according to the rules of Persian grammar on the construct state, follows the noun *mukhaddara*, an Arab loan word, also feminine, which the adjective qualifies.

<sup>110</sup> Apanovich 2007: 187–91; Shukurov 2008: 96–105.

<sup>111</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 82: in 1245 Kay-Kāwūs II was eleven years old; Kılıç Arslān IV was nine years old; and the younger brother 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II was only seven years old. Cf. Lindner 1974: 411; Apanovich 2007: 191, n. 135.

<sup>112</sup> Lindner 1974: 413–14; Cahen 2001: 177–8.

<sup>113</sup> Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, p. 83; Ibn Bibi, p. 260; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 248–9; Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 565; Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 482; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 412; Shukurov 2008: 93.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 305; cf. Shukurov 2008: 92.

<sup>115</sup> Ibn Bibi (Yazıcızade Ali), p. 773.

<sup>116</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 565.

<sup>117</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 263–5; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 252–4; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 94–6; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluuk), pp. 50–1; Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 482–3; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 412–13.

veins,<sup>118</sup> he at that moment presented himself as a true Turk: according to Lindner, his coinage, with the picture of an archer riding a prancing horse, ‘recalls earlier East Anatolian Turkish custom and imitates a recent Mongol pattern’<sup>119</sup> contrary to the coinage of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, which followed traditional Seljuk designs. Meanwhile a *coup d'état* in Konya led to the fall of the unpopular Shams al-Dīn al-İsfahānī, who was tortured and executed on 25 March 1249.<sup>120</sup> The *atabeg* Jalāl al-Dīn Karatay, a pious Muslim and a Greek by blood, came to power. The change of government did not make the alliance between ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II and John III Batatzes void: it was Nicaea that recognized ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II as sultan, contrary to the Great Khān who had appointed Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV the only sultan in Rūm.

Even the diplomatic support of Nicaea was of extreme importance for ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II because his other ally, Khān Batu, ruled over lands far from the eastern border of the Sultanate. Batu had little opportunity to give military support to the sultan, though he undertook several important political initiatives in favour of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II. Nicaea, however, was a neighbouring state which had enough resources to help ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II. On 1 Rabī‘ AH 647 (14 June 1249) Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV, who had earlier received 2,000 Mongol horsemen from Eljigidei in order to establish himself on the Seljuk throne, was severely defeated by ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, the ‘son’ of the Emperor John III Batatzes. The battle sealed the compromise between the *atabeg* Karatay and the Mongol ambassadors: from now on all three brothers had to reign jointly.<sup>121</sup> The *khuṭba* was accordingly proclaimed and all three brothers became the nominal rulers of Rūm.<sup>122</sup>

The internal struggle for the throne of the Great Khān, vacant in 1248–51 after the death of Güyūg, as well as the execution of Eljigidei, temporarily diminished Mongol activity in the Near East. Moreover, after the accession of Möngke in 1251, it was the decision of Batu not to allow Hülegü to cross the river Jayḥūn that postponed until 1256 a major potential threat to both the Empire of Nicaea and the Sultanate of Rūm—the arrival of the huge Mongol army of Hülegü. For both Eljigidei and Baiju had had many fewer troops under their command; they were forced to narrow the scope of their task and

<sup>118</sup> His mother and grandmother were Greek: Shukurov 2001a: 156 and n. 118.

<sup>119</sup> Lindner 1974: 415.

<sup>120</sup> *Tārikh-i ăl-i Saljūq*, p. 96; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 51; Ibn Bibi, pp. 264–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 253–5; Cahen 2001: 178; idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071–1330* (London, 1968), p. 272; Turan 1971a: 466.

<sup>121</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 267–9; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 255–7; Bar ‘Ebrāyā, pp. 482–4; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 412–14. On the date of the war, see *Tārikh-i ăl-i Saljūq*, p. 96; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 51. On the circumstances of the war, see: Lindner 1974: 411–17.

<sup>122</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 267–8; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 255–6; Aksarayī, p. 37; *Tārikh-i ăl-i Saljūq*, pp. 94–6; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 50–1; Bar ‘Ebrāyā, pp. 482–4; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 412–14; Cahen 2001: 178–9; Turan 1971a: 466–70.

deal with two hostile realms in their rear, the Ismā'īlī state and the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad,<sup>123</sup> and thus paid little attention to Nicaea.

That the expedition planned by Hülegü was a potential threat to the Empire of Nicaea is confirmed by William de Rubrouck, the envoy of Louis IX (1226–70) of France to the Great Khān. Rubrouck arrived at the court of Möngke on 27 December 1253 and stayed in Qaraqorum until 10 July 1254.<sup>124</sup> As an eyewitness, he relates that the Great Khān sent two of his brothers to the Middle East, one of them to wage war against the Ismā'īlis, the other to attack the Abbasid Caliphate and the Empire of Nicaea.<sup>125</sup>

As van den Wyngaert, the editor of the text of Rubrouck, suggests, we are probably faced with a mistake: Rubrouck did not realize that two different actions (against the Ismā'īlis on the one hand, and against the Caliphate and the Empire of Nicaea on the other) were to be performed by one and the same person, Hülegü.<sup>126</sup> But the threat was real. We know that at the end of 1251 the Mongols sent an embassy to Nicaea, as they usually did before any invasion.<sup>127</sup> The ambassadors of the Great Khān reached the territory of the Empire in 1252. John III managed to bribe the chief ambassador, who recommended that Batatzes send a mission in response, in order to gain some time.<sup>128</sup> The emperor followed this advice, and Rubrouck met the Nicaean embassy in Qaraqorum shortly before the reception given by the Great Khān on 4 January 1254.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>123</sup> *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre*, tr. Shirley, pp. 68–9; Rashid al-Din, i, p. 570; ii, pp. 684, 697–8; Rashid al-Din (Rawshān-Mūsawī), ii, pp. 807, 973–4, 993–4; Rashid al-Din, (Arends), ii, p. 120; iii, pp. 22, 32–3; Rashid al-Din (Thackston), ii, pp. 394, 477–8, 486–7.

<sup>124</sup> On the chronology, see Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, pp. 74–5.

<sup>125</sup> Van den Wyngaert 1929: p. 287: . . . unum ex uterinis misit in terram Hasasinorum, . . . aliis venit versus Persidem et iam ingressus est eam, ingressurus, ut creditur, terram Turkie, et inde missurus exercitus contra Baldac et contra Vastacium. Cf. Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, pp. 201–2; Zhavoronkov 1978: 96.

<sup>126</sup> Van den Wyngaert 1929: 287, n. 4; Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, p. 202, n. 7.

<sup>127</sup> Zhavoronkov 1978: 96.

<sup>128</sup> Van den Wyngaert 1929: 290; Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, pp. 204–5.

<sup>129</sup> Van den Wyngaert 1929: 247; Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, pp. 160–1. The first Mongol embassy can be dated to the Empire of Nicaea. It is important to remember that the road from Qaraqorum to Nicaea was long; it usually took a year to travel from Inner Mongolia to Western Asia Minor. Thus, Möngke must have sent an embassy to Nicaea in the second half of 1251, shortly after the appointment of Hülegü as commander-in-chief of the Mongol expeditionary force (which was to subdue the Nicaean Empire by force, if John III Batatzes refused to recognize Mongol supremacy). The ambassadors, who were to deliver the ultimatum to the emperor, arrived in Nicaea a year later, i.e. at the end of 1252. Likewise, the Nicaean mission travelled to Qaraqorum for one year and came to Möngke at the end of 1253, to be met by Rubrouck on 4 January 1254.

Byzantine political theory did not recognize any form of submission by the Empire to a barbaric state; indeed, Rubrouck especially underlines the fact that the Empire of Nicaea did not submit to the Mongols.<sup>130</sup> When at the end of 1254 a Mongol embassy entered the territory of the Empire, on its way to Louis IX of France, and the chief ambassador died suddenly in Nicaea, Emperor Theodore II Laskaris, the successor of John III Batatzes, boldly sent the other ambassadors back to the Great Khān.<sup>131</sup>

Thus, Emperor John III Batatzes postponed the Mongol threat for almost a decade (1246–54) by his skilful diplomatic measures; he also managed to avoid any form of submission to the Mongols (as is stressed by Rubrouck<sup>132</sup>). However, the difficult task of settling the Mongol problem fell to his successor, Emperor Theodore II Laskaris.

When Emperor Theodore II ascended the throne after John III Batatzes' death on 3 November 1254, he continued John III's policy aimed at preserving the Seljukid 'shield' in Asia Minor. The situation in Rūm helped him. In 1254 all three sultans were to pay court to the Khān of the Golden Horde. However, the sudden death of Karatay on 28 Ramadān AH 652 (11 November 1254), forced the two elder brothers, still bitter rivals, to remain in Rūm, while their younger brother 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II went to the Golden Horde and from there to the Great Khān. 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II died on his diplomatic mission to Batu. The circumstances of his death en route are unclear: he either was killed by his tutor (*lālā*) Badr al-Dīn Muṣliḥ (who might have acted on the secret orders of his brothers) or died of natural causes.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Van den Wyngaert 1929: 167, 290; Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, pp. 85–6, 205.

<sup>131</sup> Rubrouck met the members of the Mongol embassy in Erzurum (*Arseron*) on his return between 2 and 14 February 1255. Van den Wyngaert 1929: 255–6; Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, pp. 77, 170. The date of Batatzes' death is 3 November 1254. Zhavoronkov 1978: 97. Cf. Langdon 1998: 129–30 (he suggests that it was John III, and not Theodore II, who sent back the Mongol embassy).

<sup>132</sup> Van den Wyngaert 1929: 290: *et [Vastacius] ipsi (i.e. Mangu) misit, et postquam cognovit eos (i.e. Mongalos), parum curavit de eis, nec fecit pacem cum eis, nec adhuc ingressi sunt terram suam. Nec poterunt, dummodo audeat se deffendere.*

<sup>133</sup> The *terminus ad quem* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II's death is 9 February 1255, the end of AH 652, according to the short Seljuk chronicle that mentions the death of a brother of the sultan Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV (*İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 78–9). That brother could only have been Kay-Qubād II, as another possible candidate, the elder brother sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II lived until AH 678 (14 May 1279–2 May 1280). See also Ibn Bibi, pp. 275–7, 292–3; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 262–4, 278–9; Aksarayı, pp. 38–9; *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 96–7; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 52; Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 494; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 422; Baybars al-Mansūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 26–8; Cahen 2001: 182, 185, 188; Turan 1971a: 472–4, 490, n. 56; Shukurov 2001a: 155–6. Coins with the names of all three sultans were struck until AH 657 (29 December 1258–17 December 1259) because the embassy of Kay-Qubād II followed its road to the Great Khān even after the passing of Kay-Qubād II. The embassy brought the news about Kay-Qubād II's death when it returned to Rūm shortly before 4–8 Sha'bān AH 657 (27–31 July 1259): Baybars al-Mansūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 30, 47; Ibn Bibi, pp. 292–4; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 278–80; Album 1998: 63; Erkiletlioğlu and Güler

The joint reign of the three sultans ended in 1254. Kay-Qubād II's surviving older brothers remained hostile to each other. By the end of AH 652 (21 February 1254–9 February 1255) 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II had defeated and imprisoned Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV<sup>134</sup> either in Burghulū (Uluborlu, Sozopolis)<sup>135</sup> or Burdūl, in 'the province of the *uf*'.<sup>136</sup> When William de Rubrouck visited Konya on his way back from Mongolia to Tripoli in Syria (on 28 or 29 April 1255), he noticed that Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV was still in chains.<sup>137</sup>

Thus the Sultan Kay-Kāwūs II, Theodore II's ally, became the undisputed master of the Sultanate. Byzantine sources mention three embassies sent by Theodore II to Kay-Kāwūs II between the end of 1254 and the spring of 1256.

The first was dispatched by Theodore II soon after his proclamation as emperor.<sup>138</sup> The mission aimed at confirming the previous treaty which John III had concluded with Kay-Kāwūs II in 1249.<sup>139</sup> The second was sent at the end of 1254 or the beginning of 1255, probably to support Kay-Kāwūs II in the struggle with Kılıç Arslān IV.<sup>140</sup> The third was sent in the spring of 1256: Theodore II asked the sultan about a possible Mongol threat. Before embarking on a laborious military campaign in the Balkans, the emperor wanted to know for certain that the Mongols were not going to attack the Sultanate.<sup>141</sup>

Kay-Kāwūs II's chief concern was the Mongol threat, as his imprisoned brother was a Mongol *protégé*, and as the Sultanate remained under the Mongol sway. Even before the death of Karatay on 11 November 1254 and the subsequent war between Kay-Kāwūs II and Kılıç Arslān IV, the Seljuk government had decided to send an embassy led by the powerful courtier, the *amīr-i dād* (chief magistrate) Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī (the future *wazīr* in 1261–88) to the new Great Khān Möngke. The embassy had to establish a better *modus vivendi* with the Mongols: initially, to pay court to the new Great Khān and obtain, if possible, permission to reduce the burdensome payments that were due to the numerous envoys of Baiju, the commander of the Mongol army in

1996: 163–76, NN 361–398, esp. N 394; though other catalogues list AH 655 (19 January 1257–7 January 1258) as the final date of the 'three sultans' coinage: Artuk and Artuk 1970–4: i, pp. 370–2, NN 1130–1136; Hennequin 1985: 791–800, NN MXCIX–MCXIV; Mitchiner 1977: 174.

<sup>134</sup> The only source that gives the date is the short Seljuk chronicle, which states that Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV became sultan in AH 652. In reality, he was proclaimed sultan in AH 646 (on the orders of the Great Khān). Such a discrepancy might be explained by the fact that Kılıç Arslān IV again proclaimed himself sole ruler in AH 652, as he always did when at odds with his elder brother. *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 78–9.

<sup>135</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 277–83; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 264–9; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 97; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 53; Cahen 2001: 183; Shukurov 2001a: 156.

<sup>136</sup> Aksarayi, p. 40; Turan 1971a: 475.

<sup>137</sup> Van den Wyngaert 1929: 330; Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, pp. 77 (chronology), 244–5.

<sup>138</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 106, ll.1–2.

<sup>139</sup> Zhavoronkov 1978: 97.

<sup>140</sup> Gregoras, i, p. 56, ll.4–6.

<sup>141</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 125, ll.8–13.

Ādharbāyjān.<sup>142</sup> However, neither the emperor nor the sultan realized how quickly Hülegü's army would advance towards the Middle East.

Hülegü crossed the river Jayhūn on 1 January 1256; in July of the same year he reached the city of Tūs in Khurāsān, in order to wage war against the Ismā'īlis.<sup>143</sup> Meanwhile, he ordered Baiju to leave the plain of Mūqān, which he wanted to occupy himself, and to go to Rūm. Baiju arrived at Arzan al-Rūm (Erzurum) in August 1256,<sup>144</sup> from where he moved to Erzincan.<sup>145</sup> From there he sent a letter to Kay-Kāwūs II, urging him to give the Mongol army a portion of territory for winter pasture.<sup>146</sup> Baiju's appearance came as a surprise to the sultan.<sup>147</sup> On 1 September 1256 (on the Byzantine New Year day: ήμέρα ἡνὸς τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἡμερῶν) Theodore II, who had obviously received the news from the Sultanate, told his courtiers that the Mongols would soon force the sultan to flee to the Empire of Nicaea; he then promised to help the sultan to regain his power.<sup>148</sup>

Despite Theodore II's pessimistic prophecy, 'Izz al-Dīn refused to placate Baiju and started his preparations for the inevitable war. It was at this time that Michael Palaiologos, the future emperor Michael VIII, appeared in Konya.

Michael Palaiologos was one of the noblest representatives of the Nicaean aristocracy. Born in 1224 or 1225, he was the son of the Grand Domestic Andronikos Palaiologos (d. between 1248 and 1252<sup>149</sup>), the highest-ranking military official of Byzantium, and Theodora (the daughter of Alexios Palaiologos and Eirene Angelina, the elder daughter of Emperor Alexios III Angelos).<sup>150</sup> He thus had some claim to the throne and therefore seemed dangerous in the eyes of the Nicaean emperors. He was arrested twice on suspicion of disloyalty: the first time by the Emperor John III Batatzes in late 1253,<sup>151</sup> the second by Emperor Theodoros II Laskaris in 1258.<sup>152</sup> After his first arrest the Emperor John III Batatzes forced Michael Palaiologos to give a solemn oath of allegiance to the throne. Then (sometime between the end of 1253 and

<sup>142</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 283; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 269; Aksarayi, p. 41.

<sup>143</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, pp. 689, 692; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, pp. 979, 984–5; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 25, 28; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, pp. 480, 482–3.

<sup>144</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 497; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 424; Sebastats'i, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, ii, pp. 141–2; Step'annos Episkopos, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, i, p. 42; Galstian 1962: 26–7, 35.

<sup>145</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 284–5; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 270–1.

<sup>146</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 497; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 424.

<sup>147</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 284–5; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 270–1.

<sup>148</sup> Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), 39, p. 292, ll.11–21; Skoutariotes (Sathas), p. 522, ll.19–29.

<sup>149</sup> Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 243–4, n. 6. Another date for Andronikos' death is 1247: Cheynet and Vannier 1986: n. 32, p. 177.

<sup>150</sup> Geanakoplos 1959: 17–18; Papadopoulos 1962: 1–2; Cheynet and Vannier 1986: n. 32, 33, pp. 176–9, 185–6.

<sup>151</sup> Failler 1980: 9–12; Geanakoplos 1959: 21–4.

<sup>152</sup> Failler 1980: 16–20.

November 1254) the emperor appointed him Grand Constable, that is, the commander of the Latin mercenary troops of the Empire.<sup>153</sup>

While governing the provinces of Mesothynia (Mesothinia, Mesothēnia, Thynia) and Optimatoi, the Nicaean frontier territory on the Sangarios River,<sup>154</sup> he received the news from his retainer (*φίλος*), Theodore Kotys, that the emperor was going to arrest him.<sup>155</sup> Michael Palaiologos crossed the Sangarios River and arrived at the Seljukid border zone; Kotys followed him.<sup>156</sup> Here Michael's large caravan was robbed by frontier Turkmens who took his servants and retainers into slavery.<sup>157</sup> According to Akropolites:

Michael Komnenos, having barely escaped from their hands and having been saved by Divine Providence, came denuded of everything (*γυμνὸς ἀπάντων*) to the Persian ruler.<sup>158</sup>

Nonetheless Michael was met in Konya by his relative Constantine Doukas Nestongos, one of the Byzantine aristocrats in Seljuk service.<sup>159</sup> 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II received Michael Palaiologos joyfully and with honour,<sup>160</sup> appointing him commander of the Christian part of the Seljuk army. In this capacity he fought on the Seljukid side against the Mongols. However, the sultan (who was betrayed by his own *amīr-i akhūr*, *ἀμυραχούρης*<sup>161</sup>) was defeated by Baiju<sup>162</sup> at Sultanhanı before 23 Ramaḍān AH 654 (14 October

<sup>153</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 134, ll.10–12; Pachymeres, i, p. 37, l.1–11; Geanakoplos 1959: 26. Cf Angold 1975: 187–8, who suggests that the office was specially created for Michael Palaiologos.

<sup>154</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 43, ll.6–7. The lands ruled by Michael Palaiologos were a triangle between Nicaea, the Black Sea shore, and the Sangarios river. 'Prouincia Mesothinie' is mentioned in the chrysobull of Alexios III for Venice in 1198: Tafel and Thomas 1856–7: i, p. 269; Akropolites (Macrides), p. 122, n. 13. The last statements about Mesothynia can be found in 1329 (Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris *historiarum libri iv*, ed. Schopen, i, pp. 341–2) and 1333: the castles of Mesothēnia, between Nikomedeia and Constantinople, are listed in the treaty between Andronikos III Palaiologos and the *amīr* Orhan I (1324–62), the son of Osman I (1281–1324). *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, i, pp. 78 (21), 80 (27).

<sup>155</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 134, l.7–136, l.7; Pachymeres, i, p. 43, ll.6–20; PLP 21528; Talbot, 'Michael VIII Palaiologos', in ODB, ii, p. 1367.

<sup>156</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 43, l.21–45, l.1, 613, ll.17–20. Akropolites, i, p. 136, ll.10–16 has the best description of the *uj*:

The circumstances of Michael Komnenos during [his] flight are worthy of the special story. He arrived at the dwelling places of the Turkmens (*Τούρκομάνοι*)—this nation occupies the remote territories of the Persian [realm]. This [nation] feels bitter hatred towards the Romans and takes delight in robbing them (i.e. the Romans) and enjoys winning spoils from wars—especially [when] the state of the Persians became agitated and troubled under the Tatars' attacks.

<sup>157</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 136, ll.8–22.

<sup>158</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 136, ll.22–25.

<sup>159</sup> Korobeinikov 2011: 116–38.

<sup>160</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 45, l.1.

<sup>161</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 138, l.2 (var. *ἀμυραχούρης*). On the title, see Moravcsik 1958: ii, p. 68.

<sup>162</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 286; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 272; Sebastats'i, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, ii, pp. 141–2; Step'annos Episkopos, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, i, p. 42; Galstian 1962: 26–7, 35.

1256).<sup>163</sup> 'Izz al-Din fled via Antalya and Lādiq<sup>164</sup> to Sardis, where he met Theodore II in January 1257.<sup>165</sup> His friend Michael Palaiologos also escaped. He rushed northwards from the battlefield with the Seljukid *beylerbeyi* (*πεκλάρπακις*). After a long journey they reached the *beylerbeyi's oikia* (household) in Kastamonu, where they could stay in safety. From there Michael Palaiologos returned to Nicaea.<sup>166</sup>

The situation was very dangerous. The Mongols had cause to attack the Empire of Nicaea, not only because Theodore II had given shelter to the rebel sultan, but also because Michael Palaiologos had ordered the use of Byzantine imperial banners in the battle against Baiju and those banners were carried near the sultan.<sup>167</sup> I suggest that it was Michael Palaiologos who had thought of using these banners.<sup>168</sup> For it is doubtful that Theodore II could have managed to send a detachment (under Byzantine banners) to Kay-Kāwūs II, as the emperor had only one month at his disposal (September 1256). Michael was the commander of a military corps composed of local Greeks (the Rūmīs),<sup>169</sup> which he tried to represent as auxiliaries sent by Theodore II for the sultan of Rūm. We do not, in fact, know for certain that Theodore II really wanted to help the sultan, because this would have meant that the Mongols would in all likelihood attack him next. The initiative of Michael Palaiologos and Kay-Kāwūs II in revealing the Nicaean–Seljukid military alliance to the Mongols placed Theodore II and his realm under threat of imminent attack by the best army of the day.

Pachymeres, our chief source for this period, continues:

<sup>163</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 286–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 272–3; Aksarayî, pp. 41–2; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 31–2; al-Makīn, ed. Cahen, p. 165; al-Makīn, tr. Eddé and Micheau, pp. 98–9. The date (23 Ramaḍān AH 654) in Ibn Bibī is confirmed by the Anonymous chronicle, with a difference of one day: 24 Ramaḍān AH 654 (15 October 1256): *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 98; *Histoire* (ed. Uzlu), p. 53.

<sup>164</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 287–9; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 273–4.

<sup>165</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 143, l.23–144, l.15; Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), 47, pp. 294, l.17–295, l.12; Skoutariotes (Sathas), p. 530, ll.12–29.

<sup>166</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 45, l.1–12; Akropolites, i, pp. 137, l.9–138, l.18. On §§ 64–65 and 69 in Akropolites (which narrate the story of Michael's sojourn in Rūm), see the excellent commentaries in Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 312–19, 325–8 and Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 112–15, 117–18, 268–70, 275. See also 'Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ περιωνύμῳ βουνῷ τοῦ Αὐξεντίου κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Χαλκηδόνος βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ', ed. Dmitrievskii, i: part 1, p. 791; Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios near Chalcedon, tr. Dennis, p. 1231; Nystazopoulou 1966: ii, pp. 288–9; MM, vi, p. 198.

<sup>167</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 45, l.2; *La Version brève des Relations Historiques de Georges Pachymérès*, ed. Failler, i, p. 9, ll.28–30.

<sup>168</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 45, ll.1–4.

<sup>169</sup> Michael Palaiologos called the people under his command 'our Persian enemies' ('Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ περιωνύμῳ βουνῷ τοῦ Αὐξεντίου κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Χαλκηδόνος βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ', ed. Dmitrievskii, i: part 1, p. 791), while Niketas Karantinos called them 'the Roman (ρωμαιῶν) army' (Nystazopoulou 1966: 288–9). Both terms could have been together applied only to Rūmī Greeks. This is confirmed by the later testimony of Gregoras, i, p. 58, l.15–p. 59, l.10.

Theodore reigned over the realm, when the rumour started that they (the Mongols) had sent an embassy to him via ‘Persia’ (Asia Minor); and [as] the information was true, there was great awe and tumult.<sup>170</sup>

The text of Pachymeres is unclear; the key word ἀρχή can be translated in two possible ways: as the ‘beginning’ and as the ‘realm, empire, kingdom’. ‘Realm’ is the meaning favoured by Andreeva, later supported by Zhavoronkov, who believes that the embassy arrived at the end of 1257 or the beginning of 1258.<sup>171</sup> Like Andreeva and Zhavoronkov, I prefer the meaning ‘realm’, as does Laurent, the translator of the first volume of Pachymeres.<sup>172</sup> However, Lippard and Langdon offer a different translation, in which the word ἀρχή has the meaning ‘beginning’, thus

In the beginning of the reign of Theodore, when it was rumoured that they (the Mongols) sent an embassy to him via ‘Persia’ (Asia Minor) – and [as] the information was true – there was great awe and tumult.<sup>173</sup>

Lippard suggests that Pachymeres means the Mongol embassy which was sent to Louis IX of France, but, according to Rubrouck, the chief ambassador died suddenly in Nicaea in 1254.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, the text of Rubrouck shows that this embassy was received by John III Batatzes, and not by Theodore II.<sup>175</sup> Langdon noticed the discrepancy in Lippard’s arguments and put forward another theory, according to which Pachymeres is writing about another Mongol embassy, which was sent directly to Theodore II at the end of 1254, shortly after the embassy to Louis IX.<sup>176</sup>

In my opinion, both Lippard and Langdon fail to answer the question: why would the Mongols have sent a diplomatic mission to Theodore II at the end of 1254? The text of Pachymeres leaves no doubt that this embassy was sent by Hülegü, as this was the starting point for the long negotiations between Hülegü and the Nicaean court about the matrimonial alliance which ended

<sup>170</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 187, ll.22–23: Θεοδώρου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλεύσαντος, ἐπεὶ ἐλέγοντο διὰ Περσίδος πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πρεσβεύεσθαι – καὶ ἦν ὁ λόγος ἀληθινός, –φόβος καὶ τάραχος ἦν.

<sup>171</sup> Andreeva 1926: 192; Zhavoronkov 1978: 98.

<sup>172</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 186: *Sous le règne de l’empereur Théodore, comme l’on disait qu’ils lui envoyoyaient à travers la Perse une ambassade—et l’information était vraie—ce fut l’épouante et le tumulte.*

<sup>173</sup> Lippard 1984: 180–5; Langdon 1998: 131–2; cf. Andreeva 1926: 192, n. 3.

<sup>174</sup> Lippard 1984: 184–5.

<sup>175</sup> Van den Wyngaert 1929: 255–6: *Sic ergo venit Theodolus usque ad Vastacium, volens transire ad Papam, et decipere Papam et quod deberet nuncios Tartarorum... Ipse vero Moal incurrit infirmitatem et mortuus est ibi. Vastacius vero per famulos ipsius Moal remisit bullam auream ipsi Manguchan, quibus ego obviavi apud Arseron, in introitu Turquie, qui narraverunt michi eventum ipsius Theodoli.* But the Mongol embassy left Nicaea when the emperor was Theodore II (Ascar). Van den Wyngaert 1929: 167, 331; Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l’empire Mongol*, tr. Kappler and Kappler, pp. 85–6, 245.

<sup>176</sup> Langdon 1998: 131, n. 206.

in the marriage of the Byzantine *despoina* to the Īlhān Abaqa in 1265.<sup>177</sup> But in 1254 Hülegü was on the right bank of the river Āmū-Daryā, with no hope of crossing it before the death of Batu. I see no reason why at that time Hülegü should be interested in relations with the Empire of Nicaea. Careful investigation of the text of Pachymeres leaves no doubt that he was writing about events in 1258.

To understand Pachymeres' text, let me reconstruct the circumstances of the first flight of the Sultan Kay-Kāwūs II to the territory of the empire of Nicaea. Though his stay in Nicaea lasted less than four months, from January till April 1257 (he returned to Konya on 14 Rabi' II AH 655, 1 May 1257<sup>178</sup>), he nevertheless managed to build contacts with the Mongols. Bar Hebraeus writes:

And 'Izz al-Din sent an ambassador from the [place] where he was to Hülegü (Hūlākū),<sup>179</sup> and he laid complaint against Baiju (Bāishū/Bāshū<sup>180</sup>), saying that he was alienating him from his kingdom and from the inheritance of his fathers. And Hülegü sent [him] a *yarlik*, that is to say a royal decree (*pūqdānā*),<sup>181</sup> [saying] that the countries were to be divided between the two brothers.<sup>182</sup> Therefore when the year 1568 of the Greeks (1257) began, 'Izz al-Din appeared<sup>183</sup> and came to Konya (Qūnīyā). And Rukn al-Din [went] with Baiju into winter

<sup>177</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 189, ll.27–29.

<sup>178</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 98; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 54; Ibn Bibi, pp. 287–90; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 273–6; Aksarayi, pp. 42–9; Cahen 2001: 187.

<sup>179</sup> Budge transliterates the name as 'Hūlābū', being misled by the similarity of the characters 'k' [ك] and 'b' [ب] in Eastern Syriac: ﻫـلـاـبـو ﴿ ﻭـلـاـبـو ﴾ The Arabic version of Bar Hebraeus contains the correct form 'Hūlākū' (هـلـاـكـو), similar to 'Hūlākū' (هـلـاـكـو) in Bejan's edition and the manuscripts: Bar 'Ebrāyā, *Ktābā d-maktabānūt zabnē*, MSS Bodleian Library, Hunt 1, fol. 532, col. C; Hunt 52, fol. 153v, col. i.

<sup>180</sup> Both manuscripts of Bar Hebraeus contain the forms 'Bāshū' (بـاشـو, MS Hunt 1, fol. 532, col. B; Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 497, n. 1) and 'Bāishū' (بـاـشـو, MS Hunt 52, fol. 153v, col. i). This was obviously an attempt on the part of Bar Hebraeus or his source to reproduce the sound [ch/č], absent in both Syriac and Arabic. If we read the name as [bachu], then the form accepted in the manuscripts of Bar Hebraeus is similar to the form of the name as it appears in Armenian sources: Bachu-nuin, Բաշունին; cf. Pelliot 1924: 302–6 ([108]–[110]): the correct pronunciation in Mongol was [baiju], but in Syriac, as in Armenian, the accepted version was [bachu]; moreover, the Mongol [ch] was customarily reproduced as [sh] in Syriac; cf. the reproduction of the name 'Chinggis Khān' as 'Shingiz qān' (شـنـقـىـزـ قـانـ, MS Bodleian Library, Hunt 52, fol. 126, col. i, var.: Shīngiz qān شـيـنـقـىـزـ قـانـ; MS Hunt 1, fol. 511, col. B). Also, in Karshuni Syriac the sound [j] could have easily been reproduced with the help of the letter ܓ [g], and the name Baiju should have been written as ܒـاـجـو [Bājū] or ܒـاـجـو [Bājū], as was indeed suggested by Paul Bejan, the editor of Bar Hebraeus' chronicle (Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 497, n. 1). However, the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (Oxford) do not support Bejan's view.

<sup>181</sup> On this treaty between Kay-Kāwūs II and Hülegü, see also Akropolites, i, p. 144, ll.15–19.

<sup>182</sup> In ordering the division of the Sultanate, Hülegü adhered to the decision of the Great Khān Möngke: Baybars al-Manṣūri, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, p. 30.

<sup>183</sup> The verb ﻭـلـاـقـ (etbadaq) can be translated as 'to be restored' (cf. Budge's translation 'was restored'), and as 'to become known, to appear' (Payne-Smith 1902: 35–6). Unlike Budge, I prefer the second meaning, because in the Arabic version of Bar Hebraeus the verb 'etbadaq' was translated as *zahara*, 'to become visible, to appear'.

quarters in the inner countries of Bithynia (*d-Bētōnīyā*) which were on the sea-coast.<sup>184</sup>

The place where the sultan received the *yarlıgh* of Hülegü was the Empire of Nicaea. Thus, the text of Bar Hebraeus gives us crucial evidence that the earliest diplomatic contact between the Empire of Nicaea and Hülegü, the first Īlhān, took place in 1257. 'Izz al-Dīn could not have returned to his realm without some sort of agreement with the Īlhān, which was indeed signed in 1257, most probably in Magnesia<sup>185</sup> under the protection of Theodore II Laskaris. This provisional agreement sanctioned the division of the Sultanate between Kay-Kāwūs II and Kılıç Arslān IV,<sup>186</sup> and was ratified by Hülegü when the two brothers visited him in Tabrīz on 6–10 August 1259.<sup>187</sup>

I thus conclude that Pachymeres and Bar Hebraeus are both writing of the same Mongol embassy, which arrived in Nicaean territory in 1257. Let us consider the evidence in Pachymeres and Akropolites.

Akropolites mentions two events as simultaneous: the awe that arose in the Empire of Nicaea because of the news about Mongol raids in proximity to the Nicaean–Seljukid border; and the military campaign of Michael II Angelos Doukas (1230–67) of Epiros against Theodore II, during which he reached the river Vardar in the Balkans.<sup>188</sup> We know that this campaign took place during the spring of 1257;<sup>189</sup> thus the Mongol threat should be dated to the same time. The statement in Akropolites about the rumours of Mongol troops on the eastern border of the Empire is confirmed by Bar Hebraeus who writes that at the beginning of 1257 the army of Baiju remained in 'Bithynia', on the sea coast.<sup>190</sup> No doubt, Bar Hebraeus means the Seljukid part of Paphlagonia, which was very close to Bithynia, on the Black Sea coast, between Sinope

<sup>184</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 497; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 425; MSS Bodleian Library, Hunt 1, fol. 532, col. C; Hunt 52, fol. 153v, col. i. I have adopted the translation by Budge with some modifications, which were based on my comparison between the Syriac and Arabic versions of the work of Bar Hebraeus. Ghrīhūriyūs Abū al-Faraj, *Tārikh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, p. 266. It is important to note that the manuscripts reproduce the same variant of the name of the province in which Rukn al-Dīn and Baiju spent the winter of 1257: *Bētōnīyā*.

<sup>185</sup> Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), 47, p. 295, ll.2–9; Skoutariotes (Sathas), p. 530, ll.20–27; Andreeva 1926: 193.

<sup>186</sup> Cahen 2001: 187–9.

<sup>187</sup> Aksarayi, pp. 60–2, without a date, which can be found in Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 717; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshān-Müsawī), ii, p. 1023; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 47–8; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, p. 501. I correct the date: AH 657, instead of AH 656.

<sup>188</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 157, ll.11–19.

<sup>189</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 139, l.23–143, l.22, 144, l.24–146, l.12; D. M. Nicol 1957: 161–3.

<sup>190</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 497; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 425. According to the Armenian sources, the army of Baiju reached the Mediterranean as well as the Black Sea shore (*Pontos*): Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 375; Kirakos (Khanlarian), p. 227; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 311–12; Vardan Arevelc'i, *Hawak'um patmut'ean*, p. 149; Thomson 1989: 216.

(a possession of the Empire of Trebizond in 1254–65/66<sup>191</sup>) and the lands of the Empire of Nicaea. Baiju managed to reach the Paphlagonian littoral only after capturing the castle of Kastamonu, the heart of Seljukid Paphlagonia, which had recently been the refuge of Michael Palaiologos.

Akropolites also writes that the Mongol danger at that time existed because they had still not concluded a ‘final peace’ with Theodore II.<sup>192</sup> According to Rashīd al-Dīn, in Rabi‘ I AH 655 (19 March–17 April 1257) Baiju moved to Ādharbāyjān and then to Hamadhān, where he met Hülegü.<sup>193</sup> Thus, the Mongols threatened the Nicaean eastern border from January till the beginning of March 1257. It was at this time that Hülegü sent the embassy to Theodore II and Kay-Kāwūs II. The text of Pachymeres contains some details which confirm that the embassy was sent when the Mongol army was still in Western Anatolia. Pachymeres writes that the emperor, when he received the report about the Mongol mission, sent his emissaries to ‘Persia’ (the Sultanate of Rūm) to spread false news about Nicaean preparations to wage war in order to gain a reputation for Byzantium of being an invincible military power. If the emissaries were killed, the state treasury was to have provided an allowance for their families.<sup>194</sup> The supposed enemy was the Mongols; thus, the alleged military campaign should have been undertaken against the army of Baiju, who might have ordered the emissaries of the Nicaean emperor to be killed. The action of Theodore II would have been unnecessary if there was no imminent danger to the Nicaean Anatolian frontier and the emissaries had had no reason to have been afraid of the Mongols; but in 1257 it was a part of a bold and yet successful ‘information war’. I suggest that these circumstances completely rule out the date of 1254, offered by Lippard and Langdon, because in 1254 there was no threat to the Nicaean border from the Mongols.

Nicaean–Mongol negotiations in 1257 turned into a great diplomatic victory for Theodore II. He used all the skill known to Byzantine diplomatic practice:<sup>195</sup> the Mongol ambassadors were brought to Nicaean territory by the longest and most unpleasant route; then the emperor gave them a ceremonial reception which included a military parade and a magnificent audience in the presence of the emperor’s relatives and members of the senate. Theodore II managed not only to help the Sultan Kay-Kāwūs II, but he himself signed a peace treaty with Hülegü which eliminated the Mongol danger to Nicaea. Pachymeres states: ‘Thus, they (the Mongols) who have inspired [everybody] with fear were now frightened [themselves] thanks to intelligent

<sup>191</sup> Shukurov 2001a: 164–7.

<sup>192</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 157, ll.13–14.

<sup>193</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, pp. 697–8; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, pp. 993–4; Rashīd al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 32–3; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, pp. 486–7; cf. al-Makīn, ed. Cahen, p. 166; al-Makīn, tr. Eddé and Micheau, p. 102: Hülegü ordered Baiju to leave Rūm in AH 655 (19 January 1257–7 January 1258).

<sup>194</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 187, ll.24–29.

<sup>195</sup> Andreeva 1926: 192–200.

[diplomacy]'.<sup>196</sup> From then on, the Empire began regularly sending envoys to the Mongols in Irân and, with 'very kind feelings' (*ηπίως πάνυ*), received the embassies sent in response. Soon the question of a mutual marriage alliance was discussed.<sup>197</sup>

This brilliant diplomatic scheme created by Theodore II had only one weak link: the Seljukid Sultan Kay-Kâwûs II, as Hülegü himself was interested in peace in Asia Minor, of which the Empire of Nicaea was a vital element. To demonstrate this, let us examine the political situation in the Middle East at the end of the 1250s.

On 12 February 1258 Hülegü took Baghdad. Soon afterwards the Caliph al-Musta'sîm (1242–58) was executed. His murder aroused the indignation of Muslims, including the Muslim Mongols, for example Berke (1257–66), the powerful Khân of the Golden Horde.<sup>198</sup> Before this, at the beginning of 1257, the Great Khân ordered the execution of Rukn al-Dîn Khwârshâh (1255–6), the head of the Ismâ'îlî state, who had surrendered to Hülegü.<sup>199</sup> In 1258 Hülegü's troops appeared on the Mamluk borders and the struggle with the Mongol heathens became Egypt's primary concern for many years thereafter.<sup>200</sup>

Hülegü had a particular interest in sending an embassy to Nicaea in 1257. He was preparing to attack Baghdad at that time, and he needed to keep the situation calm in Asia Minor. Peace with Nicaea allowed him to use Baiju's troops against the Caliph at the beginning of 1258.<sup>201</sup> Subsequent events only proved the wisdom of Hülegü's strategy. After the fall of Baghdad and the foundation of the Îlkhanid state, a quarrel between Hülegü and Berke was inevitable, because the Khân of the Golden Horde claimed Ädharbâyjân. Hülegü had to prepare to go to war with the Golden Horde, which happened in the winter of 1261–2.<sup>202</sup> Moreover, the Îlkhan always had to consider events at the court of the Great Khân. Möngke died on 12 August 1259.<sup>203</sup> When Hülegü received this news, he suddenly turned back from Aleppo with the

<sup>196</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 187, ll.26–27.

<sup>197</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 189, ll.27–29.

<sup>198</sup> Juwaynî, iii, pp. 259–78; Juvainî (Boyle), pp. 712–25; Rashid al-Dîn, ii, pp. 689–715; Rashid al-Dîn (Rawshan-Mûsawî), ii, pp. 979–1023; Rashid al-Dîn, (Arends), iii, pp. 26–47; Rashid al-Dîn (Thackston), ii, pp. 480–500; Bar 'Ebrâyâ, p. 495–7; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 422–4; Morgan 1989: 203.

<sup>199</sup> Boyle 1968–91: v, pp. 341–5.

<sup>200</sup> Amitai-Preiss 1995: 16–17, 21–35.

<sup>201</sup> Baiju had reached the river Tigris (Dijla) by 9 Muharram AH 656 (16 January 1258) and took an active part in the siege of Baghdad: Rashid al-Dîn, ii, pp. 707–10; Rashid al-Dîn (Rawshan-Mûsawî), ii, pp. 1008–12; Rashid al-Dîn, (Arends), iii, pp. 40–2; Rashid al-Dîn (Thackston), ii, pp. 493–6.

<sup>202</sup> Baybars al-Manşûrî, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, p. 82; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, p. 77 (p. 99 of the Russian translation); Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 394–6; Kirakos (Khanlarian), pp. 236–7; Kirakos (Bedrosian), pp. 330–3. On the cause of this war, see Shâfi' ibn 'Alî, *Husn al-manâqib*, ed. al-Khuwaytîr, p. 51; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, p. 124 (pp. 125–6 of the Russian translation); Zakirov 1966: 14–16, 39–52; Amitai-Preiss 1995: 78–80; Shukurov 2001a: 153–4; Allsen 1986–91: vi, pp. 412–13.

<sup>203</sup> Allsen 1986–91: vi, pp. 410–11.

bulk of his army.<sup>204</sup> Asia Minor remained at peace when the dynastic struggle started in the *ulus* of the Great Khān. In 1260, despite the revolt of Kay-Kāwūs II and the overwhelming Mamluk victory at 'Ayn Jālūt, Hülegü strengthened his power: the new Great Khān Qubilay (1260–94) recognized his *ulus* and even made an attempt to exempt the lands of the Īlkhan from the jurisdiction of Berke.<sup>205</sup> The neutrality of the Nicaean Empire allowed the Īlkhan to avoid a military campaign in Asia Minor (despite the clashes between Kay-Kāwūs II and Kılıç Arslān IV) and to marshal his troops on the eastern border of his realm. From a military point of view, the Mongol army was much stronger than the Nicaean, but Asia Minor itself was very difficult terrain for prolonged warfare. Moreover, the Empire supported Kay-Kāwūs II, a popular sultan, who had numerous retainers in various parts of the Sultanate of Rūm (many of them rebelled when he finally withdrew from Rūm to Constantinople<sup>206</sup>).

When Kay-Kāwūs II returned to Konya with a Nicaean military detachment in May 1257,<sup>207</sup> he continued to wage war against Kılıç Arslān IV.<sup>208</sup> Hülegü had neither the opportunity nor the will to punish him, as he was preoccupied with preparations for a decisive assault against the Abbasid Caliphate.<sup>209</sup> His only action in 1257 was the *yarlıgh* given to Kılıç Arslān IV, according to which the latter was recognized as a sultan<sup>210</sup> (thus the division of the Sultanate was accomplished *de facto*, as a similar *yarlıgh* was granted to Kay-Kāwūs II<sup>211</sup>). When the Seljukid embassy which had been sent to Qaraqorum in 1254, brought in 1258 news about Möngke's permission to divide Rūm, and especially when Hülegü took Baghdad in the same year and then Möngke died on 12 August 1259, the brothers, Kay-Kāwūs II and Kılıç Arslān IV, were finally reconciled.<sup>212</sup> Both sultans visited the court of the Īlkhan in person from 4–8 Sha'bān AH 657 (27–31 July 1259).<sup>213</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Morgan 1989: 202–3; Amitai-Preiss 1995: 26–9.

<sup>205</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, i, p. 623; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, pp. 879–80; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), ii, p. 162; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, p. 429–30; Trepavlov 1993: 83.

<sup>206</sup> Cahen 2001: 191.

<sup>207</sup> Aksarayı, p. 49; Akropolites, i, pp. 143, l.23–144, l.15; Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), 47, pp. 294, l.17–295, l.12; Skoutariotes (Sathas), p. 530, ll.12–29.

<sup>208</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 290–2; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 276–8; Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 498–501; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 425–7; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 71–2.

<sup>209</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, pp. 707–9; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, pp. 1008–11; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 40–1; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, pp. 493–5.

<sup>210</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 291; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 276–7.

<sup>211</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 497; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 425.

<sup>212</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 293–4; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 278–80. I understand the expression in Ibn Bibi (AS, p. 631) that the Sultanate was divided 'on the orders of the world-conquering [Khān]' (*ba-hukm-i X jahān-kushāy*, with the *crux decussata* instead of a name) as 'on the orders of the Great Khān', the master of the world. On the grant of the Sultanate to Kılıç Arslān IV on the part of Möngke, see Rashid al-Dīn, i, p. 576; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 815; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), ii, p. 124; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), ii, pp. 397–8; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, p. 30.

<sup>213</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 717; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1023; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 48; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), p. 501; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed.

Thus, through Hülegü's mediation, the territory of the Sultanate was divided into two parts: the first and major one, from Kayseri as far as Antalya, together with Konya, was granted to 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, while Rukn al-Dīn received Tokat, Sivas, Sinope, and Samsun,<sup>214</sup> but the peace was fragile. It was the 'Greek party' at 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II's court that pursued an anti-Mongol policy. Āqsarāyī mentions in his account of the beginning of 1258 a certain *kundiştabl-i rūmī*,<sup>215</sup> which might be translated as the 'Byzantine Constable', or the 'Greek (Rūmī) Constable'. If the translation of *kundiştabl-i rūmī* as the 'Byzantine Constable' is correct, the *kundiştabl-i rūmī* must be none other than Michael Palaiologos, who was the Grand Constable (*μέγας κονοσταῦλος*) of the Empire of Nicaea at that time (1258).

Āqsarāyī writes about this 'vile' Constable with indignation:

When Baiju (Bāyjū) came out of Rūm and went to Baghdad,<sup>216</sup> Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn returned from the land of Istanbul.<sup>217</sup> Malik al-Rūm<sup>218</sup> deigned to send three thousand Frankish horsemen as an escort to him in order to help [him]. The sultan arrived at Konya and mounted the throne of the Sultanate... The *Rūmī* Constable seized control over the aristocracy of the Sultanate as well as over the army... He, [being] full of infidel's fanaticism (*ta'*assub), took up the way of discord and quarrelling with the Muslim *amīrs* and grandees of the state.<sup>219</sup> And he persuaded the sultan to [take up] amusement and pleasure and prevented him from interesting himself in the affairs of religion. Because of the great persuasiveness (*rawājī*) of his speech and [the anxiety] to advance his own affairs, he urged [the sultan to leave] Konya, the place of the throne and the capital of the realm, for Antalya<sup>220</sup> so that when [the sultan] had gone there, he should be deprived of the '*ulamā*'s<sup>221</sup> discourse and the *shaikhs*' advice. [The following

Richards, p. 47; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Kitāb al-tuhfa al-mulukīyya*, ed Ḥamdān, p. 42; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 99; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 54; Turan 1971a: 491.

<sup>214</sup> Aksarayī, p. 62; Ibn Bibi, pp. 294–5; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 280–1; Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 509; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 434–5; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 99; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 54.

<sup>215</sup> Osman Turan reproduced two forms *kund-i iştabl-i rūmī* and *kundiştabl-i rūmī* in his *editio critica* of Āqsarāyī: Aksarayī, pp. 49 (*kund-i iştabl-i rūmī*), 50 (*kund-i iştabl-i rūmī*), 65 (*kundiştabl-i rūmī*), 66 (*kundiştabl-i rūmī*). Only one manuscript, namely MS Yeni Câmi' 827 (Süleymaniyye Câmi' digital collection), has the relevant section of Āqsarāyī's work. However, elsewhere MS Yeni Câmi' 827 reads *kundiştabl-i rūmī* (fols. 102, 119, 120). The form *kund-i iştabl-i rūmī* is a correct reconstruction of the older form by Turan (as the office of *iştabl* is attested in the Sultanate of Rūm).

<sup>216</sup> Baghdad had been taken on 13 February 1258.

<sup>217</sup> The sultan came back home from Nicaea, where he had found shelter from the Mongols after the battle at Sultanhanı. It is noteworthy that Āqsarāyī calls the Nicaean Empire the 'land of Istanbul (i.e. Constantinople)', though the Byzantine capital was still in Latin hands in 1257–8.

<sup>218</sup> Theodore II Laskaris: the date of his death is August 1258.

<sup>219</sup> The statement clearly shows that the *Constable* was a newcomer.

<sup>220</sup> This is additional evidence that the *kund-i iştabl-i Rūmī* was Michael Palaiologos in that Antalya was the best place for the sultan if he intended to seek refuge from the Mongols in Nicaean territory. There was the sea route from Antalya to the lands of the Nicaean Empire. Since the Mongols did not have a navy, the sultan could easily escape from Mongol hands while in Antalya.

<sup>221</sup> Muslim religious scholars and judges who often held high offices of state and acted as counsellors.

story reveals] the extent to which he mocked the Muslims. One day the sultan with his cortège went from Konya to the plain of Fil Ābād for diversion. The *qādī* Badi' al-Dīn Bandahī was one of the highest judges of the realm and one of the [best of the] '*ulamā'* of Islam. He travelled [in the company also, being] in the service of the sultan, and he preached a wise sermon. The Constable in order to cut off his just words said mockingly: 'My lord, news has arrived that they [i.e. the Mongols] have murdered your Caliph.' The *qādī* answered: 'Your God according to your confession was crucified; and if they have killed our Caliph, he has reached the state of martyrdom. Why should one be surprised?'<sup>222</sup>

Was Michael Palaiologos this 'Constable'? It should be pointed out that in the Rūm Sultanate, the office of *kundıştabl* is never mentioned with the addition *rūmī*. Āqsarāyī's mention of *kundıştabl-i rūmī* seems to be very strange, since he uses the adjective *rūmī* as the equivalent of 'Greek' or 'Byzantine' and never as 'Latin/Roman' or 'something or somebody of the Rūm Sultanate'.<sup>223</sup> There have been attempts to identify the *kundıştabl-i rūmī* in Āqsarāyī, but none has been successful.<sup>224</sup> According to Osman Turan, the *kundıştabl-i rūmī* in Āqsarāyī is identical to the anonymous *kundıştabl* in Ibn Bibī, mentioned in 1256<sup>225</sup> and again in 1261: the sultan, who planned to leave Rūm for Byzantium for a second time, sent the Constable beforehand to the Empire of Nicaea.<sup>226</sup> The Constable in Ibn Bibī has a brother. According to Turan, these two are to be identified with Kir Khāya and Kir Kedid, the Greek Orthodox uncles of the sultan, though it is impossible to decide which of the two sultan's uncles one should call the Constable.<sup>227</sup> The recent attempt to develop Turan's theory and prove that the Constable was indeed Kir Khāya cannot be regarded as successful; oddly, it was the adherents of Turan who found the facts that destroy Turan's identifications: according to Ibn Bibī, at the same time, in October 1256, the Seljuk *kundıştabl* and his brother went with the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II to Antalya, and from there, most probably, to the Empire of Nicaea, while the Sultan's uncles joined Fakhr al-Dīn Arslāndoghmush<sup>228</sup> in liberating Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV from his prison in Burghulū.<sup>229</sup> They remained in Rūm in 1256.

<sup>222</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 49–51. After this, Āqsarāyī goes on to tell another story.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. Aksarayī, p. 40.

<sup>224</sup> Shukurov (2012: 14–15) suggested that two other Greek favourites of the Sultan, the brothers Basilikai, mentioned by Pachymeres i, pp. 181, l.20–183, l.19, were to be identified with the *kundıştabl* and his brother. However, the data in Pachymeres on the Basilikai is at variance with the evidence of the Persian sources on the *kundıştabl*; cf. Apanovich 2007: 192.

<sup>225</sup> Ibn Bibī, p. 287; Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 273; Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 623.

<sup>226</sup> Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 342, n. 371; Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 623.

<sup>227</sup> Turan 1971a: 480, 488–9, 1953: 82–3.

<sup>228</sup> He was one of the commanders of Kay-Kāwūs II's army and probably the ἀμυραχούρης in Akropolites, who, having taken the Mongol side during the battle at Sultanhanı in 1256, caused the Seljuks' defeat. Akropolites, i, p. 138, l.1–10. Indeed, after the battle at Sultanhanı, Fakhr al-Dīn Arslāndoghmush took Kılıç Arslān IV's side. On him, see Cahen 2001: 179–86; Apanovich 2007: 173–4 and n. 15, 185.

<sup>229</sup> Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 623; Apanovich 2007: 186–92; Shukurov 2008: 101–3.

The difference between the Constable in Ibn Bibī (who doubtless was a Seljuk official) and the Greek Constable in Āqsarāyī lies in their position at the sultan's court. The former was a minor official only briefly mentioned by Ibn Bibī, while the latter was a powerful magnate. Attention should also be paid to the fact that this Greek Constable appears and disappears all of a sudden in the pages of Āqsarāyī's narrative. This is absolutely uncharacteristic of Āqsarāyī, since he customarily provides us with information about the career stages of each person he mentions.<sup>230</sup> For these reasons one must conclude that the *kundişabl-i rūmī* mentioned in Āqsarāyī's account of the beginning of 1258 is not an anonymous Greek born in the Rūm Sultanate, but Michael Palaiologos, the only known Nicaean (and also Greek) Constable at this time, who might have paid a short visit to his friend Kay-Kāwūs II sometime in February–March 1258. Our story, therefore, has an interesting continuation: at the beginning of 1258, when Baiju withdrew his troops to Baghdad, Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II granted the office of *beylerbeyi* with all its revenues to Michael Palaiologos, the head of the 'Greek party' in Konya.

If so, the friendship with Michael Palaiologos was fatal for Kay-Kāwūs II: in 1260, on the advice of Michael VIII, he refused to pay what he owed to the Mongols and, still worse, maintained contacts with the Mamluk Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars I al-Bunduqdārī,<sup>231</sup> the bitter enemy of the Īlhān. Of tremendous importance for Kay-Kāwūs II was the support promised to him by Michael Palaiologos, who had recently become emperor.<sup>232</sup> In 1261 the Mongol army sent by Hülegü drove out the recalcitrant sultan to Nicaean territory.<sup>233</sup> His brother Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV entered Konya on 14 Ramadān AH 659 (12 August 1261).<sup>234</sup>

In 1260 the reconciliation that existed between the Empire of Nicaea and Hülegü from 1257 was expressed in a treaty:

<sup>230</sup> Cf., for example, his remark about the famous *parwāna* Mu'in al-Dīn Süleymān, the real head of the Sultanate in 1261–77: 'And Mu'in al-Dīn *parwāna* was *amīr-i hājib* (chamberlain) that time', i.e. in AH 656 (1258). Aksarayi, p. 41.

<sup>231</sup> Baybars al-Mansūri, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, p. 75; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawd al-zāhir*, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khuwaytir, pp. 125–8; Shāfi'i ibn 'Alī, *Husn al-manāqib*, ed. al-Khuwaytir, p. 49.

<sup>232</sup> Aksarayi, pp. 65–70; Pachymeres, i, p. 141, ll.11–17; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1859, p. 60.

<sup>233</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 294–8, esp. pp. 296–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 280–5; *Tārikh-i ăl-i Saljūq*, p. 99; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 54; Aksarayi, pp. 68–70; Baybars al-Mansūri, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 72–3; Pachymeres, i, pp. 183, l.20–185, l.21; Failler 1980: 54–5; Cahen 2001: 189–91. The attempt of Shukurov (2012: 7–13) to re-date Kay-Kāwūs II's flight to Nicaea to the summer of 1262 (on the basis of the evidence of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir) cannot be accepted. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's dates are tentative, as his chronicle was not finished. Convincing evidence can be derived from the sequence of events in his *al-Rawd al-zāhir*. The exchange of embassies between Kay-Kāwūs II and Baybars I over Mamluk help to Kay-Kāwūs II (and his flight to Nicaea) had taken place before the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines in 1261. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawd al-zāhir*, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khuwaytir, pp. 125–9.

<sup>234</sup> *Tārikh-i ăl-i Saljūq*, p. 99; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 54–5.

[The emperor] concluded the peace treaty with Hülegü (*Xaλaoύ*), the *archon* of the Tartars, so that [he] (i.e. Hülegü) received the opportunity [to rule over] the population in Persia (Rūm) even without mentioning the sultan's name in it.<sup>235</sup>

The emperor who concluded the treaty was Michael VIII Palaiologos, a friend of Kay-Kāwūs II. Despite Michael's relations with Kay-Kāwūs II, he preferred to rely on Hülegü's military power in Asia Minor. However, Michael Palaiologos had to face a more complicated international situation than had Theodore II.

At the end of 1260 Mamluk Egypt and the Golden Horde, united by mutual animosity towards the Ilkhāns, concluded an alliance that remained vital throughout all the time the Ilkhānid state existed.<sup>236</sup> I will later describe how the Nicaean Empire participated in the formation of the alliance; suffice it to say now that Michael Palaiologos, while emperor, had to maintain good relations with two bitter enemies: the Golden Horde and the Ilkhānid state. And of course he had to maintain good relations with the Mamluks, since Michael controlled the crucial route from the Black Sea to Egypt, along which came future Mamluk slaves. I have demonstrated how John III Batatzes and Theodore II were worrying about a possible Mongol onslaught in Asia Minor, but the Balkan provinces of the Empire were also open to attack by the Golden Horde (as in fact happened in 1264–5). Moreover, the sister of Kay-Kāwūs II was Berke's wife;<sup>237</sup> thus, support for the sultan was also an important element in Nicaean–Golden Horde relations.

The role of 'Izz al-Din Kay-Kāwūs II in Byzantine relations with the Mongols was not limited to his matrimonial alliance with Berke. Far more important was the fact that while reigning over the Sultanate, or sometimes over the western part of Rūm in 1246–61 (with an interval in 1257), Kay-Kāwūs II was a 'shield' against the Mongols in Asia Minor. Moreover, he was half-Greek in origin,<sup>238</sup> was married to a relative of the Emperor John III Batatzes, and used Greeks as his retainers (such as the Basilikai, a family from Rhodes, who entered Michael VIII's service after 1260<sup>239</sup>). Most probably, Kay-Kāwūs II was the father of Demetrios Soultanos Palaiologos. The sultan

<sup>235</sup> I.e. without paying any attention to the sultan. Pachymeres, i, p. 185, ll.22–24. Cf. Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1887, p. 72.

<sup>236</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawd al-zāhir*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khuwaytir, pp. 88–9; Baybars al-Mansūri, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 70–1, 82–5; Shāfi'i ibn 'Alī, *Husn al-manāqib*, ed. al-Khuwaytir, pp. 51, 79; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xxvii, pp. 356–61; al-Mufaddal, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, ed. and tr. Blochet, i, pp. 442–62, 487; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, pp. 46–9, 77–9, 124–5, 130–2, 176–83 (pp. 55–8, 98–101, 125–6, 151–3, 187–94 of the Russian translation); Zakirov 1966: 39–97 (still the best study of the problem of the Mamluk–Golden Horde alliance).

<sup>237</sup> Aksarayi, pp. 75–6.

<sup>238</sup> His mother and grandmother were of Greek origin: Aksarayi, p. 40; Ibn Bibi, pp. 212–13; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 204; Astarābādi, *Bazm-u razm*, p. 45; Baybars al-Mansūri, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, p. 73; Shukurov 2001a: 156, n. 118.

<sup>239</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 180, l.22–183, l.19. On the Basilikai, see PLP 2452, 2458.

also played a key role in the defence of the Nicaean eastern border. He was very popular among the Turkish tribes of Anatolia as a ruler who attempted to repulse the Mongol onslaught. After he left Rūm, great Turkish uprisings started that were put down only with difficulty by Mongol and Seljukid forces.<sup>240</sup> Not surprisingly, during the 1250s Theodore II and Michael VIII had no military clashes with frontier Turks. One could explain this fact by their alliance with Kay-Kāwūs II, who may have guaranteed the safety of the Nicaean borders.<sup>241</sup>

When Hülegü deprived Kay-Kāwūs II of power over Rūm, Michael VIII Palaiologos should have realised that a new policy had to be established for Byzantine relations with the Mongols. The emperor tried to explore all possible ways. On the one hand, as he did not want to quarrel either with Berke or with Hülegü, he held Kay-Kāwūs II as hostage in Constantinople. The situation was delicate, but Hülegü seems to have been satisfied with it, as Kay-Kāwūs II was no longer sultan. On the other hand, in 1261–3, after the reconquest of Constantinople, Michael Palaiologos maintained close contacts with the Mamluk Sultanate;<sup>242</sup> the envoys of Egypt and the Golden Horde travelled via the Byzantine capital because they had no other route.<sup>243</sup> In other words, the Mamluk–Golden Horde alliance, so dangerous for the Ilkhānid state, was impossible without the permission of the Byzantine emperor, who allowed embassies to pass through Constantinople. Michael also cherished the hope of restoring Kay-Kāwūs II. We know that the Byzantine embassy arrived at Egypt with the envoys of Berke and Kay-Kāwūs II shortly before 7 July 1263.<sup>244</sup> The emperor did not trust Hülegü and still dreamt of creating a buffer zone outside the Byzantine borders in Asia Minor against the Mongols: on the eve of a new round of negotiations with Hülegü concerning the matrimonial alliance, Pachymeres says,

the emperor did his utmost (*λίαν*) to win over [the garrisons of] the Persian (Seljuk) fortresses, in the hope of using [them] as a fence if these (i.e. the Mongols) should fall [upon us].<sup>245</sup>

Only the treaty with Hülegü that was concluded before 1263 (according to which a daughter of Michael VIII should marry the Ilkhān)<sup>246</sup> gave Michael some sort of a guarantee that he could rely on the Iranian Mongols in Asia Minor. He no longer needed a loyal Seljukid sultan.

<sup>240</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 292, 298–9; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 277–8, 286; Aksarayî, pp. 75–6.

<sup>241</sup> However, when the sultan left Rūm, military operations against the boundary Turks restarted. On the expedition of Michael VIII against the Turks of the Maeander in 1260, see Zhavoronkov 1978: 99–100.

<sup>242</sup> Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1902, 1903, 1904, 1919.

<sup>243</sup> Morgan 1989: 204.

<sup>244</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khuwaytir, p. 88; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, pp. 48–9 (pp. 58–9 of the Russian translation).

<sup>245</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 187, ll.6–7.

<sup>246</sup> Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1901, p. 79.

When he realized this bitter reality,<sup>247</sup> 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II stirred up a revolt in 1264.<sup>248</sup> It seemed likely that the uprising would soon be put down but Berke decided to help 'Izz al-Dīn. Liberated by the Golden Horde attack against the Byzantine Balkan lands, 'Izz al-Dīn left the fortress of Ainos, where he had been imprisoned, for the city of Solkhat in the Crimea, which was granted to him by Berke (by 1265 or indeed in the autumn or winter 1264).<sup>249</sup> This was the most serious conflict between Michael Palaiologos and the Golden Horde.<sup>250</sup>

At the end of 1264 or the beginning of 1265 Maria Diplobatatzina, the illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII, escorted by Theodosios Villehardouin, the archimandrite of the monastery of Pantokrator and the future Patriarch of Antioch (1273–83/84),<sup>251</sup> set off for the east.<sup>252</sup> Instead of Hülegü, who had died (8 February 1265), Maria married Abaqā, his successor. A new Byzantine eastern policy, which assumed Byzantium and the Īlkhanid state to be the two major powers in Asia Minor, was finally established. From this point on, we have almost no news about contacts between the Byzantine emperors and the Seljukid sultans of Rūm.

In order to demonstrate how vital for Byzantium its relations with the Īlkhanid state were, I will look at the situation at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

\* \* \*

In the first chapter of the sixth book of the second volume of his *History* Pachymeres writes about the Īlkhan Ghazan in the following words:

And Ghazan (*Kaζάνης*), the Khān of the Oriental Tartars,<sup>253</sup> ended his life at the age of thirty five, having achieved within six years of his reign a lot worthy of remembrance. The hope of all people died with him and the dangers increased everywhere especially near Philadelphie attacked by the Germians<sup>254</sup> ... When

<sup>247</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 301, ll.15–16.

<sup>248</sup> Aksarayi, pp. 75–7.

<sup>249</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 298, 335; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 285, 323 (e); Pachymeres, i, pp. 300–13; Gregoras, i, pp. 99–101; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawd al-zāhir*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khuwaytir, pp. 202–3, 214–18; al-Mufaddal, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, ed. and tr. Blochet, i, pp. 452–7; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, pp. 52–4, 178–80, 200 (pp. 62–4, 189–92, 203 of the Russian translation).

<sup>250</sup> The conflict was also caused by another action of Michael VIII, who within one year (August 1263–August 1264) detained an Egyptian embassy, which had been sent to the Golden Horde, in Constantinople. Mamluk sources inform us that Michael VIII did this because of Berke's attack against the Empire. The Sultan Baybars settled the conflict between the emperor and the khān. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawd al-zāhir*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khuwaytir, pp. 202–3; Shāfi' ibn 'Ali, *Husn al-manāqib*, ed. al-Khuwaytir, pp. 51, 79; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, pp. 52–3, 124–5 (pp. 62–3, 126 of the Russian translation); Zakirov 1966: 52–3.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. Fedalto 1981: 183.

<sup>252</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 235, ll.11–21; PLP, 21395.

<sup>253</sup> δὲ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν Κάνους Τοχάρων. The 'Tokharoi' in Pachymeres were the Mongols (Tartars, Αταρίοι). Cf. Pachymeres, i, p. 181, l.14; Moravcsik 1958: ii, p. 329.

<sup>254</sup> Τῶν Καρμανῶν, i.e. the Germiyanoğulları under Yakub (Ya'qūb) I Alişir (1294–1325?). I. Mélíkoff-Sayar, 'Germiyan-oghulları', in *EJ*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 989; Moravcsik 1958: ii, p. 154.

he [first] came to power, he looked to that Cyrus and Darius and took a more especial delight in their deeds spoken of long ago. He thus adorned himself with the [full] augustness of the realm. Later, having turned his mind to the famous [deeds] of Alexander, the victor over Darius, he exceedingly loved the acts of that [man]. For this he too sought a like destiny and to achieve that fame which belongs to brave deeds wherever [they are done]. That is why he held the great number of his shield-bearers (*παρασπίζουσιν*) in honour and gladly employed Iberians (i.e. Georgians) against his enemies. Most [of these Iberians] were high-born by race and, moreover, had the pure and blameless piety (*σεβάσματος*) of the Christians.<sup>255</sup> For this reason, when he learned that the Cross was the trophy of the Christians, he led his [Georgian] shield-bearers as his rearguard (as the most important unit of his army) in battle. He caused numerous dangers to the sultan of the Arabs,<sup>256</sup> so that he was [on the verge] of attacking Jerusalem itself (lit. 'Holy Solyma')<sup>257</sup> and of taking it just to please the Iberians on account of the life-giving tomb [of our Saviour there].<sup>258</sup>

This passage would not be noteworthy were it not for the fact that the Ilkhān Ghazan was the second Muslim Ilkhān;<sup>259</sup> it was during Ghazan's reign that, according to Spuler, 'the sudden and irreversible catastrophe for Christendom in Īrān' occurred.<sup>260</sup> The Ilkhānid state became Muslim and remained such until its downfall in 1335. Ghazan's accession to the throne, which he had taken from his relative Baydu (1295), was marked by cruel persecutions of Christians, as the Syriac, Persian, Georgian and Armenian sources testify.<sup>261</sup>

<sup>255</sup> The Georgian troops under the command of the king Vakhtang III (1302–8) took an active part in the campaigns of the Ilkhān Ghazan against the Mamluks. *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, pp. 630–4. The first and most successful campaign was in March 1299–January 1300, cf. Boyle 1968–91: 386–7.

<sup>256</sup> The Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I (1293–4, 1299–1309, 1310–41), against whom the Ilkhān Ghazan conducted three campaigns. Hamdullāh Mustawfi Qazvīni, *The Tārikh-i Guzida*, ed. and tr. Browne, i (Persian text), pp. 594–5; ii, (English translation), p. 145–6.

<sup>257</sup> 'Jerusalem', with a play upon words: Pachymeres divided *Τεροσόλυμα* [cf. Matthew 3: 5] into two parts: *τὸ ἱερόν*—'temple, sacred place' and 'Solymas' (*σόλυμα*), which alludes to the name 'Salem' Σαλήμ (Genesis 14: 18; Hebrews 7: 1–2), from 'shalaym', 'peace' (cf. another form of 'Jerusalem': *Τεροσαλήμ*; cf. Matthew 23: 37, Mark 11: 1, Luke 2: 25, *passim*), which was thought to have been the ancient name of Jerusalem; cf. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, pp. 1022–4.

<sup>258</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 503, l.16–505, l.10; cf. Laiou 1993: 119–20.

<sup>259</sup> After the Ilkhān Ahmād (1281–4). <sup>260</sup> Spuler 1968: 219.

<sup>261</sup> Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 594–7; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 506–8; *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha*, ed. Bedjan, pp. 100–15; *The Monks of Kūblāi Khān*, tr. Budge, pp. 210–24; *Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma*, tr. Borbone, pp. 100–1; Rashid al-Din, ii, pp. 906, 914, 983–4; Rashid al-Din (Rawshan-Müsawi), ii, pp. 1259, 1356; Rashid al-Din, (Arends), iii, pp. 165, 217–18; Rashid al-Din (Thackston), iii, pp. 622, 626–7, 676; Vassāf al-Hażrat, *Ta'rīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, pp. 321–5; Āyyatī, *Taḥrīr-i Ta'rīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, pp. 196–8; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, pp. 615–19; Orbélean, *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan*, pp. 470–4; Orbélian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, tr. Brosset, i, pp. 261–2; Samuēl Anets'i, *Hawak'munk'*, ed. Tēr-Mik'elean, p. 165; Samouel d'Ani, *Tables Chronologiques*, ed. Brosset, ii, pp. 475–7.

Nevertheless Pachymeres was able to write the extraordinary statement that the Muslim ruler ‘learned that the Cross was the trophy of the Christians’.

Despite the traditional view which considers the sufferings of the Christians in Īrān under the reign of Ghazan to be the result of his conversion to Islam, it should be noted that the persecution itself was not officially sanctioned.<sup>262</sup> The new Muslim authorities ordered the Christians to pay *jizya* and to wear special clothing. Rashid al-Dīn, whose work is based on the official documents of the reign of Ghazan, writes:

The *pādishāh* of Islam Ghazan . . . ordered the breaking down of all the idols, the destruction of all idol temples, pagan altars (lit. ‘devil places of fire’, *hāw ātish-kada*) and other places of worship which are not permitted in the lands of Islam according to the Divine law (*shar’ an*). Most of the *bakhshī* converted to Islam. Those who refused to become Muslims, were allowed to set out for Hind (India), Kashmīr, Tibat (Tibet) or back to their homeland.<sup>263</sup>

In other words, officially the government of the Muslim Īlkhan persecuted the Buddhists and the pagans (or the shamans as the term ‘*bakhshī*’ has a second meaning<sup>264</sup>). The troubles of the Christian population occurred during an internal struggle in the Īlkhanid state in 1295 (which lasted in some regions until 1298) but they were mostly caused by spontaneous anti-Christian uprisings by the Muslim population in the cities (Baghdad, Mosul, Hamadān, Marāgha, and Tabriz). Once firmly established on his throne, Ghazan returned to the policy of his predecessors to Christianity. When he received the oath of obedience from Het’um II (1289–93, 1294–7, 1299–1307) of Cilician Armenia in 1295, he promulgated an edict forbidding persecution of the Armenian Church.<sup>265</sup> A similar decree was granted to the Nestorians in 1296.<sup>266</sup> Finally, the same oath of vassalage was received by the Īlkhan from David VII (1292–1301), the king of East Georgia,<sup>267</sup> which meant a guarantee of safety for the Georgian Orthodox Church. When the people of Tabriz

<sup>262</sup> Bar ‘Ebrāyā, pp. 595–7; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 506–8; *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha*, ed. Bedjan, pp. 100–15; *The Monks of Kūblāi Khān*, tr. Budge, pp. 210–24.

<sup>263</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 983; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1356; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 217–18; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 676.

<sup>264</sup> Zachariadou 1978a: 263–4. In Middle Mongol the term *baqshi* meant ‘tutor, teacher’; cf. the Middle Mongol manuscript written on birch bark at the beginning of the fourteenth century: Poppe 1941: 124–6.

<sup>265</sup> Orbélean, *Patmut’iwn nahangin Sisakan*, p. 474; Orbélian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, tr. Brosset, i, p. 262.

<sup>266</sup> *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha*, ed. Bedjan, pp. 110–16; *The Monks of kūblāi Khān*, tr. Budge, pp. 220–5.

<sup>267</sup> Orbélean, *Patmut’iwn nahangin Sisakan*, pp. 476–7; Orbélian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, tr. Brosset, i, pp. 263–4; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, pp. 619–20. The approximate date (the autumn of 1297) of the treaty between David VII and Ghazan can be established with help of Rashid al-Dīn: Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 933; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1282; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 178; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 641.

destroyed the rest of the churches in 1298, Ghazan ordered the punishment of the most active vandals.<sup>268</sup>

However, there was another reason for Pachymeres to show eulogistic appreciation of the Mongol ruler, namely the close amicable contacts between Byzantium and the Ilkhānid state at the beginning of the fourteenth century, contacts that extended back for over fifty years.

As we have seen, the marriage of Maria Diplobatzina and the Ilkhān Abaqa was a milestone in Byzantine eastern policy. Maria stayed at the Ilkhānid court for a long time, until her husband's death in 1282, if not longer.<sup>269</sup> She was a powerful and respected wife: Rashid al-Dīn mentions her as third-ranking in the list of wives, after the two most beloved.<sup>270</sup>

The long stay of Maria and her high place at the Mongol court can itself be considered an indication of the friendly relations between the two powers. The years 1265–82 saw a great diplomatic battle between Michael VIII Palaiologos and Charles of Anjou (1266–85), who defeated Manfred of Hohenstaufen (1251–66) on 26 February 1266 and became king of Naples and Sicily. Charles wanted to restore the Latin Empire. His boundless energy in creating anti-Byzantine alliances threatened the very existence of Byzantium.<sup>271</sup> As Bryer has demonstrated, in the 1270s Michael VIII Palaiologos was in alliance with the Ilkhānid state, the Western Georgian kingdom and, from time to time, with the Papacy against Charles of Anjou and his allies (the Mamluk Sultanate, the Empire of Trebizond, and the Kingdom of Eastern Georgia).<sup>272</sup> These alliances were reinforced by matrimonial alliances: a daughter or a niece of Michael VIII (her name is unknown; she was illegitimate) married David V Narin (1234–93), the king of Western Georgia, in 1267;<sup>273</sup> a daughter of George I Grand Komnenos of Trebizond became the wife of Demetre II (1273–89) of Eastern Georgia.<sup>274</sup> As far as the Golden Horde was concerned, Michael VIII took advantage of the growing strength of the Khān Noghai, the *de facto* co-ruler of the Horde, and concluded a marriage alliance with him in 1270. The marriage provided relative safety for the Balkan possessions of the Empire.<sup>275</sup> It was important that the 'kingdom' of Noghai, situated in Eastern Europe, north of the river Danube, along the steppes of modern Ukraine, did

<sup>268</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 935; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1285; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 179; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 642.

<sup>269</sup> On Maria Diplobatzina, see Runciman 1960: 46–53; *PLP* 21395.

<sup>270</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 740; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1056; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 65; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, pp. 515–16.

<sup>271</sup> Runciman 2002: 68–70, 194–200; D. M. Nicol 1993: 48–71.

<sup>272</sup> Bryer 1973: 342–3.

<sup>273</sup> She was most probably the daughter of the *despot* John, the brother of Michael VIII. Kuršanskis 1975: 188–9.

<sup>274</sup> Kaukhchishvili 1974: i, p. 158/159; Bryer 1973: 342–4. See also Fig. 7 of this book.

<sup>275</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 243, ll.3–10; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1984a, p. 111; Failler 1981: 210–11.

not border the Ilkhānid state and thus did not affect relations between Byzantium and Irān. Finally, on 8 May 1281, Michael concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (1279–90), the eighth paragraph of which concerned possible joint actions by both sovereigns against Charles of Anjou, their common enemy at that time.<sup>276</sup> Moreover, when the rule of Charles of Anjou was overthrown during the so-called Sicilian Vespers (30 March 1282), another daughter of Michael VIII became the wife of John II Grand Komnenos (1280–4/5; 1285–97) in 1282.<sup>277</sup>

What was the nature of relations between Byzantium and the Ilkhānid state in the 1280s? We know very little. In 1287 the Ilkhān Arghun (1284–91) decided to send envoys to the West in order to conclude a military alliance against the Mamluks. When dispatching a Nestorian monk *rabban* Ṣāwmā, the Ilkhān provided him with letters addressed to ‘the king of Greeks and [the king] of Perōgāyē (Franks), that is to say, of *Bēt Rhōmāyē* (“the Romans” or “the Roman Empire”).<sup>278</sup> In other words, the Ilkhān still considered Byzantium a vital element in his plan to create an anti-Mamluk alliance. Like other Ilkhāns’ attempts to form some sort of a league with the West, the mission, while promising at the beginning, failed to achieve its goals in the end.<sup>279</sup>

A new alliance between the Byzantine Empire and the Ilkhānid state was concluded in 1302. As has been mentioned, the *causa sine qua non* of any Byzantine–Ilkhānid alliance was to maintain the balance of power in Asia Minor. The situation in the 1300s that brought into being a renewed Byzantine–Ilkhānid military alliance was very different from that in the 1260s and the 1270s. The beginning of the fourteenth century was the time when the Turks conquered Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor.

There are two trustworthy and independent sources that tell of the Byzantine embassy to the Ilkhān Ghazan in 1302, when Byzantine Asia Minor seemed to have been completely lost: Pachymeres and Rashīd al-Dīn. Pachymeres writes:

Our position was terrible: nothing outside the City (i.e. Constantinople) [was able to] hold up the irresistible impetus of the Persians (i.e. the Turks). On account of this, some were killed, some fled to the cities and fortresses, others to the [Aegean] islands, some [sought] safety across the straits (the Hellespont), running away to seek security (lit. ‘to be saved’, *σωθεῖεν*). Those within [the City] suffered from a severe shortage of necessities because of the destruction caused by the outsiders (*τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν*). So the emperor was like one fending off (*ἀντιπαλαμάψενος*) a flood of horrors. In despair of the Alans and his own

<sup>276</sup> Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 2054b, p. 138; Canard 1973: IV, pp. 198–203, 209–23.

<sup>277</sup> Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, p. 62, ll.9–16.

<sup>278</sup> *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha*, ed. Bedjan, p. 48; *The Monks of Kūblāi Khān*, tr. Budge, p. 166; *Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma*, tr. Borbone, p. 75.

<sup>279</sup> On contacts between the Ilkhāns and Western powers, see Morgan 2000: 183–98; Amitai-Preiss 1999: 58–9.

[troops], in doubts about the corrupt (*σαθροῖς*) foreigners,<sup>280</sup> he sent [an embassy] to Ghazan of the oriental Tatars, the Khān as they call him, to propose a marriage alliance (*γαμικὰς ἐπιμιξίας*) and asking [him] to help the Romans (i.e. the Byzantines) who were now at their last extremity. He (i.e. Ghazan) accepted the request and agreed the marriage contract with an illegitimate daughter whose father was thought to be the emperor himself. He also gave his firm assurances that he would pursue the accursed [foe] (*ἀλάστορας*).<sup>281</sup>

The text of Rashīd al-Dīn, which is much shorter, reads that the Īlhān Ghazan made his journey in Kūrdistān, near Bisutūn. A new war with the Mamluks was coming; the rebel emirs of Syria fled from the Sultanate and offered their allegiance to the Īlhān. At that moment

the envoys of the *fāsiliyūs*, the *pādishāh* of Istanbūl, arrived in those lands<sup>282</sup> with gifts and presents, and proclaimed that the *fāsiliyūs* would like to be under the shadow of the *pādishāh* of Islam and to send his daughter into service as a concubine. The *pādishāh* deigned to treat them with affection.<sup>283</sup>

Rashīd al-Dīn makes it possible to date this Byzantine embassy shortly before 6 December 1302. The embassy had a striking effect: as soon as they heard about it, the Turks temporarily ceased their incursions against Byzantine lands in Bithynia and Paphlagonia. According to Ghazan's will, made on his deathbed in 1304, the agreement between Byzantium and the Īlhānid state should have been in force for the next three years, i.e. until 1307 (though the matrimonial project was never accomplished).<sup>284</sup> All the *amīrs* mentioned by Pachymeres as those who stopped their attacks against Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor when the Byzantine–Mongol alliance was concluded (Çobanoğulları, Candaroğulları, *amīr* Osman) were the subjects of the Īlhān. They—including *amīr* Osman, the founder of the Ottoman state—struck Īlhānid coinage and had to visit the Anatolian viceroy of the Īlhān or even the Īlhānid court in Tabrīz when offering their vassal allegiance.<sup>285</sup>

According to Pachymeres, in 1305 Byzantium asked the Īlhān Öljeitü for his assistance ‘according to the military alliance’ (*κατὰ συμμαχίαν*) against the Turks in the south-western regions of Asia Minor. The Īlhān agreed to send an army of 40,000 men. A part of the army, under the command of the

<sup>280</sup> Pachymeres means the foreign mercenaries of the Byzantine emperor.

<sup>281</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 441, ll.15–28.

<sup>282</sup> I.e. to the Īlhān's temporary residence in Kūrdistān, near Bisutūn.

<sup>283</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, p. 951; Rashīd al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1308; Rashīd al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 192–3; Rashīd al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 654. The *terminus a quo* of the embassy is 26 August 1302. Cf. Spuler 1968: 101; Boyle 1968–91: 392.

<sup>284</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 505, l.26–507, l.28.

<sup>285</sup> On Osman, see Morgan 1989: 207; Lindner 1999: 287–9. On Süleymān-paşa Candaroğlu, see Aksarayî, pp. 311–12 (date—1314). On Mużaffar al-Dīn Yavlak Arslan Çobanoğlu, see Ibn Bibi, pp. 336–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 324–5. On the coinage of the Īlhān Ghazan in Asia Minor, see Diler 2006: 345, 359, 360, 363.

Īlkhan's cousin (*αὐτανέψιος*), reached Konya. Unfortunately, it was too late: on 24 October 1304, the *amīr* Sasa Aydinoğlu captured Ephesos.<sup>286</sup> Oriental sources confirm Pachymeres' information: according to Qāshānī, the biographer of Öljeitü, and Āqsarāyī, the Īlkhan sent an army of 20,000 men under the command of his father-in-law, *amīr* Irinjin (Irinjin), to Rūm on 3 Dhū al-ḥijja AH 704 (27 June 1305). Irinjin waged war against the Karamanoğulları Turks near Konya and Aksaray, but he did not go farther westwards.<sup>287</sup>

In the winter of 1305/6 another Byzantine embassy was sent to Georgia in order to negotiate a *symmachia* (*συμμαχία*), i.e. a military alliance.<sup>288</sup> These negotiations (which Byzantium most probably conducted with the Eastern Georgian kingdom, the vassal of the Īlkhanid state) ended in failure, but at this time Andronikos II decided to offer Öljeitü a matrimonial alliance (*κῆδος*). The emperor even ordered the *despoina* Maria, Abaqa's widow, to move to Nicaea with all her court, as her assistance might be useful when he was concluding the new Byzantine-Īlkhanid treaty.<sup>289</sup>

During the period of 1290–1310 Byzantium tried to defend what remained of its former possessions in Asia Minor. The Empire placed its hopes in the help of Mongol or Georgian troops because her own Catalan mercenaries had already revolted. The matrimonial alliance between the Īlkhan and an illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II was finally concluded,<sup>290</sup> and the military alliance remained valid: when the *amīr* Osman attacked Nicaea in 1307, it was the *despoina* Maria who sent a mission to the Īlkhan asking for help. According to Pachymeres, it was rumoured that Öljeitü sent an army of 30,000 men but Osman forestalled him and captured the fortress of Trikakkia near Nicaea.<sup>291</sup> Unfortunately for Byzantium, the Īlkhanid troops, while able to reach Konya and other important cities in Rūm, usually did not conduct long-lasting military operations in western Asia Minor, as their chief bases were situated far away to the east, in Īrān or eastern Anatolia. Mongol expeditions in Asia Minor at the beginning of the fourteenth century demonstrate that the Īlkhāns had a particular interest in eastern Anatolia, which was linked with important trade centres of the Īlkhanid state in western Īrān and northern Syria. For example, the expedition of Irinjin in 1305 aimed at liberating the important trade route between Konya and Aksaray from the threat of the nomad Turks.

<sup>286</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 646, n. 91, 647, ll.14–30; Dölger, *Regesten*, 4, N 2280, p. 45.

<sup>287</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 304–9; Qāshānī, *Tārikh-i Üljāytū*, ed. Hamblī, p. 44.

<sup>288</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 681, l.31–683, l.5; Dölger, *Regesten*, 4, N 2292, p. 47.

<sup>289</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 683, ll.6–11; Dölger, *Regesten*, 4, N 2280, p. 45.

<sup>290</sup> Qāshānī mentions a certain *Tesbina-khātūn, dukhtar-i qayṣar-i Qusṭanṭīniyya* ('despoina-khātūn, daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople') as the twelfth wife of the Īlkhan Öljeitü. Qāshānī, *Tārikh-i Üljāytū*, ed. Hamblī, p. 8.

<sup>291</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 701, l.17–703, l.6.

Meanwhile Byzantine–Georgian contacts were at their height despite the failure of the negotiations over a military alliance. There was a series of Byzantine missions to the Sultan of Egypt: the emperor asked the sultan to return to Georgian control the Georgian monastery and the church in Jerusalem (these had been converted into mosques after 1301), and to guarantee the safety of pilgrims visiting the Holy Land.<sup>292</sup>

The years 1160–1261 were the time of the *entente cordiale* between the Empire and the Sultanate of Rūm. The *entente*, interrupted by the battle at Myriokephalon in 1176, was based on three principles: the first, *amicitia* (*φιλία*) between the heads of state (Manuel I—Kılıç Arslān II; Alexios III and Theodore I—Kay-Khusraw I, Michael VIII—Kay-Kāwūs II, and, most probably, Andronikos II—Mas’ūd II); the second, friendship between the Seljukid and Byzantine lords (Michael Palaiologos before his enthronement—*beylerbeyi* Shams al-Dīn Tavtaş<sup>293</sup>); the Greeks in the sultan’s service (Komnenoi, Maurozomai, Gabrades, Basilikai, Tornikioi, Nestongoi, the family of the mother of Kay-Kāwūs II, and Michael Palaiologos during his stay in Rūm<sup>294</sup>); and the third, the influence of the Orthodox church in the territory of the Sultanate.<sup>295</sup> The components of the system may be traced back to the Komnenian period, being based on the favourable conditions for the Christians of Asia Minor within the Muslim state that existed throughout all strata of society, starting with the sultan’s family and ending in the communities of the city dwellers.<sup>296</sup> These circumstances provided a strong basis for long-lasting Byzantine diplomatic influence.

When the Mongols arrived, Byzantine diplomacy accepted the Mongol challenge by becoming more skilful and by making the best of the presence of the invaders. Old relations with the Seljuks of Rūm were complicated by the alliance with the Mongols of Īrān. Byzantine–Īlkhanid contacts were activated twice: in the 1260–70s and in the 1290–1310s. However, the causes were different. In the first case the alliance with the Īlkhanid power had been brought about by Byzantium. The Empire tried to end her diplomatic isolation during the severe struggle with Charles of Anjou. The second occasion was due to the Turkish tribes which had broken the Empire’s defences in Asia Minor. The last time the Byzantines appealed for Mongol help was in 1327 in Philadelphiea, when it had been surrounded by the Turks.<sup>297</sup>

However, the Byzantine–Īlkhanid alliance calls for additional comment. Byzantium was responsible for creating the Golden Horde–Egyptian alliance, which continued during and after the period from the 1260s to the 1310s. As appears from the texts of Gregoras and Pachymeres, the Byzantines were well

<sup>292</sup> Dölger, *Regesten*, 4, N 2289 (1305–1306), 2311 (1308), 2317 (1310).

<sup>293</sup> Korobeinikov 2003: 48–9, 59–63. <sup>294</sup> Cf. Balivet 1994: 47–9.

<sup>295</sup> Korobeinikov 1999: 438–9, 448–52, 463–72. <sup>296</sup> Cf. Balivet 1994: 85–9.

<sup>297</sup> Beldiceanu–Steinherr 1984: 22–8.

aware that the bulk of the Kipçak slave trade passed through Constantinople en route to Egypt, thus sustaining Mamluk military power.<sup>298</sup> Diplomatic relations between the Golden Horde and the Mamluk Sultanate were impossible without the permission of the Byzantine emperor. Does this mean that the Ilkhāns regarded Byzantium as a member of the enemy coalition? Let me make several points.

In the year 1264, when Hülegü and Berke were still at war, the important question of the Byzantine–Ilkhānid marriage was finally resolved. In the meantime Michael VIII agreed to allow the Egyptian embassy to sail via Constantinople.<sup>299</sup> Despite the treacherous Byzantine policy towards the Ilkhān, the marriage treaty with Hülegü was concluded the next year, 1265.<sup>300</sup> In 1281 a treaty was signed between Michael VIII and the Sultan Qalāwūn permitting Mamluk ships to sail through the Straits. This action was taken against the Ilkhān, because it opened up the most direct and safest route between the Mamluks and the Golden Horde.<sup>301</sup> Nevertheless the Emperor John II Grand Komnenos of Trebizond, who came to power with Ilkhānid support and who was a true vassal of the Ilkhān, sailed to Constantinople the next year, 1282, in order to conclude a treaty with Michael VIII after years of hostility.<sup>302</sup> In 1287 *rabbān Sāwmā*, the ambassador of the Ilkhān Arghun, travelled to the West by way of Constantinople. He was not just passing through the Byzantine capital: he came to deliver a special letter from his suzerain to Andronikos II.<sup>303</sup> In the same year, 1287, Töde Möngke (1280–7), the Khān of the Golden Horde, sent an embassy to the Mamluk state via Constantinople. The result of the mission was remarkable: soon after it the troops of the Golden Horde penetrated the northern Ilkhānid territories.<sup>304</sup> In 1305–8 Andronikos II asked Öljeitü for support against the Turks and received a positive reply from the Ilkhān. But at almost the same time, in 1304–6, the new Khān of the Golden Horde, Toqta (1291–1312), was sending his

<sup>298</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 101, l.20–107, l.10; Pachymeres, i, pp. 235, l.1–239, l.5; Uspenskii 1926: 1–6; Vernadskii 1924: 75–7; Saunders 1977: 70–6; Jackson 2005: 74–5.

<sup>299</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawd al-zāhir*, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khuwaytir, pp. 202–3, 214–18; al-Mufaḍḍal, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, ed. and tr. Blochet, i, pp. 452–7; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, pp. 52–4, 178–80, 200 (pp. 62–3, 189–92, 203 of the Russian translation); Zakirov 1966: 52–6.

<sup>300</sup> The marriage of the *despoina* Maria and Abaqā took place during the truce between Berke and Hülegü at the beginning of 1265. By the end of the year the troops of Abaqā had been defeated by Noghai, Zakirov 1966: 16.

<sup>301</sup> Canard 1973: IV, pp. 197–224.

<sup>302</sup> Bryer 1973: 343; Kuršanskis 1975: 187–93, 208.

<sup>303</sup> *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha*, ed. Bedjan, pp. 48–53; *The Monks of Küblai Khān*, tr. Budge, pp. 166–70.

<sup>304</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Tashrif*, ed. Kāmil, p. 143; Tiesenhausen 1884: i, p. 67 (p. 69 of the Russian translation). The exchange of embassies between the Golden Horde and Egypt started in 1282. They discussed joint military actions against the Ilkhānid state: Tiesenhausen 1884: i, pp. 65–7, 81–2 (pp. 67–9, 103–4 of the Russian translation); Baybars al-Mansūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 209, 227–8; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Tashrif*, ed. Kāmil, pp. 17–18, 46, 143.

ambassadors to Egypt via Constantinople on a regular basis. The khān attempted to restore the old alliance with the Mamluk sultan. The project failed, but not because of Byzantine attitudes or intervention.<sup>305</sup> In my opinion, the implications are obvious: despite the long-time Byzantine protection of Mamluk–Golden Horde contacts, the Ilkhāns did not consider the Empire an enemy power. The Ilkhāns' unusual tolerance of Byzantium can only be explained by their common interest in stability in Asia Minor. For Byzantium, the safety of her eastern border was vital during the diplomatic struggle against the West. For the Ilkhāns, who were suffering economic difficulties,<sup>306</sup> Asia Minor was an important source of income. In this situation, the Ilkhāns preferred to see Byzantium as an ally, albeit an unreliable one, rather than an enemy.<sup>307</sup>

This diplomatic system, which should be called 'the diplomatic defence' of the Empire's oriental borders, allowed Byzantium to avoid any large-scale military campaign to the East for some forty years (1250–90). In fact, the Empire won a great diplomatic victory. Imperial diplomacy took into consideration the internal processes in the Orient caused by the Mongol invasion; the Byzantine government tried to make use of the influence of the Orthodox (or wider Christian) population in Asia Minor, Syria, West Īrān, Armenia, and in the Caucasus, of the authority and status of the Orthodox Church there, of the operation of the foreign policy of the small Christian states, such as Georgia or the Empire of Trebizond, and of long-lasting contacts with the Seljuk Sultanate.<sup>308</sup> It might almost have seemed that there was no enemy power on the Byzantine eastern borders in the second half of the thirteenth century. What state could have taken the field against the Empire? The Seljuk Sultanate, which had been subdued by the Mongols and was on the point of collapse? The Iranian Mongols, who were preoccupied with maintaining their control over Seljukid Asia Minor and whose interests coincided with those of Byzantium? Trebizond, Cilician Armenia, Georgia? These realms had no common border with the Empire. Michael VIII Palaiologos' unpopular acts (the taxation of the *akritai* of Paphlagonia, which weakened the defence of the whole of Byzantine Asia Minor), for which he is often blamed in modern historiography,<sup>309</sup> were absolutely logical if one takes into account the situation in the Middle East in the second half of the thirteenth century.

<sup>305</sup> The Mamluks themselves rejected the proposal because of the recently concluded treaty with Öljeitü. Tiesenhausen 1884: i, p. 424 (p. 436 of the Russian translation).

<sup>306</sup> Petrushevsky: 1968–91: v, pp. 483–500.

<sup>307</sup> The Ilkhāns also promoted various contacts with the Western powers. However, the rationale of their policy was largely the same as it was with Byzantium: the Mongols of Īrān considered all these alliances as supplementary to their primary goal—the overthrow of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt. Jackson 2005: 165–95.

<sup>308</sup> Korobeinikov 1999: 470.

<sup>309</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 291, l.23–293, l.27; D. M. Nicol 1993: 83–4.

As a result, this diplomatic victory became a snare for the Empire. Her diplomacy overlooked the Turkish factor. From the middle of the thirteenth century (and especially in the 1290–1310s) the Turkish Anatolian tribes underwent important changes. The tribes revolted, one after the other, and, oppressed by the Mongols, migrated westwards to the Byzantine borders. The processes of sedentarization and of the emergence of the first state institutions in the tribal society started at approximately the same time. This led to the appearance of the first pre-state Turkish communities and then to the *beyliks*, which occupied the bulk of the western and central Anatolian provinces.

# Chapter 6

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## The Age of Revolts: The Loss of Byzantine Asia Minor

The previous chapters have described relations between the Empire of Nicaea (Byzantium) and the two major Oriental powers: the Sultanate of Rûm and the Ilkhânid state. Oddly, neither of these states was dangerous for the Byzantine Empire. As we have seen, the Byzantines established special relations with the Seljuks from the twelfth century; as for the Mongols, Michael VIII Palaiologos married his daughter, Maria (see Fig. 6), to the Ilkhân Abaqâ in 1265. The Byzantine–Ilkhânid alliance that existed from 1265 to 1310 was vital for both powers, as they both wanted peace and security in Asia Minor. It was the frontier Turks who broke the Byzantine defences in Western Anatolia in the 1290s. Our next subject, therefore, is the Byzantine–Seljukid frontier in the 1260–90s and the conquest of the last Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor by the Turks in the 1290–1300s.

Let me first describe the geographical limits of the Byzantine–Seljukid border (see Map) as it was in the 1250s. To the north, Tios (Hisarönü), Amastris (Amasra), and Kromna (Tekkeönü) as far as Thymaina (Ügurlu) near Cape Karambis (Kerembe Burnu) were Byzantine possessions;<sup>1</sup> while Kastamonu and Safranbolu were centres of the Seljuk part of Paphlagonia.<sup>2</sup> In Bithynia, Klaudiopolis (Bolu) may have been in Seljuk hands since the end of the twelfth century,<sup>3</sup> but the strategically important region of Plousias/ Prousias (Düzce) and Tarsia (near Adapazarı), on the main road from

<sup>1</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 18, l.3; Pachymeres, i, p. 405, ll.14–18; Belke 1996: 161–70, 241–2, 276–8. On Amastris, see also Crow and Hill 1995: 251–65. On Thymaina, see Pachymeres, ii, p. 359, l.17; Belke 1996: 274–5. That the eastern limits of the Empire of Nicaea reached Rhodes, Tripolis, and Cape Karambis is mentioned by the Emperor Theodore II Laskaris: *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. Festa, n. 44, p. 57, ll.32–36.

<sup>2</sup> The most accurate map of the Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor can be found in Booth 2002: 320, 328. See also Crow 1996: 12–36.

<sup>3</sup> Cahen 2001: 44; Foss 1990: 173–4.

Bithynia to Paphlagonia, were certainly Byzantine.<sup>4</sup> The border ran along the river Sangarios, the left bank of which was Byzantine; moreover, Byzantine fortifications (like Kabeia (Geyve)<sup>5</sup>) were situated on the river's right bank.<sup>6</sup> The Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos created a wooden wall on the right bank of the Sangarios in 1281, in order to protect the region of Tarsia and the bridge of Justinian from the Turks.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, Nicaea, the 'capital' of Byzantine Asia Minor, was, despite its strong walls (see Fig. 2), in a very dangerous location, close to the border. That is why this important city was surrounded by many fortresses, such as Angelokomis (İnegöl), Belokomis (Bilecik), Plataneia (between Nicaea and Prousa), and Melangeia/Malagina (Yenişehir).<sup>8</sup> Pachymeres gives some idea of how the frontier might have affected the life of the Nicaeans. On 23 February 1265 the rumour spread that the Mongols had suddenly entered the city; the panic was so great that the emperor Michael VIII wrote a special letter addressed to the citizens, in which he accused them of cowardice.<sup>9</sup> Of course, such a false alarm was typical in a city situated near the frontier zone.

The Byzantine fortification line almost enclosed Bithynia, stretching as far as Achyraios (Balıkesir)<sup>10</sup> and farther south to Kalamos (Karantos/Kalantos, Kalandra; Gelembé).<sup>11</sup> This part of the Nicaean border is the most obscure; we know more about Nicaean castles situated further south, in Lydia, with its centres of Sardis and Philadelphiea (Alaşehir). This was the richest part of the Nicaean empire; Magnesia (Manisa) and Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa) were the chief residences of the Emperor John III Batatzes.<sup>12</sup> Philadelphiea, like Nicaea, was located near the frontier zone; it was surrounded by the fortresses of Magidion/Magedon (near Saittaia), Tabala (Davala), and Tripolis (Derebol). The importance of Tripolis for the Nicaean defences greatly increased after

<sup>4</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 640, ll.13–15, 641, ll.40–42; Belke 1996: 264–6; Bryer 1988–9: 171–86. Foss suggests that Plousias/Prousias was probably lost by the Byzantines after 1225–31, but no source confirms his point of view: Foss 1990: 173–4. Cf. Booth 2002: 322–3.

<sup>5</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 535, ll.1–2.

<sup>6</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 407, ll.16–20, 633, ll.12–17; ii, p. 363, ll.9–10, 24–25.

<sup>7</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 635, l.29–637, l.3, 406 and n. 3, 632–3 and n. 7; ii, p. 363, ll.9–14. On Justinian's bridge over the Sangarios, see Whitby 1985: 129–36; Ramsey 1890: 460.

<sup>8</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 453, l.25–455, l.15; on Melangeia/Malagina, the region and its town, see Foss 1990: 161–72. On the history of the city of Nicaea, see Foss 1996d: 57–87.

<sup>9</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 317, l.18–325, l.9; Foss 1996d: 77–8.

<sup>10</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 37, l.7, 185, l.24; Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), 11, p. 278, l.22; Skoutariotes (Sathas), p. 462, ll.24–25; Pachymeres, i, p. 657, ll.12–18; Theodori Ducae Lascaris *Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. Festa, n. 180, p. 231, l.9; Robert 1962: 385–6.

<sup>11</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 28, l.4, 185, l.23; Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), 47, p. 294, l.23; Skoutariotes (Sathas), p. 530, ll.17–18; *Notitia Episcopatum*, ed. Darrouzès, pp. 105, 106, n. 4; Not. 10, p. 313, ll.127–128; Golubovich 1919: 464 (29); Ramsey 1890: 129; Robert 1962: 66–9; Langdon 1992: 23.

<sup>12</sup> Ducas, *Istoria Turco-Byzantină*, ed. Grecu, p. 33, ll.13–14; Ahrweiler 1965: 42–7; Foss 1996c: 298, 307–11.

1207 when the neighbouring city of Laodikeia was finally conquered by the Seljuks.<sup>13</sup>

However, the main Byzantine strongholds lay farther south, on the river Maeander. The valleys that surrounded the river were some of the richest territory in the Nicaean empire; Pachymeres called this land ‘the second Palestina’.<sup>14</sup> The Byzantines possessed not only the right bank of the Maeander (the most important cities of which were Tralles (Aydin),<sup>15</sup> Nyssa (Sultanhisar),<sup>16</sup> and Priene (Güllübahçe),<sup>17</sup> but also the lands on the left bank, in the old province of Karia.<sup>18</sup> The chief Nicaean strongholds south of the Maeander were Antioch on the Maeander,<sup>19</sup> Harpasa,<sup>20</sup> Miletos,<sup>21</sup> Melanoudion (Bafa),<sup>22</sup> and Mylasa (Milas).<sup>23</sup> Thus, the Empire still possessed the old Roman road that went through Western Karia to Lykia via the coast opposite the island of Rhodes ( $\tau\alpha\lambda\pi\tau\iota\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\text{ }P\delta\delta\omega\text{o}\nu$ )<sup>24</sup> with the cities of Strobilos/Strobylos (west of Bodrum, near Koca Burunu) and Stadeia/Stadiotrachia (Datça).<sup>25</sup> It seems that the Byzantine–Turkish border zone in Lykia was the oldest, in comparison with other parts of the Asian borders of the Byzantine Empire, as Lykia was one of the territories in Asia Minor that the Turks had occupied in the eleventh century and the Byzantines had never managed fully to recover.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Acropolites, i, pp. 69, l.25, 295, l.1; Theodori Ducae Lascaris *Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. Festa, n. 44, p. 57, ll.32–36; Pachymeres, i, pp. 273, ll.1–3, 291, ll.3–6, 403, l.28–405, l.3, 591, l.26–593, l.5, ii, pp. 469, ll. 16–22, 475, l.29–477, l.12; Foss 1996c: 299–304. Cf. Langdon 1992: 28–31, who suggests that Tripolis was in Seljukid hands in 1211–22.

<sup>14</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 403, ll.22–23.

<sup>15</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 291, ll.1–3, 593, l.11–599, l.16.

<sup>16</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 599, ll.10–14.

<sup>17</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 593, l.2.

<sup>18</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 405, l.2, 591, l.30.

<sup>19</sup> Akropolites, pp.15, l.23, 16, l.10; Pachymeres, i, p. 591, l.30; Barnes and Whittow 1996: 14–15; Whittow 1987: i, pp. 156–65.

<sup>20</sup> Whittow 1987: i, pp. 165–6.

<sup>21</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 593, l.3. The documentary sources also mention it as ‘the fortress of Palation/Palatia’ ( $\tau\delta\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\text{op}o\pi\text{v}$  Παλατίων, modern Balat): MM iv, pp. 290–5; vi, pp. 157–8, 162–3, 166, 168–77, 182–3, 188–91, 195–201; BE i, pp. 121, 128, 226, 232, 238, 244, 283, 300; ii, pp. 137–40, 153, 158–9, 171–2, 214–15.

<sup>22</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 239, ll.8–10; MM iv, p. 291, vi, pp. 166, 201, 213, 234–5; BE i, p. 226, 232, 259–60; ii, pp. 177, 214; Hendy 1985: 122.

<sup>23</sup> MM iv, p. 291; vi, p. 166; BE i, p. 226. On the other Byzantine fortifications along the river Maeander (for example, Mastaura, which was located 5 km north-east of modern Nazilli), see Foss 1977: 467–86; Whittow 1987: i, pp. 72–192; ii, pp. 193–265; Barnes and Whittow 1993: 117–35, 1994: 187–206.

<sup>24</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 405, l.3.

<sup>25</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 289, ll.24–25; ii, p. 405, l.3; BE i, p. 232. On the location of Strobilos, see *Die Byzantinischen Kleinstricheniken*, ed. Schreiner, i, p. 666 (3), Pachymeres, i, p. 288, n. 5; Foss 1988: 147–74. On the location of Stadiotrachia on the Knidos (Resadiye) peninsula, see *Notitia Episcopatuum*, ed. Darrouzès, Not. 10, p. 320, l.318; Pachymeres, i, p. 288, n. 5; Önen 1986: 124; Langdon 1992: 155.

<sup>26</sup> Hendy 1985: 112–15; Armstrong 2001: 279–80.

It was the southern part of the Nicaean–Seljukid border that first caused trouble for the Nicaeans. Let me demonstrate this with the example of Laodikeia, the strategically important city which was the key to the Maeander Valley.

The city was an important ecclesiastical centre with a sizeable Orthodox Greek community. According to the *Notitiae Episcopatum* (the list of the metropolitan sees of the Patriarchate of Constantinople) in 1141/2<sup>27</sup> the metropolitan of Laodikeia held the 25th position in the list and supervised 21 bishoprics.<sup>28</sup> Despite the fact that Laodikeia was situated in the border zone and was finally conquered by the Seljuks in 1207, its metropolitan managed to increase his influence: his ranking rose from 25th to 22nd position, according to the 15th *Notitia* composed between 1189 and 1268.<sup>29</sup> The decline of the Greek community in Laodikeia occurred at the end of the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos at the earliest: in his *Notitia*, the metropolitan of Laodikeia was given 27th place while the number of the bishoprics under his supervision increased from 21 to 27.<sup>30</sup> This might have been caused by the decline of the congregation in the metropolitan city itself; to compensate for the declining number of the faithful, the metropolitan may have received additional parishes and their revenues.

What happened in Laodikeia between 1189 and 1268, when the 15th *Notitia* was composed? Oddly, this period probably was the most troublesome time in the history of the city. We have seen that the environs of Laodikeia were devastated by the rebel Michael Doukas Komnenos Angelos, while the city itself was burnt by Seljukid troops in 1200. Laodikeia was the centre of the ‘state’ of Manuel Maurozomes in 1204/5–1207, and was conquered by the Sultan Kay-Khusraw I in AH 603 (8 August 1206–27 July 1207). While under Seljukid rule, the environs of the city were steadily occupied by nomadic Turks.

However, these Turks did not enter Laodikeia immediately. After the city became Seljukid, it took some time for them to settle in the nearby lands. The Seljukid sultan controlled the area: the armies that conquered Laodikeia in

<sup>27</sup> The *Notitia* (the 14th *Notitia* in the edition of Darrouzès) was composed in 1141/2 and received the name of its author Nil Doxapatiros, the famous canonist and deacon of Hagia Sophia, who wrote the *Notitia* on the orders of Roger II (1130–54) of Sicily. The *Notitia* does not mention the suffragan bishoprics, but contains a list of the metropolitan sees with the number of bishoprics of each see (*Notitiae Episcopatum*, ed. Darrouzès, pp. 154–8).

<sup>28</sup> *Notitiae Episcopatum*, ed. Darrouzès, p. 375, l.25.

<sup>29</sup> *Notitiae Episcopatum*, ed. Darrouzès, p. 380, l.22 (Not. 15, on the date of the *Notitia*, see *Notitiae Episcopatum*, ed. Darrouzès, p. 171); p. 388, l.22 (Not. 16). The 16th *Notitia* has no date, but its manuscript was composed in the fourteenth century (*Notitiae Episcopatum*, ed. Darrouzès, p. 172).

<sup>30</sup> *Notitiae Episcopatum*, ed. Darrouzès, p. 395, l.27 (Not. 17). This *Notitia* was composed in the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos, but was rewritten in 1342–7 under his son, Andronikos III.

1200 and 1207 were the sultan's professional troops and not a nomadic auxiliary corps.<sup>31</sup>

Two surviving hagiographic texts that describe the campaigns of John III Batatzes against the Turks in 1225–9 do not suggest that his enemy consisted of bands of nomads. The first text, which was written by George of Pelagonia, does not identify the *barbaroi* and their chief who were defeated twice by the emperor. It has been pointed out that George of Pelagonia plagiarized a great deal from the chronicle of Akropolites. In this case, when describing the campaigns of John III in 1225–9, George of Pelagonia reproduces the story about the Nicaean victory over the Seljuks in 1211, when Emperor Theodore I Laskaris killed the Sultan Kay-Khusraw I. George simply replaces Theodore Laskaris with John III Batatzes as the hero of the story.<sup>32</sup> Thus, his text, like Akropolites', suggests that the chief of the *barbaroi* was the Seljukid sultan and in 1225–9 John III struggled against a full-scale invasion of the sultan's army into the depths of Nicaean territory. Only a professional Seljukid army could have hoped to overcome the Nicaean defences along the river Maeander.

The second text, written by an anonymous post-Byzantine author, states that a Seljuk commander-in-chief by the name of Azatines ('Izz al-Dīn), one of the sultan's nobles (ὁ δυνάστης Ἀζατίνης, εὐγαίνοντας [sic] ἀπὸ τὸ Ἰκόνιον) started a campaign against the Empire of Nicaea in 1225–6 and besieged the city of Antioch on the Maeander. He surrounded Antioch with a wooden fence and used siege machines.<sup>33</sup> Thus he must have had a professional Seljuk army at his disposal, as he was able to impose a regular siege on the fortified Nicaean city. The text nowhere refers to the presence of nomads.<sup>34</sup>

In my opinion, Langdon, who published the second text, exaggerates the role of the nomads in the area near the Maeander Valley in the first part of the thirteenth century. Other Greek and Latin sources that he refers to demonstrate the presence of nomads only generally in the Nicaean–Seljuk frontier zone, without specifying where these nomads dwelt.<sup>35</sup>

The hagiographic source also relates that in reply to the Seljukid invasion Emperor John III besieged Laodikeia. The Seljukid garrison surrendered and Nicaean troops entered the city.<sup>36</sup> Langdon suggests that the Nicaeans conquered Laodikeia after 1226/7 and lost it in 1254, when John III died.<sup>37</sup> Epigraphic evidence does not support his view. The earliest Arabic inscription

<sup>31</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 528, l.81–529, l.24; Ibn Bibi, pp. 8–9; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 22; *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 76–7; *Tārīkh-i äl-i Saljūq*, p. 85; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 42.

<sup>32</sup> Langdon 1992: 26–9.

<sup>33</sup> Langdon 1992: 99–100.

<sup>34</sup> I cannot understand what Hopwood's evidence is when he states that during the campaigns along the Maeander, 'John Vatatzes was marching against Turkmen, not Seljuks': Hopwood 1999: 156–7.

<sup>35</sup> Langdon 1992: 18–24.

<sup>36</sup> Langdon 1992: 104.

<sup>37</sup> Langdon 1992: 50.

in the city is dated AH 627 (1230),<sup>38</sup> so the Nicaeans must have occupied Laodikeia before that date.

The earliest evidence of a nomadic presence near Laodikeia can be found in the text of Akropolites. He writes that the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, who had been defeated by the Mongols, sought refuge in Nicaean territory in 1257.<sup>39</sup> He met Theodore II in Sardis in January 1257. In exchange for Nicaean support he gave up Laodikeia, Chonai, and two fortresses nearby, Sakaina (ἡ Σάκαινας, probably modern Seki) and Hypsele (ἡ Ὑψηλῆς). However, the Nicaean garrison was soon forced to abandon Laodikeia.<sup>40</sup> This seems strange if we consider that the Greek community in Laodikeia and its metropolitan at that time were more prosperous than ever, according to the *Notitiae Episcopatum*. The only possible explanation, albeit tentative, is that the environs were occupied by nomadic Turks who cut off Laodikeia from Nicaean territory.

The texts of Āqsarāyī and Rukn al-Dīn Baybars shed some light on the problem of the first Turkmen emirate near Laodikeia. Āqsarāyī writes that a certain Mehmed-bey

who was *amir* of the Turks of the *uj*, started a rebellion between Antalya and 'Alā'iyya (Alanya) because of the enmity of the *kundışabl* and the sultan [towards him]. Finally he collected an army and combatted the *amirs* of the sultan. [The rebels] were victorious and the *amirs* of the sultan were defeated.<sup>41</sup>

The *kundışabl-i rūmī* (Constable of Rūm) was most likely Michael Palaiologos, who received this post from the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II at the beginning of 1258. It was he who advised the sultan to abandon Konya and

<sup>38</sup> *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, xi, 4021, pp. 12–13. Whittow has drawn my attention to the archaeological evidence. Though both cities, Laodikeia and Denizli were located in close proximity to each other, but they were not entirely identical. Laodikeia occupied a site on the left bank of the river Lykos until the end of the twelfth century (Whittow 1987: i, pp. 189–92; ii, p. 246, n. 5), or perhaps until the seventh century (Şimşek 2013: 32, 47–62); then the site seems to have been abandoned and moved to Denizli, on a hill south-west of the previous location, or the fortress of Hisar köy (Bereketli) nearby, cf. de Planhol 1969: 406–8; Thonemann 2011: 5, n. 13. The Arabic epigraphic evidence can help us to establish a more precise date for when Laodikeia, now doubtless on the site of modern Denizli, became Seljuk. The inscription in AH 627 (1230) was found on the *ribāt* ('hospice') of the Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I in Denizli (and not in the ancient Laodikeia or Hisar köy); another inscription of his, dated AH 633 (1236), was discovered 8 km west of Denizli. Sultan Kay-Khusraw II erected a building or buildings, now demolished, also in Denizli (*Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, xi, 4264–4265 (n.d.), pp. 175–6; Akçakoca Akça 1945: 20–4). In AH 645 (1247) the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II ordered a *siqāya* ('water supply', 'aqueduct') to be built in Denizli (*Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, xi, 4277, pp. 182–3). However, the city continued to be called Laodikeia/Lādiq, alongside the new name 'Tonguzlu'/'Denizli', until the end of the thirteenth century. Other inscriptions in Denizli: *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, xi, 4316 (1249); xii, 4480 (1252–1261), 4481 (n.d.), 4652 (1272).

<sup>39</sup> The circumstances of the campaign can be found in Chapter 5.

<sup>40</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 143, l.23–144, l.15; 295, ll.2–15.

<sup>41</sup> Aksarayī, p. 66.

move to Antalya. What was the reason for the conflict between the sultan and the Constable (and the Nicaean emperor behind him) on the one hand and Mehmed-bey on the other?

Rukn al-Din Baybars writes that at the beginning of 1261, when the Sultan Kay-Kāwūs II left Rūm for the Empire of Nicaea for the second time, his brother Rukn al-Dīn

became the master of that land (the western part of the Sultanate) except the border zone (*al-thughūr*), the mountains and the shores (*al-sawāhil*), which were in the hands of the Turkmens. And they refused to be obedient to the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn. Their leaders were Mehmed-bey, his brother Ilyās-bey, his son-in-law (var. brother-in-law, *şıhruhu*) 'Ali-bey and his kinsman (*qarābatuhu*) Sevinç (سونچ). They sent [a deputation] to Hülegü, promising to be obedient to him and to pay tribute. [In return], they asked him for a *shahna* (military governor)<sup>42</sup> to rule over them, a *sanjaq* (banner) and a *firmān* (order) for their investiture (*taqlid*). And [Hülegü] agreed to this [request] and sent them the *shahna*, by name Qulshār (قلشار), and wrote for them the *firmān*, [according to which] the land would be in their hands. And [this land] was Tunghuzlū (طنغزلو), Laodikeia, Ladik/Denizli<sup>43</sup>), Khūnās (Chonai, Honaz) and Ṭalamānī (Dalaman) with [their] environs.<sup>44</sup>

However, in AH 660 (26 November 1261–14 November 1262) Hülegü ordered Mehmed-bey to visit the Īlkhānid court (which was the usual Mongol demand to confirm the submission of a vassal ruler). The bey refused, and the angry īlkhān ordered the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV (to whom Hülegü had given a Mongol detachment) to subdue the rebel. Rukn al-Dīn was victorious; Mehmed-bey was defeated on the plain of Dalaman (ṣāḥrā' Ṭalamāniyya), captured, and finally killed in the fortress of Burlū (Burghulū, Uluborlu, Sozopolis) on the sultan's return to Konya. However, the 'state' of Mehmed-bey was spared and 'Ali-bey, Mehmed's son-in-law, became the master of the

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Holt 1986: 224.

<sup>43</sup> The word 'deniz' means 'sea, large lake'. No sea or lake can be found near modern Denizli. I therefore suggest that the original Turkish name of the place was Tonguzlu (طونگزلو), pronounced as [tonjuzlu, donjuzlu], later [donuzlu], from *tonuz*, 'wild boar'; cf. *Drevnetiurkiski slovar'*, eds. Nadeliaev *et al.*, p. 575; Clauson 1972: 527–8, lemmata: *teniz* ('large body of water'), *tonuz* ('pig'), *tonuzçı* ('pig keeper', 'hunter of wild boar'); Doerfer 1963–75: ii, pp. 585–7 (945); iii, pp. 205–7 (1192). Thus, 'Tonguzlu' means a 'place where boars dwell'. Because of the phonetical process (t ⇌ d and n ⇌ n; cf. Grunina 1991: 22–5, 30–1), the name was changed into 'denizlü' / 'denizli' (دنیزلى), pronounced as [denizlü], later as [denizli]), similar in pronunciation but different in meaning, in order to avoid the connotation 'boar, pig', which is offensive to Muslims. Cf. de Planhol 1969: 411–12: though the later form *domuzlu*, derived from *tonuzlu*, often meant a Christian village in Rumelia (and was a pejorative name from the point of view of the local Muslims), this was not the case with Laodikeia (Denizli), though the city retained its Greek Orthodox population until the fourteenth century. Its second name Tonguzlu indeed alluded to the wild boar so numerous in the hills that surrounded the city. One of the streams south of Laodikeia was even called 'Domuz yolu deresi', 'a rivulet on the way of the wild boar'.

<sup>44</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, p. 73.

Turkmens of Denizli, although, as our chronicler points out, ‘the Tatars (Mongols) ruled over those lands<sup>45</sup> as far as the border of İstanbūl (the Empire of Nicaea)’.<sup>46</sup>

The official Seljukid version of this campaign can be found in Āqsarāyī. He writes that after the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn entered Konya (12 August 1261)

the army of the Mongols and the Seljuks<sup>47</sup> under the banners of the Sultanate entered the province of the *uj* and wiped out the violent, rebellious, wretched heretical Turks from that province as far as the borders of the land of İstanbūl (i.e. the Empire of Nicaea). Mehmed-bey, who was the grand *sipahdār* of the province, Ilyās-bey, Sālūr-bey, and other *amīrs* [who participated in] the insurrection of the Turks were captured. The *parwāna* Mu'in al-Dīn brought the province into submission by [his] good management. They (the sultan and the *parwāna*) established trustworthy magistrates (*kūtwālān*) in Antalya and 'Alā'iyya. When they resolved the affair of the *uj* and [finished] the subjugation of the Turks, they returned to Konya.<sup>48</sup>

I have translated these two sections in Rukn al-Dīn Baybars and Āqsarāyī in order to demonstrate the nature of the first great Turkish nomadic confederation near the Nicaean borders. There is no doubt that this confederation was very powerful. The territory, which was under the control of Mehmed-bey, was vast: from Laodikeia to Dalaman (150 km), from Dalaman to Alanya (350–400 km), from Alanya to Laodikeia (300 km).<sup>49</sup> Thus, the bey of Denizli was master of the great mountain range that separates the hills of the Upper Maeander from the Mediterranean shore of Anatolia (Dalaman–Antalya–Alanya). These Turks were probably descendants of the nomads around Mt Kadmos (Ak Dağı) in Lykia in the twelfth century.<sup>50</sup> However, in the thirteenth century the Turkish element became stronger. Ibn Sa'id, whose information relates to the 1280s, describes the Turks of Laodikeia as follows:

As we have mentioned, there are the mountains of Denizli (طغورله), Tughūrla, from طکزلو, Tuñuzlu<sup>51</sup>) [situated] to the north of Antakya

<sup>45</sup> Rukn al-Dīn Baybars means the territories under the rule of the late Mehmed-bey.

<sup>46</sup> Baybars al-Mansūri, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, p. 76.

<sup>47</sup> Āqsarāyī calls them ‘Muslims’, because the Mongols were heathens in the thirteenth century.

<sup>48</sup> Aksarayī, p. 71. Cf. Cahen 1951: 336–8, 2001: 190–3; Sümer 1970: 48–9.

<sup>49</sup> I calculate the distance very roughly; one should remember that the twisted roads in the mountains make journeys between these locations much longer.

<sup>50</sup> Armstrong 2001: 278–9.

<sup>51</sup> The manuscript of Ibn Sa'id (*Bast al-ard*, Seld. superius 76, fol. 61a, copied by John Gagnierius in MS Bodleian Library Bodl. Or. 304, fol. 23v of European pagination) gives a more correct reading: طغورله, Tughūzlā, which is phonetically closer to ‘Denizli’. It should be noted that the manuscript written 8 Dhū al-Qa'da AH 704 (2 June 1305) in Alexandria by 'Umar al-Wāṣi Salīgh al-Tūnisi al-Kutubī (fol. 80b) is an abridgement of the original version of the *Geography* of Ibn Sa'id (1214–76) (in particular, the statement after ‘Chonai’: ‘... where excellent bows are made. The mountains of the Turkmens are adjacent to the pass of Denizli near [the

(Anṭākiyyā).<sup>52</sup> They say that there are approximately two hundred thousand Turkmen tents in Denizli and the surrounding regions. And they (the Turkmens) are called *al-uj* (الْأَعْجَلُ, the Turks of the *uj*). There is [also] the city of Denizli. [A distance] of two parasangs separates the city and the fortress of Chonai (خَيَّاصٌ, Khiyāṣ, from خَنَاصٌ, Khunāṣ)<sup>53</sup>), where excellent bows are made. The mountains of the Turkmens are adjacent to the pass of Denizli near [the border] of the kingdom of Laskaris (al-Ashkari), the master of Constantinople. [The distance] between Denizli and the bridge which is to the west of it is thirty miles.<sup>54</sup>

The figure for the Turks given by Ibn Sa'īd is unreliable: we know that the total number of all nomadic households in western Anatolia in 1520–35 did not exceed 77,268 *hane* (tents, households).<sup>55</sup> Yet Ibn Sa'īd's calculations do suggest that there were a large number of nomadic Turks in the former Byzantine province of Lykia. One cannot help but wonder why these nomadic Turks spared the Greek population of Laodikeia and did not cause a major threat to the southern Nicaean border in the 1250–60s.

The texts cited above help us reconstruct the history of the first large Turkish confederation near the Nicaean border along the river Maeander. It seems that the Turks occupied the environs of Laodikeia in the 1250s: the hagiographical text of John III Batatzes that belongs to the preceding period of the 1230s as well as the Seljukid sources of the 1240s do not mention them. In 1257 Laodikeia was given back by the sultan to the Nicaeans. The next year Michael Palaiologos advised Kay-Kāwūs II to leave Konya for Antalya for the sultan's safety, in case the Mongols captured him. Emperor Theodore II, despite the recent treaty with Hülegü, still wanted to keep the Seljukid 'buffer zone' against the Mongols. But the shortest road between Laodikeia and Antalya was occupied by nomadic Turks. It should be mentioned that Laodikeia could easily have been attacked from the east, along the famous caravan route that connected Eastern Anatolia (Kayseri and the cities on the Euphrates) with the seaport of Ephesus. The Seljuks clearly recognized the route's importance by building a network of the caravanserais between Laodikeia and Konya, their capital city. Two of these caravanserais, the Ak Han, built in AH

*border] of the kingdom of Laskaris (al-Ashkari), the master of Constantinople. [The distance] between Denizli and the bridge which is to the west of it is thirty miles' is omitted). Nevertheless, it gives more correct readings of the proper names than the text published in Beirut in 1970.*

<sup>52</sup> This is a mistake based on the similar shape of the characters *ك* [k] and *ج* [l] in Arabic. One should read the name as Anṭāliyyā (Antalya) instead of Anṭākiyyā (Antioch, modern Hatay/ Antakya), as in the manuscripts of Ibn Sa'īd: *Bast al-ard*, Seld. superius 76, fol. 61a.

<sup>53</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, *Bast al-ard*, Seld. superius 76, fol. 61a.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyā*, p. 185, *Bast al-ard*, Seld. superius 76, fol. 61a; Cahen 1974e: 42–3. If one Arabic mile (*mil*) = 1.92 km (Baranov 1976: 777; cf. Hinz 1955: 63), the distance between Denizli and the bridge is approximately 57.6 km, which nicely suits the location of the bridge in Tripolis across the river Maeander where the Emperor John III Batatzes met the Sultan Kay-Khusraw II in 1243 (Akropolites, i, pp. 69, l.23–70, l.3).

<sup>55</sup> İnalçık *et al.* 1994: i, p. 35.

651 (3 March 1253–20 February 1254) near Goncali, 7 km northeast of Laodikeia on the road to Çivril, and the Çardak Han, north of Lake Anaua (Açı Göl), between Denizli and Dinar, dated after 1230, are still extant.<sup>56</sup> They were built as a consequence of the events in question; and the road from Konya to Laodikeia seems to have been one of those most protected by the network of formidable caravanserais in the Sultanate of Rūm. It seems that if these caravanserais could no longer be considered by the sultan as safe outposts en route to the territory of the empire of Nicaea,<sup>57</sup> that meant that Laodikeia was surrounded by hostile nomads. If so, the withdrawal of the Nicaean garrison from Laodikeia should have taken place in February 1258, when Michael Palaiologos advised Kay-Kāwūs II to leave Konya for Antalya. Eventually this brought about a conflict between the sultan and his Nicaean allies, on the one hand, and the confederation of the Turks of Mehmed-bey of Denizli, on the other, in the autumn of 1260. The formation of the confederation of the Turks of Denizli would, therefore, have occurred before their first war against the sultan. The most convenient time for this was the sultan's absence from Konya between July 1259 and the spring of 1260, when he was forced by Hülegü to join the Mongol armies in Syria. On his return, Kay-Kāwūs II was defeated by these formidable frontier Turks in the autumn of the same year. The sultan soon left his realm for Nicaea (1261).

Mehmed-bey of Denizli tried to ensure his own success. Not only did he appoint his deputies in Antalya and Alanya, but he also successfully negotiated with the Īlhān, receiving the *farmān* (var. *firmān*, 'order') from the Mongol government and probably the title of grand *sipahdār* from the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn in 1261. According to Greek sources, at the same time (1260) Turks, who probably belonged to Mehmed-bey's confederation, attacked the Nicaean frontier along the Maeander.<sup>58</sup> The response by Michael Palaiologos, now emperor, was swift. He concluded a new peace treaty with Hülegü and undertook a punitive campaign along the Maeander in the autumn of 1260. Two authors mention the expedition: Manuel Holobolos and Michael VIII

<sup>56</sup> Erdmann 1961–76: N 19, i, pp. 67–72; ii, pp. 93–4; iii, p. 205; N 15, i, pp. 59–61; iii, p. 204. See also the network of Seljuk caravanserais in Kennedy 2002: 47a.

<sup>57</sup> It was perhaps this consideration that had led him in 1258 to choose for his future escape a longer, but safer way via Antalya, a route which he was also to use in 1261.

<sup>58</sup> Holobolos (Siderides), p. 189; Holobolos (Treu), i, pp. 47, l.35–48, l.11. The invasion took place during the siege of Galata by Michael VIII in January–April 1260. On the date, see Wirth 1962: 35–7; Zhavoronkov 1978: 99–101; Grégoire 1959–60: 457; Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople, tr. Dennis, p. 1245:

The Persians [Turks] also had some experience of us, for while our gaze was on the West [the emperor means his expedition against Galata], they decided not to keep the peace, but considered it a golden opportunity. What did they find? We destroyed them, took them captive, and made those evil men depart this life in an evil way.

Palaiologos himself.<sup>59</sup> Holobolos describes the area where Michael defeated the Turks: between the rivers of Anaxibia and Kerkaphos that flow into the Maeander, near Laodikeia.<sup>60</sup> The text leaves no doubt that the expedition was undertaken against nomadic Turks: after the emperor's campaign, Holobolos said, 'the bulls grievously bellowed, the women mourned, the goats bleated, the children cried, the lambs lifted their voice' in the Turkish camp.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, in the autumn of 1261, after the sultan's arrival in Nicaea, the emperor launched another campaign against the Turks, as he himself later wrote: 'We attacked the Persians in the region of Karia and the sources of the Maeander and the nearby region of Phrygia. Even if we refrained from utterly exterminating these upstarts, we reduced many of them to slavery'.<sup>62</sup> Pachymeres confirms that the sultan took part in this expedition with the emperor and that Michael VIII Palaiologos allowed some of the nomadic Turks to settle in Nicaean territory.<sup>63</sup>

The geographical location of Michael's two campaigns against the Turks of Laodikeia, the last Nicaean offensive against the border nomads, shows that in 1260–1 the emperor was struggling against Mehmed-bey. The Sultan Kay-Kāwūs II was his ally. However, the problem of incursions by the nomadic Turks of Denizli was resolved not by the Nicaeans but by a joint Seljuk-Mongol expedition in 1262. Antalya, which could have been taken by the *parwāna Mu'in al-Dīn* only after the defeat of Mehmed-bey's armies, continued to recognize Kay-Kāwūs II as its sultan until AH 660 (26 November 1261–14 November 1262), as his coinage in the city attests.<sup>64</sup> Though the large nomadic unit that was formed by Mehmed-bey survived and was indeed inherited by 'Ali-bey, these Turks lost their three important strongholds: Antalya, Alanya, and probably Denizli. In 1271 Laodikeia, Chonai, and Karahisar became possessions of the sons of the *wazīr* Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, one of the chief Seljukid statesmen.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Holobolos (Siderides), pp. 189–90; Holobolos (Treu), i, p. 48, ll.12–24; Grégoire 1959–60: 457; Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople, tr. Dennis, p. 1245.

<sup>60</sup> Holobolos (Siderides), p. 189; Holobolos (Treu), i, p. 48, l.2.

<sup>61</sup> Holobolos (Siderides), pp. 189–90; Holobolos (Treu), i, p. 48, ll.20–21.

<sup>62</sup> Grégoire 1959–60: 457; Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople, tr. Dennis, p. 1245. I accept Dennis's translation.

<sup>63</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 185, ll.12–21, 185, l.24–187, l.4.

<sup>64</sup> Konakçı 1979: 20–1; Erkiletlioglu and Güler 1996: 184, N 422.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 308; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 294–5; Cahen 1951: 338. On the possessions of the *wazīr* Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī and his sons, see Aksarayî, p. 74; Cahen 2001: 193; Turan 1971a: 525, 534. The text of Ibn Bibi reads Karahisar Devele (قراھىصار دەۋەلە), but the context suggests that this Karahisar was modern Afyonkarahisar, not far from Denizli, and not Develi near Kayseri: Ibn Bibi, pp. 327, 334; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 315, 321. By this time (1271) Afyonkarahisar was in the possession of the Karamanoğulları: there is an inscription of Yüsuf ibn Qaramân on the Yukarı

I have described in such detail the history of the Turks of Denizli in order to underline the complexity of the frontier zone. Before undertaking any investigation of how the Byzantines lost western Anatolia, one should understand who the principal enemy who conquered the last possessions of the Empire in Asia Minor was. We need, therefore, to look more closely at the structure of the *uj*.

Oddly, modern perceptions of the Byzantine–Seljukid frontier zone in the second half of the thirteenth century are primarily based on the study of Ottoman sources composed at the end of the fourteenth century, i.e. one hundred years after the events under consideration. As a result, the frontier zone is seen as a narrow borderland inhabited mostly by nomads. The classic description of such a perception is by Hopwood:

The *uj* was a debatable land, under the control of nomadic groups. Sedentarists could only be protected by the presence of forts, to which they could retire on the arrival of the nomads, and at which strong defensive forces could be concentrated. The upper reaches of the river valleys of western Anatolia lay on the crucial divide between arable and grazing land. The extent of each zone was ultimately determined by environmental factors, but temporary changes in the balance of power between the transhumant and the sedentary could temporarily advance the extent of each zone.<sup>66</sup>

However, if we look at the sources that were composed in the thirteenth century, we see that the picture was much more complex. Āqsarāyī, our main source for the frontier Türkmens, applies the term *uj* to large territories, sometimes those including the main Seljuk cities, such as Akşehir or even Konya, the capital of the Sultanate. I will list only two examples, the first of which concerns the Nicaean–Seljukid border and the second the Pontic border of the Empire of Trebizond.

In 1261,

[the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn and his ministers] deigned to confer full authority (*ba hukm-i amārat mufawwad farmūdand*) to govern the province of the *uj* (*amārat-i wilāyat-i uj*) on Tāj al-Dīn Ḥusayn and Nuṣrat al-Dīn, the children of the *ṣāḥib* Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī...<sup>67</sup> Their retainers were assigned to Kütahya, Sandıklı, Ghurghurüm, and Akşehir.<sup>68</sup>

Of these locations within the *uj* zone, Kütahya and Sandıklı were indeed centres situated not too far from the Nicaean border (50–90 km), while

Pazar mosque in the city, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, xii, 4540, p. 94.

<sup>66</sup> Hopwood 1999: 155. Cf. Heywood's critique of the concept of a narrow *ghāzī* frontier that was advanced by Wittek: Heywood 2002b: 231–44.

<sup>67</sup> He was the *wazīr* Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī mentioned above.

<sup>68</sup> Aksarayı, p. 74.

Ghurghurūm (near Beyşehir) and Akşehir were close to Konya. The distance between Ghurghurūm/Beyşehir and Denizli can be calculated as 230 km (in reality, considering the complex road system in the mountains, this figure should be higher, up to 300 km), while the road that connected Konya and Beyşehir was no more than 80 km long. It seems that the *wazīr's* sons controlled a very important road from Kütahya to Beyşehir (at least 300 km) and all the lands west of it to the Nicaean border.

Similar examples can frequently be found in the pages of Āqsarāyī.<sup>69</sup> If we turn our attention to Ibn Bibī, we find the same picture. For example, in 1280 one of the rebel Seljukid princes was captured in the *uj* of Amasya by the *nā'ib* of Kastamonu.<sup>70</sup> The expression ‘the *uj* of Amasya’ means the Trebizond-Seljukid border zone, from Amasya to Limnia (east of Samsun), the fortress on the western border of the Empire of Trebizond at that time.<sup>71</sup> The distance between Amasya and Limnia was also great, no less than 120 km.<sup>72</sup>

These two examples, taken from two different sources, clearly demonstrate that the Seljukid frontier zone, unlike the Byzantine one, was a very large territory that extended as far as, or even included, the main Seljuk cities such as Konya or Amasya. All we know about the ‘emirate’ of Mehmed-bey confirms the data in Āqsarāyī and Ibn Bibī: the bey of Denizli controlled a vast area from the Nicaean border to Antalya and Alanya.

If the *uj* land occupied large territories and encompassed Seljuk cities, that also meant that nomads were hardly a predominant element of the population in the *uj*. Indeed, as far as the southern sector of the Nicaean–Seljukid border is concerned, one finds here important trade routes under the protection of caravanserais,<sup>73</sup> prosperous cities and towns, and, interestingly, a peasant

<sup>69</sup> Aksarayı, pp. 85, 89, 97, 101–2, 113, 122–3.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 336; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 323–4.

<sup>71</sup> Limnia remained under the rule of the emperor of Trebizond until 1369, when it was visited by Emperor Alexios III Grand Komnenos (1349–90): Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, p. 77, ll.7–9. Limnia was situated in the delta of the river Yeşilırmak (the Byzantine Iris), near the modern village of Taşlıkköy: Bryer and Winfield 1985: i, pp. 96–7; Karlov 1990: 89; Bryer 1975: 129–30.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. a similar example: Ibn Bibi, p. 311; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 298: Elbistan is mentioned as border zone.

<sup>73</sup> The caravanserais located in the *uj* zone are as follows:

1. Ak Han, built by Kara-Sunqur ibn 'Abd Allāh in AH 651 [3 March 1253–20 February 1254] near Goncalı, 7 km northeast of Denizli, on the road to Çivril: Erdmann 1961–76: N 19, i, pp. 67–72; ii, pp. 93–4; iii, p. 205;
2. Pinarbaşı Han, at the crossroads between Denizli-Akşehir and İsparta-Afyonkarahisar; date: c. 1220; Erdmann 1961–76: N 12, i, pp. 54–5; iii, p. 204;
3. Çardak Han, north of Açı Göl, between Denizli and Dinar; date: after 1230; Erdmann 1961–76: N 15, i, pp. 59–61; iii, p. 204;
4. Çakallı Han, 10 km north of Kavak, between Amasya and Samsun; date: Seljukid era; Erdmann 1961–76: N 22, i, pp. 77–9; iii, p. 205;
5. Eğret Han, 200 m north of Afyonkarahisar on the road to Kütahya; date: first decade of the thirteenth century; Erdmann 1961–76: N 42, i, pp. 152–4; iii, p. 204;

population.<sup>74</sup> One should remember that large tribal confederations, be they the Turkish tribal groups in Asia Minor in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the confederations of Ak-koyunlu and Kara-koyunlu in Eastern Anatolia in the fifteenth century, or various Qızılbaş groups in the same area in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries

were not extremely pastoral nomads, and their chiefs were not merely leaders of nomads, but had legitimate sources of personal wealth and power: not only livestock, but agricultural land and commonly city-based trading houses. In addition, chiefs received income through tax collection.<sup>75</sup>

One can better understand the balance of power between the transhumant and sedentary elements in the *uj* zone through considering data on the life of nomads in Eastern Anatolia in the sixteenth century. These nomads were the backbone of the nomadic state of the Ak-koyunlu until 1507–8 when Shāh Ismā‘il I Ṣafawī (1501–24) of Īrān conquered the state. Soon afterwards, however, the former western lands of the Ak-koyunlu were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire after the famous battle at Çaldırān on 2 Rajab AH 920 (23 August 1514) when the Sultan Selim I Yavuz (1512–20) defeated the Ṣafawī army. The newly conquered lands were soon entered into the Ottoman tax registers (1518).<sup>76</sup> As the chronological period between the fall of the Ak-koyunlu and the final Ottoman conquest was very brief (1507/8–16), we are able to restore the realities of the nomadic confederation on the basis of comparatively contemporaneous evidence: that of the Ottoman tax registers.

The remaining tribes of the confederation of Ak-koyunlu are described in Ottoman documents as Boz-ulus. The confederation consisted of 4,994 households in 1540, of which 4,568 were families, while 462 were *mücerred* (bachelors).<sup>77</sup> Mustafaev, who calculates the average number of members of a family as 5 persons, believes that the confederation was as large as 23,000 people (the figure is almost ten times lower than that given by Ibn Sa‘id for the Turks of Denizli).<sup>78</sup>

6. Yeniceköy Han, 20 km south of Kütahya, on the road to Afyonkarahisar; date: first half of the thirteenth century (?); Erdmann 1961–76: N 48, i, pp. 162–3; iii, p. 204.

<sup>74</sup> See the descriptions of three cities in the *uj* zone—Amasya, Konya, and Malatya—in Hamd-allāh Mustawfi of Qazwīn, *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, ed. and tr. Le Strange, i, pp. 95–9 (Persian text); ii, pp. 96–9 (English translation). Cf. Kafadar 1995: 126–7. On the dependence of nomads on agriculturalists, see Khazanov 1984: 81–4.

<sup>75</sup> Tapper 1997: 11–12.

<sup>76</sup> Mustafaev 1994: 10–13, 28–49; Woods 1999: 163–72; Sümer 1992: 127–30; cf. Roemer 1968–91a: vi, pp. 183–8, 1968–91b: vi, pp. 209–25.

<sup>77</sup> Demirtaş 1949: 53, 59 (the additional *hānes* of the Dhū'l-Qādriyye/Dulkadirli Turks). Cf. Barkan 1943: 143; İnalçik *et al.* 1994: i, p. 37.

<sup>78</sup> Mustafaev 1994: 118. The confederation was larger during the time of the Ak-koyunlu state. In c. 1474 the confederation had 6,000 households (tents) with 29,000 persons, including 3,000 men, 15,000 women and 11,000 children. The Ak-koyunlu state, which included other tribal confederations, could have had as many as 22,000 horsemen. Akkoyunlu 1992: 155.

The winter pasturelands (*kışlak*, *qışlāq*) of the Boz-ulus were the so-called Beriyye: the territories between Mardin, Diyarbakır, and Siverek. Their summer pastures (*yaylak*, *yāylāq*) lay north of the river Murat (north-west of Lake Van) and extended as far as the environs of Erzurum.<sup>79</sup> The territory which the tribes of Boz-ulus occupied in 1540 was almost the same as the pasturelands of the Ak-koyunlu confederation in the fifteenth century.<sup>80</sup> The shortest distance between the *yaylak* and the *kışlak* of Boz-ulus was 150–210 km, which is almost the same as the nomadic routes of the Turks of Denizli in the 1260s (230 km). There is a direct connection between the number of the transhumant households and their cattle on the one hand, and the distance of the nomadic migrations on the other: the more numerous the livestock, the longer the route.<sup>81</sup> I thus conclude that the Turks of Denizli numbered the same as or rather fewer than the later tribes of Boz-ulus: 15,000–20,000 persons. My calculation can be confirmed by the Ottoman tax registers. According to these, the Turks in the sub-province of Tekke, which occupied approximately the same territory as the Turks of Denizli in the thirteenth century (Denizli–Dalaman–Alanya), numbered 8,816 with 5,601 households (*hane*) in 1520–35 and 1570–80 respectively.<sup>82</sup> Of these figures, the number 5,601 (approximately 25,000 men, women, and children) is the more reliable, as in the first half of the sixteenth century many nomads from Eastern Anatolia, the theatre of long-lasting conflict between the Ottomans and the Safawids, migrated westwards. By the end of the sixteenth century many of them had either become sedentary or been settled by the Ottoman administration in the Balkans.<sup>83</sup> It is noteworthy that the Turks of the sub-province of Menteşe, who lived farther west in the Dalaman–Denizli–Maeander triangle, on lands which in the thirteenth century were part of the Byzantine empire, numbered as many as 16,912 *hane* in 1570–80.<sup>84</sup> Their great number in comparison with that of the Turks of the sub-province of Tekke demonstrates how economically important and attractive the rich, well-watered Byzantine lowlands along the Maeander were for nomadic society.

There were also other similar features between the Turks of Denizli and the Boz-ulus: both confederations wandered near or between lands inhabited by the sedentary people; both were controlled by central government with the

<sup>79</sup> Barkan 1943: 140–2; Demirtaş 1949: 39; Mustafaev 1994: 119.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. the map in Woods 1999: 30.

<sup>81</sup> Mustafaev 1994: 119. Cf. Tapper's remarks on the growing numbers of the nomads of Shahsevan: Tapper 1979: 92 (Table 12), 94, 246–7. On the connection between an increase in the nomadic production base and the opening up of new pastures, as well as the possibility of comparing large nomadic groups in different regions by type of migration route, see Khazanov 1984: 38, 79.

<sup>82</sup> İnalçık *et al.* 1994: i, p. 35. On the very low increase of the nomadic population in a particular territory because of the stagnant economy throughout the centuries, see Khazanov 1984: 69–71.

<sup>83</sup> İnalçık *et al.* 1994: i, pp. 34–7, 40–1.

<sup>84</sup> İnalçık *et al.* 1994: i, p. 35.

help of a system of fortresses situated at crossroads or near bridges, which the nomads could not easily pass by. It seems that the statement of the Turkish historian Mehmed Fuad Köprülü still perfectly describes the realities of the *uj* zone:

The marches were not simply regions containing summer and winter pastures reserved for the nomadic and semi-nomadic Turkmen tribes. In addition to the summer and winter pastures reserved for each tribe there were also a great many villages, small towns, and even small fortified positions at strategic points. Furthermore, somewhat behind the border were some rather large, but not very numerous, cities. These well-defended cities which had been captured from the Byzantines served as the capitals of the march beyliks. And just as there were both Christian villages and Muslim villages in the Turkish area, the population of the cities was also a mixture of Christians and Muslims.<sup>85</sup>

It should be noted that the migration routes were precisely established, and as far as central government managed to control the territory where the nomads wandered, state laws (for example, Ottoman ones) prohibited them from deviating from the established routes in their seasonal migrations.<sup>86</sup> Thus, the struggle of Mehmed-bey for his independence and control of the plains of Antalya and Denizli was the struggle for additional *kışlaks*.

Interestingly, the picture of the agricultural and pastoral lands in Anatolia, so favoured by many scholars, does not contradict my conclusions. Indeed, the geographic dichotomy between the fertile coastal regions of Asia Minor, the backbone of Byzantine Anatolia from the twelfth century onwards, and the cold-in-winter and arid-in-summer, treeless Central Anatolian plateau, where the Seljuks established their power after 1071,<sup>87</sup> suggests the only possible structure of the border zone on both sides. While on the Byzantine side fertile land was in demand, and therefore the border zone was of necessity narrow,<sup>88</sup> the Seljukid *uj* could have had no natural limits in sparsely populated land. The chief Seljuk cities may have appeared like agglomerations of orchards,<sup>89</sup> but they were indeed oases encompassed by arid land. Hence much of the border zone consisted of cities and towns surrounded by territories in which a pastoralist economy flourished or at least existed.

As long as nomadic society was organized and controlled, it did not necessarily represent a permanent threat for a sedentary society; co-existence

<sup>85</sup> Köprülü 1992: 81–2. See also Kafadar 1995: 125–6.

<sup>86</sup> Mustafaev 1994: 119. For the very precise routes of the Boz-ulus seasonal migrations, see Barkan 1943: 140–2. Cf. Khazanov 1984: 38, who suggests that ‘when we look at the nomadic routes of the large subdivisions of a nomadic group, these routes seem to be more stable than those of the other, smaller subdivisions in the same group’.

<sup>87</sup> Hendy 1985: 54–6, 108–38.

<sup>88</sup> See, for example, the description of the lands of the monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphiea, to the border zone: Eustratiades 1930: 317–39; *Testament for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia*, tr. Dennis, pp. 1176–95.

<sup>89</sup> Hendy 1985: 40–4.

was always possible.<sup>90</sup> It seems that in the middle of the thirteenth century such a co-existence was achieved in Laodikeia, with its flourishing Greek community in the city and the nomads in the environs nearby.

To cite similar examples, one should consider the history of the Greek-speaking community in Malatya, which was thriving in the thirteenth century, despite the presence of the Turkmen tribes of *ağaç-eri* (lit. ‘men of the forest’, originally the dwellers in the forests on the northern range of the Cilician mountains, south of Maraş).<sup>91</sup> The community was destroyed not by nomads but by the professional Mamluk army in 1315.<sup>92</sup> That is why in 1318, three years after the catastrophe, the Patriarchate issued an edict granting the metropolitan Theodosios of Melitene (Malatya) the right to inspect patriarchal possessions in the metropolitan sees of Keltzene (Erzincan), Neokaisareia (Niksar), Kamakhos (Kemah), and Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar).<sup>93</sup> Another act gave him the right to possess *κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδόσεως* (‘by reason of sustenance’)<sup>94</sup> the metropolitan see of Keltzene and to settle there.<sup>95</sup> Possession *κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδόσεως* was usually given in order to support a metropolitan whose metropolitan see was in decline. Thus, both Arabic and Greek sources testify that the Orthodox community in Malatya was destroyed in 1315–18.

There were at least five tribal confederations in Anatolia in the 1260–80s, though none of them so big as the Turks of Denizli. These were the confederations of (1) *ağaç-eri* (mentioned above), which later occupied the plains between Malatya and Maraş as far as the north-eastern border between Rüm and Cilician Armenia,<sup>96</sup> (2) the Germiyanoğulları (a mixture of Kurdish and Turkish tribes recorded for the first time near Malatya and Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan) in 1240–1,<sup>97</sup> then near Kütahya from 1277<sup>98</sup>), (3) Karamanoğulları

<sup>90</sup> Hendy 1985: 117.

<sup>91</sup> On the conditions of the Orthodox Christians in Malatya in 1226, see the letters of the Patriarch Germanos II: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1891–98: iv, pp. 114–18; V. Laurent 1971: i, 4, N 1235, 1240–1242, pp. 45, 48–50. Staurakios, the metropolitan of Melitene, visited the synod in Constantinople on 2 June 1294: Failler 1993b: 78.

<sup>92</sup> Abū al-Fidā', ed. Dayyub, ii, pp. 418–20; Honigmann, ‘Malatya’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vi, fasc. 101–102, p. 232.

<sup>93</sup> MM i, pp. 83–5; Hunger and Kresten 1981: i, pp. 364–9 (October 1318).

<sup>94</sup> Hunger and Kresten 1981: i, p. 362, l.29. This term means the temporary appointment of a bishop or metropolitan from an adjacent diocese to a vacant see until the election of a new metropolitan. This practice was very common in Anatolia during the time of the Turkic domination: Vryonis 1971: 288–90.

<sup>95</sup> MM i, pp. 81–3; Hunger and Kresten 1981: i, p. 56, pp. 360–5.

<sup>96</sup> They are recorded as early as in 1254, and again in 1256 and 1258. Ibn Bibi, pp. 284–5; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 270–1; Gregorii Barhebraei *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, eds. Abbeloos and Lamy, ii, pp. 729–32; Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk'*, ed. Agélean, p. 230; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, tr. Bedrosian, p. 108; Galstian 1962: 49; Cahen 2001: 184, 193; Sümer 1970: 46.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 229–32; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 218–21.

<sup>98</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 326, 332; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 314, 319–20; *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 112–16, 119; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 69–73, 77; Sümer 1970: 46–7; Mélikoff-Sayar, ‘Germiyān-oghulları’, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 989.

(between Ermene, Mut, Silifke, and Anamur),<sup>99</sup> (4) the Turks of Kastamonu (who robbed Michael Palaiologos in 1256) and, finally, (5) the Turks of the Pontos, of whom the most prominent was the tribe of *çepni* (recorded for the first time near Sinope in 1277).<sup>100</sup> At least two of these confederations (those of the Germiyanogullari and of Kastamonu), in addition to the Turks of Denizli, occupied lands close to the Byzantine border.

To become a serious threat to the sedentary people and, moreover, to conquer vast lands such as the Byzantine possessions in Western Anatolia, nomadic society itself must have been in crisis: either economic (starvation, loss of pasturelands, climate changes), demographic (overpopulation, immigration of other nomadic elements), or political (a military defeat).<sup>101</sup> Our sources leave no doubt that the major cause of the crisis and the sharp increase in transhumant pressure on the Byzantine borders was the Mongol invasions. The most accurate evidence of the Mongol impact is that of Pachymeres:

Those Persians who remained fighting [against the Mongols] and who lived by their sabre found it profitable to rebel and to move towards the most protected parts of the mountains ( $\tauὰ\ τῶν\ δρῶν\ ὀχυρώτερα$ ) in the lands nearby [the Byzantine borders] and to live [there] as robbers. Other people were subdued by the Mongols, who now (in the 1260s) kept Persia (Rūm) under [their] power.<sup>102</sup>

Then these Turks started attacking Byzantine troops along the frontier zone.<sup>103</sup>

What happened to the Sultanate of Rūm? When the Mongols finally subdued it in 1261, they found it made sense to weaken the sultan's power as much as possible. The period of the 1260s to the 1270s was marked by the domination of the semi-dependent Rūm lords, among whom the *parwāna* Mu'in al-Dīn, the uncrowned head of the state in 1260–77, was the most powerful. The question of governance was also complicated by the infiltration of Mongols into the Seljuk state apparatus: Mongol commanders were often appointed to various posts of the Sultanate and ruled over territories of Rūm. Moreover, the Ilkhāns separately set general-governors over the most important towns in Anatolia during the reign of the powerless sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw III (1265–82) and his successors.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>99</sup> For a brief moment between 1265 and 1271, until the arrival of the confederation of the Germiyanogullari from Malatya, the Karamanoğullari seem to have been neighbours of Byzantium in the region of Afyonkarahisar: *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, xii, 4540, p. 94; Sümer, 'Kārāmān-oghulları', in *El<sup>2</sup>*, iv, pp. 619–20, 1970: 50; Zhukov 1988: 14.

<sup>100</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 333; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 321; Bryer 1975: 125, 132–3; Shukurov 2001a: 227–50, 1994: 47–62; Sümer 1970: 46, 1992: 241–4.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. İnalçık *et al.* 1994: i, p. 41; Khazanov 1984: 69–84.

<sup>102</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 33, ll.13–16.

<sup>103</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 33, ll.21–24.

<sup>104</sup> Cahen 2001: 196–226.

The Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān IV was massively in debt to the Mongol government; he inherited the debt from the time of the joint reign with his brother ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II in the 1250s. Without administrative control on the part of the central power, the temporary land possessions which the sultan granted for the lifetime of the holder of an *iqtā’*, soon became hereditary estates.<sup>105</sup> When he entered Konya in 1261, the sultan started to distribute public domain lands among private persons:

He turned the greater part of the provinces of Rūm into private estates (*amlāk*) of both the nobles and the commons. This being the case, he ordered that the *khuṭūṭ-i shar‘i*,<sup>106</sup> the *munāshir-i sultāni*,<sup>107</sup> and the *amthalā-i dīwāni*<sup>108</sup> be written and presented to everyone<sup>109</sup>

The terms used by Ibn Bibī were mandates to govern rather than to possess a province as a private estate. However, the sum of the rights the person received (including administrative (*manshūr-i sultāni*) and fiscal (*mithāl-i dīwāni*) rights confirmed by the sanction of the *shar‘a*, the canonical law of Islam) were so comprehensive that this possession *de jure* of state land, was *de facto* a private estate.<sup>110</sup> The distribution of state lands was so excessive that later, under the Ottomans, these possessions formed a special category of land, the so-called *mālikāne-dīwāni*, the ‘false’ private estates (*mulk, amlāk*), the revenues of which were divided between the state and the owner.<sup>111</sup>

Thus, with the sultans deprived of real administrative control over their realm, state domains diminished, and the treasury empty, the Sultanate began to disintegrate. The real power in the provinces belonged to the Seljukid and Mongol administrators, the local *amirs*, the Muslim city and townsfolk, and, finally, the chiefs of the nomadic units.<sup>112</sup> Of all these groups, the Mongols and the Turkish nomads were the most antagonistic. Not only did the Turks remain the only military force that could challenge Mongol power in Asia Minor, but the Mongols themselves were transhumant and needed to occupy vast pasturelands in Anatolia in order to secure their military presence in the peninsula. The Mongol *kışlaks* included the lands along the river Sangarios,

<sup>105</sup> Cahen 2001: 245–7.

<sup>106</sup> The plural form of *khaṭṭ-i shar‘i*, lit. ‘the decree confirming the sanction of the sacred law’, which made the administrative power or possession of a person legal.

<sup>107</sup> The plural form of *manshūr-i sultāni*, ‘the sultanic diploma’, usually given to a person to exercise administrative power. According to its etymology, the term *manshūr* means a document which is ‘spread out’, i.e. not sealed. In Mamluk Egypt the *munāshir* were used for *iqtā’* grants: Stern 1964: 86–90.

<sup>108</sup> The term *amthalā-i dīwāni* is a plural form of *mithāl-i dīwāni*, i.e. ‘the edict of the government’ for possession of a piece of land or the taxes collected from that land.

<sup>109</sup> Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 285 e; cf. Zhukov 1988: 15.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Cahen 2001: 245–7.

<sup>111</sup> On the system of *mālikāne-dīwāni* and its Seljukid roots, see Barkan 1939: 132–4; Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1976: 241–8; Turan 1971b: 82; Mustafaev 1994: 72–6.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Cahen 2001: 227.

the river Delice Irmak (which flows into the river Kızıl Irmak), as well as the lands around Konya, Aksaray, Kırşehir, and Niğde; their *yaylaks* were situated near Beyşehir, Işıqlı, and in the mountains between Kayseri, Aksaray, and Niğde (Erciyes dağı, Melendiz dağı, and Ala dağları).<sup>113</sup> It is easy to see that the Mongols, however few in number they might have been, occupied the best pasturelands in Central Anatolia, sometimes even close to the Byzantine borders. The Turks were thus forced to move westwards.

Under these circumstances, how did the Byzantines respond to increasing Turkish pressure on their borders? It seems that after the expeditions against the Turks in 1260–1 and the peace treaty with the Mongols in Asia Minor, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos decided to change his policy towards the Nicaean part of the frontier zone.

The Nicaean defence of Anatolian possessions against the Turks was based on three elements: provincial garrisons or *themata*, which were stationed in frontier towns and castles; the nomads of Turkic (often Cuman) origin who were allowed to settle on Nicaean soil,<sup>114</sup> and, finally, the *akritai* (the ‘inhabitants of the mountains’<sup>115</sup>) who were smallholding soldiers in the frontier zone, exempted from taxation on condition of military service. Moreover, the most prominent of these were granted state revenues (*pronoiai*) and money grants from the Nicaean emperors. Under these circumstances, the *akritai* became notoriously rich.<sup>116</sup> It was their fortune and independence that attracted Michael VIII Palaiologos.

Michael himself was a usurper. Between September and November 1258 he was proclaimed *despot*,<sup>117</sup> in order to rule the Empire until John IV Laskaris, the son of Theodore II, came of age. Michael started to introduce a policy of granting *pronoiai* on a hereditary basis and distributing pensions, lands, and money to members of the senate, aristocracy, and the military class.<sup>118</sup> Now popular, he was crowned emperor in January 1259.<sup>119</sup> For a while, he continued the traditional Nicaean policy of supporting the Seljukid sultan. Like Theodore II before him, Michael concluded an alliance with Kay-Kāwūs II,

<sup>113</sup> The Mongol pasturelands in Anatolia were studied by J.M. Smith, Jr (1999: 48–52). Cf. Sinor 1972: 181–2, who pointed out the importance of the pasturelands for Mongol expansion (using the example of Hungary).

<sup>114</sup> Grégoire 1959–60: 457; *Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople*, tr. Dennis, p. 1245; Gregoras, i, pp. 36, l.16–37, l.9; Langdon 1992: 19–21; Halperin 2000: 233–6.

<sup>115</sup> Pachymeres, pp. 29, l.21, 31, l.17.

<sup>116</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 29, l.21–31, l.20; cf. Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), 33, p. 286, ll.18–22; Skoutariotes (Sathas), p. 507, ll.24–27; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 323–4; Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, pp. 226–7, 278.

<sup>117</sup> *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, i, p. 75; Failler 1980: 29–30.

<sup>118</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 131, ll.8–24, 139, ll.3–19; Ostrogorsky 1954: 92–5, 1951: 61–4; Bartusis 2012: 241–82.

<sup>119</sup> *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, i, p. 75; Failler 1980: 41–2.

who was still on the throne, in January 1259.<sup>120</sup> At approximately the same time Michael visited the Nicaean border near Philadelpheia and fortified it.<sup>121</sup> As we have seen, he then undertook two successful expeditions against the Turks in 1260–1.

However, once he had entered Constantinople through the Golden Gates (see Fig. 4) on 15 August 1261, Michael sharply changed his political course. On 25 December 1261 Michael ordered John IV Laskaris to be deposed and blinded, despite his recent oaths to be loyal to the young emperor.<sup>122</sup> He was now the sole ruler of the Empire. The Patriarch Arsenios Autoreianos (1254–9, 1261–5), horrified by Michael's bad faith, excommunicated him at the beginning of 1262.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, the people of the frontier zone near Nicaea revolted against him. It is difficult to establish the precise location of the revolt. Its centre was the fortress of Trikokkia (Koçhisar) and the nearby mountains which Pachymeres called 'Zygos'.<sup>124</sup> It seems that the rebellion was not too dangerous or, at least, was confined to a small territory.

Nevertheless the emperor heeded the warning. He did not underestimate the danger. The opposition, united around the Patriarch Arsenios, dreamt of the restoration of the Laskaris dynasty.<sup>125</sup> Meanwhile the people who took part in the short-lived pro-Laskarid rebellion in Trikokkia supported someone who claimed to be John IV Laskaris.<sup>126</sup> Michael must have known that one pretender can easily be followed by another: for example, various pseudo-Alexioses (pretenders posing as the young Alexios II Komnenos) had caused a great deal of trouble for the emperors of the Angeloi dynasty at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries.

By the end of 1264 Michael VIII Palaiologos was ready for action. In spring 1265 he insisted that Patriarch Arsenios be deposed.<sup>127</sup> At approximately the same time, 1264–5, the emperor started fiscal reforms in Asia Minor. He sent the *eparchos* Chadenos, the actual author of the reforms, on a special mission to make a cadastral survey of the lands in the frontier zone:

[Chadenos] at once visited the places. No delay was possible for him as he himself had initiated the orders. Those with very great wealth and herds (*ανδρας*

<sup>120</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 141, ll.11–17; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1859, p. 60.

<sup>121</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 139, l.20–141, l.9.

<sup>122</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 137, ll.6–16; p. 255, l.23–p. 259, l.4; Gregoras, i, p. 93, ll.5–8.

<sup>123</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 267, l.24–269, l.17; Gregoras, i, p. 93, ll.8–24; V. Laurent 1971: i, 4, N 1362.

<sup>124</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 259, l.23–267, l.23. According to Bryer (1988–9: 172), Trikkokia was located on the right bank of Sangarios, south of Tarsia.

<sup>125</sup> On the Arsenite party during Michael Palaiologos' reign, see Petit 1899–1950: i, cols 1993–4; V. Laurent 1945: 225–313; D. M. Nicol 1993: 46, 81; Talbot, 'Arsenites', in *ODB*, i, p. 188; Gounaris 1999: 35–70, 83–119.

<sup>126</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 259, l.23–261, l.10.

<sup>127</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 329–55; Gregoras, i, pp. 93, l.24–95, l.19, 107, l.11–108, l.8; D. M. Nicol 1993: 45.

*βαθυπλούτους... καὶ κτήμασι καὶ θρέμμασι βρίθοντας*) he enrolled in respect of (lit. ‘from’) their own properties (*στρατεύει τούτους ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων ἐκείνων*). A [yearly] livelihood (*δὲ βίος*) estimated at 40 hyperpyra, [from tax incomes] from their own properties, was granted (lit. ‘composed’, *συνεκεκρότητο*) to each of them. He assigned the rest, by no means small amount, of the imposed *telos* tax (*τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ τεθέντος τέλους*) to the Imperial treasury (*τῷ βασιλικῷ ταμείῳ*).<sup>128</sup>

The wording of Pachymeres was influenced by the technical terms of Byzantine official documents. At the beginning he mentions property that suggests direct ownership: the *ktemata*, literally the ‘landed property, estate’ and the herds. He ends this passage with a mention of the ‘imposed tax’, the *telos*, or the *demosios kanon*, which was the basic tax on land in Byzantium.<sup>129</sup> The expression ‘the rest of the imposed *telos*’, which went to the Imperial treasury, suggests that another part of the *telos* was used for the individual payments of 40 hyperpyra to the group of once rich people now under Chadenos’ reform.

People who had previously paid no taxes lost their status. Moreover, they were alienated from their own property; in describing this alienation, Pachymeres uses the verb *στρατεύω*, literally ‘to take into the army; to enrol, enlist’. It seems that the part of the landed property of each individual whose yearly revenues were now estimated at 40 hyperpyra was converted into *pronoia*, a grant of state revenues from land in return for the military (or paramilitary) service of the holder. Though Pachymeres does not use the term *pronoia per se*, the context of his statement is clear: as was common in Byzantium, the holders were now obliged to perform service for their new livelihood in the form of state tax collected from their estates. The high status of the people, the military character of their service, and the amount of their new revenue, which can be compared to the sums of 24 or 36 hyperpyra mentioned by Michael VIII himself as additional payments to the *pronoia* holders<sup>130</sup>—all these factors show that Chadenos’ scheme did indeed entail *pronoia* grants.<sup>131</sup>

*Pronoia* in Byzantium had a double status—as the grant of state revenues from taxation (*posotes*), on the one hand; and as the authority to collect taxes from, or to ‘take care of’, the territory of the *pronoia*, on the other.<sup>132</sup> Khvostova correctly stressed the difference between *pronoia* and tax immunity: while the former was a *grant* of state revenues for the *holder*, the latter was a *privilege* given to the *owner* of the land.<sup>133</sup> In Byzantium, the abolition of tax immunity was often, though not always, a form of confiscation of land.<sup>134</sup> The statement in Pachymeres which juxtaposes Chadenos’ *pronoias*, which by

<sup>128</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 33, ll.3–9.

<sup>129</sup> Bartusis 2012: 69–70.

<sup>130</sup> Heisenberg 1973b: N 1, p. 40, ll.78–84; Bartusis 2012: 266–7.

<sup>131</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 31, l.27–33, l.9; Bartusis 1992: 54–7. On the similar amounts of the *pronoiaris*’ incomes, see Bartusis 2012: 360–74.

<sup>132</sup> Khvostova 1992: 37–50; 2005: 63–82; 2009: 46–64.

<sup>133</sup> Khvostova 2005: 72.

<sup>134</sup> Khvostova 1990: 10.

nature meant tax incomes collected and earned by the *pronoiares*, and the other lands now subject to the tax paid directly to the treasury, shows that Michael VIII considered that the *akritai* lands belonged to the state.

Ostrogorsky's attempt to treat *pronoia* as a Byzantine equivalent of the western fief<sup>135</sup> must now be revised, though sometimes, as some late Byzantine documents show, the difference between *de facto* possession of an estate and a *pronoia* grant *per se* was slight.<sup>136</sup> According to a recent study of Nicaean documentary sources by Morozov, the peasant population under the *pronoiares*, the *paroikoi*, remained free; and the *pronoiares* had very limited judicial rights over them.<sup>137</sup> Even Khvostova, who partly shared Ostrogorsky's opinion about the evolution of the *pronoia* into a form of indirect quasi-feudal property stated that *pronoia* did not receive a proper juridical definition in Byzantine law. If such an evolution did indeed occur, it can be observed only in the documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>138</sup>

According to Bartusis, the *pronoia* in the Nicaean Empire underwent important changes. The *pronoia* grants became more common under John III Batatzes: 'Expansion in the institution of *pronoia* took place along two directions: more recipients and a broader social range of the recipients'.<sup>139</sup> *Pronoia* grants, also called *oikonomias* since Michael VIII,<sup>140</sup> were no longer limited to the military, and the list of beneficiaries now included members of the upper class and the monasteries. The extensive distribution of grants, which now consisted of taxes not only from the state but also from private possessions,<sup>141</sup> forced Michael VIII to conclude in 1272 that further *pronoia* grants, or indeed enlargement of the existing *pronoias*, could have been made only 'from a fiscal survey which found someone holding more land than allowed by his *praktikon*, or those resulting from the confiscation of illegally

<sup>135</sup> Ostrogorsky 1951: *passim*, esp. pp. 26–9, 36–8.

<sup>136</sup> Khvostova 1964: 214–15. Cf. Bartusis 2012: 436–40.

<sup>137</sup> Morozov 2005: 41–50; Bartusis 2012: 198. Cf. Angold 1975: 124–8, but Angold's definitions of *pronoia* and *ktemata* are imprecise.

<sup>138</sup> Khvostova 2005: 76; cf. Bartusis 2012: 407: 'In my view, the institution of *pronoia* stood apart from Byzantine law'.

<sup>139</sup> Bartusis 2012: 236–7.

<sup>140</sup> Bartusis 2012: 251–9. According to Bartusis (2012: 258), *oikonomia* was a broader fiscal term than *pronoia*: 'An *oikonomia* was any collection of properties and fiscal revenues granted by the emperor which the beneficiary was not permitted to transfer (alienate) outside of his family. That, of course, would include the *pronoia* grant as it was known in the early thirteenth century, for example, as well as the vast collections of tax-exempt properties and privileges enumerated in the *praktika* of monasteries'. The description is a mixture of two legally incompatible statuses: the one of the *holder* (e.g. of the *pronoia* grant) and the other of the *owner* (of the tax-exempt land parcel); Bartusis himself (2012: 313–15) offers a more accurate comparison of *pronoia* and *oikonomia* as almost synonymous fiscal terms. I found Khvostova's definition of *pronoia* better fitting Byzantine juridical practice, which she has studied thoroughly. Unfortunately, Bartusis was unaware of her (and Morozov's) recent work.

<sup>141</sup> Bartusis 2012: 238.

held property'.<sup>142</sup> Pachymeres' description of Chadenos' reforms was a perfect illustration of such confiscation.

Chadenos' reform brought about changes in the status of the *akritai*: those who were tax-free holders of state land and formed irregular military units during the reign of the Laskarids became *pronoiares*. From then on, income from *akritai* lands was earned directly by the state; and the *akritai* received a fixed part from these revenues (40 hyperpyra per person per year).<sup>143</sup> They became mobile *themata* troops who could be used in various military campaigns in Asia Minor or in the Balkans.

Moreover, the population of Eastern Bithynia and Paphlagonia, which were not too far from the epicentre of the pro-Laskarid revolt of 1261, was put under stricter control. Pachymeres writes:

The land of the Boukellarioi, Maryandenoi, and Paphlagonians<sup>144</sup> was in the most pitiable condition. For the sovereign exhausted the treasury by [concluding] matrimonial alliances with the ‘nations’ ( $\tauὰ \epsilonθνη$ ) and [imposing] burdensome munificence for the embassies that he was often sending. I do not know how reasonable the [official] pretext [for the new cadastral survey] was, that there was not enough money,<sup>145</sup> but the real reason that was mooted seems to have been as follows: the emperor, suspicious of his subjects because of [all] the circumstances,<sup>146</sup> determined [to impose] crushing taxation on the people, lest they revolt, [when corrupted] by their luxury.<sup>147</sup> So, for this reason, be it real or imagined, he ordered the provinces to be subjected to frequent cadastral surveys. He trusted nobody while he conducted this plan of land registry (*exosisis*). In the past, similar measures were undertaken by [various] high ranking persons, such as the *caesar* Romanos<sup>148</sup> or the *megas domestikos*, the father of the emperor:<sup>149</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Bartusis 2012: 267; Heisenberg 1973b: 40, l.78–41, l.92.

<sup>143</sup> On the difference between smallholders and *pronoiares*, see Bartusis 1992: 157: ‘The smallholding soldier is usually viewed as someone who held a more or less direct grant of land as compensation for or on condition of military service . . . He is essentially distinct from the *pronoia* soldier, who generally had a much higher social position and only an indirect connection to the land from which his income was derived’.

<sup>144</sup> Pachymeres here uses archaic nomenclature. According to the Suda Lexicon, the Boukelarioi lived in Gallo-Greece (*Γαλογραικία*), the eastern part of Bithynia and western part of Galatia, where later the theme Boukellaria was situated: *Suidae lexicon*, ed. Adler, letter b, 419, ll.1–2. The Maryandenoi/Maryandynoi are mentioned as inhabitants of Herakleia Pontike by Athenaeus (2nd–3rd centuries AD): Athenaei Naucratitae *deipnosophistarum libri XV*, ed. Kaibel, ii, 1, p. 108, ll.33 and Herodian (2nd century AD): Aelius Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodianus, *De prosodia catholica*, ed. Lentz, p. 528, l.54. The Paphlagonoi lived east of the Maryandenoi; cf. Pachymeres, i, p. 290, n. 3.

<sup>145</sup> ἐνδέες δηλαδὴ πρὸς τὰς χρείας, lit. ‘there was lack of necessary [goods] for business’.

<sup>146</sup> Pachymeres alludes to the recent rebellion in Trikokkia.

<sup>147</sup> The chronicler mentions the reforms of Chadenos who diminished the property of the landholders in the frontier zone.

<sup>148</sup> The future Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (919–44). He was made caesar on 24 September 919, and became emperor at the end of the same year. Pachymeres, i, p. 292, n. 1.

<sup>149</sup> Pachymeres means the Grand Domestic Andronikos Palaiologos (d. between 1248 and 1252), the father of Emperor Michael VIII.

they registered the lands along the river Skamander, gathered some gold, and put the money into the public treasury. The same [now] happened with the Paphlagonians and those who lived farther afield. [The tax collectors] gathered some silver with great difficulty. For the inhabitants had almost no money, because they grew all they needed for life and their land was very productive. As the taxes were calculated in gold and silver coins, they gave the necessary sum under force. The majority of them did not know military art. However, some people strongly resisted the damage [caused] by these greedy folk (i.e. the tax collectors). For they did not want to suffer; and under no circumstances did they want to be idle. So, these people, who lived mostly in the mountains (i.e. the *akritai*), decided to go to the Persians, because they had to suffer here, whilst there (i.e. on the Seljukid territory), they would have some hope of a better [life]. They fled to the Persians day by day. Since then, the Persians, employing these refugees as guides and allies, started their invasions against those who remained [in Byzantine Paphlagonia].<sup>150</sup> In the beginning, while making incursions, the Persians attacked their land, robbed it, and then went home, because they did not dare to remain [for too long on Byzantine territory]. Later, when a part of the inhabitants surrendered, whilst another part left their homeland because they feared for their lives, the invaders easily penetrated the border, occupied the country, and harmed many people in the adjacent territories (i.e. in Bithynia). The emperor, despite the expectations [of everyone] that he wished to get back the province, which was situated in close proximity to the gates [of Constantinople], really did not care about it. He was preoccupied with relations with the West, disregarding what was at his own feet.<sup>151</sup>

This passage in Pachymeres has been cited by many scholars who blamed Michael VIII for destroying the defence system in Anatolia that had been created by the Nicaean emperors.<sup>152</sup> However, close examination of the text does not support this accusation.

While speaking about the reforms in Asia Minor and in Paphlagonia in particular, Pachymeres uses the term *exisisis* ( $\epsilon\zeta\iota\sigma\omega\sigma\varsigma$ , ‘equalizing’)<sup>153</sup> which means that

in the case of military holdings, the official in charge visited the *pronoiai* of a given area, increased the size of those lands which were too small to allow their holders to perform military service, and took lands away from those whose holdings were too large.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Lit. ‘behaved boldly against those who remained’.

<sup>151</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 291, l.22–293, l.27. The text was also translated by D. M. Nicol 1993: 83. However, Nicol’s translation is too free and, in my opinion, does not represent the general sense of Pachymeres’ thought.

<sup>152</sup> D. M. Nicol 1993: 82–4; Ducellier 1996: 271; Lindner 1983: 14–16; Laiou 1972: 22; Vryonis 1971: 244. Cf. Bartusis 1992: 57: ‘Michael VIII’s highlander policy was a brilliant piece of statecraft, but at the same time it possessed the same weakness of all state policies that attempt to solve domestic and military problems simultaneously’.

<sup>153</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 293, ll.4, 6.

<sup>154</sup> Laiou 1972: 88; Bartusis 1992: 55. Cf. Angold 1975: 212: ‘One of the main aims of the *exisisis* was to make sure that a landowner was not holding too much or too little property in

The same term could have been applied to non-military holdings; in this case the state granted to a person a part of the state income from a piece of land or whatever else was sufficient to perform the obligatory paramilitary service of whatever kind.<sup>155</sup> It is noteworthy that Pachymeres speaks about the possessions of the *akritai* as well as the rich peasantry and local lords, who 'did not know military art', and that he does not mention any increase in the basic rate of tax or new taxes. Instead, the damage was caused by the cadastral survey *per se*. That suggested the 'crushing taxation' imposed on the tax-exempt property,<sup>156</sup> on the one hand, and the *exisisis* of the holdings' size, on the other. The holders most probably had the status of *pronoiares*, be they military or non-military, depending on the type of their service. One might suggest that after the cadastral survey the part of their land revenue that was sufficient to do the service remained theirs, as a grant, while other lands, even if they remained private possessions, became fully taxable.<sup>157</sup> Thus, Michael VIII attempted to establish control over the size of the *akritai* holdings. Hence Pachymeres' suggestion that in reality Michael wanted to weaken his pro-Laskarid opponents because those *akritai* whose possessions were too large and who thus could have been too influential, would have been partly deprived of their land.

Traditionally the *exisisis* was one of the measures for creating a good regular army in a province.<sup>158</sup> From this point of view, Michael's policy was successful. Pachymeres lists the units from the themata of Paphlagonia, Optimatoi (Mesothinia), Thrakesion (Phrygia), Skamandros (Mysia), Melanoudion (Karia), and Neokastra (Magedon), together with the *Scythikon* and *Italikon* contingents, in the army of the *despot* John Palaiologos, Michael's brother, in 1264–7. It was this army that served the *despot* John in his last campaign in Thessaly in 1273.<sup>159</sup>

It seems that the taxation of Paphlagonia was part of Chadenos' reforms. Michael VIII needed money to rebuild Constantinople<sup>160</sup> and to maintain an active international policy. He also needed security for his own dynasty. Hence his attempts to impose stricter control over the lands in Asia Minor, where 'he ordered the provinces to be subjected to frequent cadastral surveys'. These

relation to the taxes which he was paying. In the fourteenth century this applied in particular to land granted out in *pronoia*'. The definition is imprecise, as no private land parcel could have been reduced or enlarged just because of the amount of the tax paid. Such a fiscal operation could have been undertaken only in relation to the holders of state land.

<sup>155</sup> Ostrogorsky 1954: 103–6; 1951: 68–70.

<sup>156</sup> According to Pachymeres' description, the Paphlagonians paid no tax before the cadastral survey under Michael VIII.

<sup>157</sup> On the principles of Byzantine taxation see Litavrin 2001: 14–18, 34–7. On the *pronoiares*, see Bartusis 1992: 162.

<sup>158</sup> Ostrogorsky 1954: 100–3; 1951: 68–70; Laiou 1972: 88–9.

<sup>159</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 403, ll.11–16, 421, l.1–433, l.16; Bartusis 1992: 31–2.

<sup>160</sup> On Michael VIII's restoration of Constantinople, see Geanakoplos 1959: 122–5.

surveys helped him to create more *pronoias* and thus to recruit more capable soldiers for his military actions.

The model for his reforms was Nicaean: the cadastral survey that his father Andronikos Palaiologos had done in the theme of Skamandros. The *exisisis* in Skamandros must have taken place in 1233–4 when this land, recently reconquered from the Latins, became the base for successful Nicaean military operations in the Balkans.<sup>161</sup> Skoutariotes praised John III for his cadastral survey (*ἀπογραφή*) and *exisisis*:

He ordered the God-fearing people, whom he knew [well], to conduct once the cadastral survey and *exisisis* in the villages which he had just liberated from the sway of the enemies; and for the rest of his life he did no other surveys (lit. ‘he was content with this survey’). And after that all those under tax (*τοῖς ὑποτελέσιν*, i.e. the emperor’s subjects) became rich, and those from the soldier lists (*οἱ τῶν στρατιοτικῶν καταλόγων*) and the corporation of the magnates (*τῶν μεγιστάνων τὸ σύστημα*) multiplied their incomes from the *pronoias* and estates (*τὰς ἐκ τῶν προνοιῶν καὶ τῶν κτημάτων εἰσόδους*) and increased their supplies for sustenance.<sup>162</sup>

As, according to Skoutariotes, this was the only cadastral survey under John III in the province in Asia Minor that had been recently conquered and liberated from the Latins, this description undoubtedly refers to the survey in the theme of Skamandros in Mysia.<sup>163</sup>

Thus, Pachymeres compares the local cadastral survey in Paphlagonia with the fiscal reassessments in the theme of Skamandros in Mysia under the Laskarids. Why was the *exisisis* in Skamandros successful but the same reform in Paphlagonia so disastrous? I think that the answer is simple: Paphlagonia was a semi-isolated, remote mountainous land. There, a monetary economy was not highly developed. Michael VIII’s attempt to treat Paphlagonia like other Byzantine provinces in Asia Minor led to the impoverishment of the people whose estates were based on barter. I thus doubt that Michael VIII’s fiscal reforms would have had the same impact in provinces with a prosperous monetary economy (such as those along the river Maeander) as in Paphlagonia.

Indeed, Michael VIII Palaiologos tried to improve the defence of the Byzantine border. He brought about innovations unprecedented in the Lascarid period. First, as I have stated, he concluded a very important agreement with the Mongols that made him less fearful for the safety of his eastern border

<sup>161</sup> Akropolites, i, pp. 34, l.27–36, l.15, 38, ll.6–7, 45, l.22–48, l.14. According to Cheynet and Vannier 1986: 176–7, the survey took place even earlier, in 1224.

<sup>162</sup> Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), 33, p. 286, ll.12–22; Skoutariotes (Sathas), p. 507, ll.21–27.

<sup>163</sup> Other cadastral surveys (*exiseis*) were conducted in Ephesus (never under Latin rule) and the small islands of Leros and Kalymnos in September 1254, just before the death of John III Batatzes on 3 November of that year. Angold 1975: 210–11.

and allowed him to make cadastral reforms in Paphlagonia. Pachymeres' text clearly refers to this. He says that 'the sovereign exhausted the treasury by [concluding] matrimonial alliances with the *nations*', but in 1264–5 only one matrimonial alliance was concluded, namely that between Maria Diplobatatzina (see Fig. 6) and the Ilkhān Abaqā. Two other daughters of Michael's, Euphrosyne (who was illegitimate) and Eirene, married the khān Noghai in 1270 and John III Asen (1279–80) of Bulgaria in 1278 respectively.<sup>164</sup> A plan for a marriage between Anna, the second legitimate daughter of Michael Palaiologos, and the *despot* Demetrios (Michael) Angelos Doukas Komnenos Koutroules, the son of Michael II of Epiros, was also announced in 1278.<sup>165</sup>

The nearest Mongol strongholds were located near the northern sector of the Byzantine border, west of Ankara along the river Sangarios.<sup>166</sup> After 1264–5, when the Mongols became the closest allies of Byzantium in Asia Minor, the emperor, who had spent a great deal of money on the Maria Diplobatatzina's (see Fig. 6) marriage, became less dependent on the service of the irregular *akritai*. Indeed, in his opinion, they might have been a source of trouble, as they could have supported pretenders to the Imperial throne.

Michael Palaiologos' second innovation was regular inspections of the professional Byzantine army, both the *tagmata* and the *themata* troops, along the border. Let me make this point clearer. Scholars traditionally believe that it was the Nicaean emperors who led the anti-Turkish campaigns in the frontier zone.<sup>167</sup> Oddly, while having a lot of information about the castles that the Nicaean emperors built, we have almost no data about regular Nicaean campaigns against the Turks of the frontier zone. Of all the Nicaean emperors, only Emperor John III Batatzes undertook military campaigns (three in number) along the river Maeander. However, our sources, the two hagiographical texts dedicated to John III, do not suggest that these expeditions were against the frontier Turks. As I have mentioned, according to both texts, John III's chief enemy was the sultan himself. No source of Nicaean origin makes any clear mention of an expedition being specially undertaken by the Nicaean emperors against the border Turks.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 243, ll.3–10, 553, l.21–559, l.5; Gregoras, i, p. 132, ll.9–15; PLP 20693, 21369. On other marriages (Constantine Tich (1257–77) of Bulgaria and Maria Kantakouzena in 1268 and the marriage plan between Milutin, the son of Stephan I Uroš (1243–76) of Serbia, and Anna Palaiologina in 1269), see Pachymeres, i, pp. 441, l.23–445, l.2, 453, l.1–457, l.16; Failler 1981: 207–14.

<sup>165</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 559, l.6–561, l.10; PLP 193, 21350.

<sup>166</sup> Smith, Jr 1999: 49.

<sup>167</sup> Langdon 1992: 1–4, 22–4; Hopwood 1999: 156–7. Scholars who know the Nicaean sources well usually do not mention Nicaean military campaigns against the border Turkmen, but rather the building activity and the system of *pronoias* that the Nicaean emperors granted to the *akritai*. Bartusis 1992: 24–5; D. M. Nicol 1993: 24–5.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. other sources (in addition to those mentioned above) that refer to the Nicaean expeditions against the Seljuks during the reign of John Batatzes: Nicole 1894: 77, ll.14–15;

The silence of the Nicaean sources can be easily explained. Unlike Michael Palaiologos, the Nicaean emperors did not face the threat of great nomadic confederations along the Byzantine border. A simple comparison of numbers demonstrates that from the late 1250s, when these nomadic confederations were recorded for the first time, the traditional Nicaean defences were not sufficient to withstand the new challenge. I have estimated the number of Turks of Denizli to have been some 15,000–20,000. Of these, roughly one-third at the most were capable warriors whilst the other two-thirds were women, elderly people, and children. Thus, the Turks of Denizli, one of the largest nomadic confederations near the Byzantine border, could have had no more than 4,000–6,000 fighting men. We also know that the professional Byzantine army, the *tagmata* of the late Nicaean or early Palaiologan period numbered as many as 6,000 men (excluding *themata* troops). I do not think that the *akritai* or even the *themata* troops along the border were as numerous as the Denizli Turks or the Byzantine *tagmata* troops. Otherwise, Byzantine sources would have reported corps of *akritai* as large as the imperial army. In other words, only the main Byzantine army headed by the emperor or his generals could have forced the Turks to withdraw from the recently occupied Byzantine territories.

Let me list the military expeditions undertaken by the Byzantine army along the borderland during the reign of Michael VIII. After the campaigns in 1260–1 the next war took place in 1263–4.<sup>169</sup> The frontier Turks penetrated the Byzantine defences along the river Maeander and even threatened Tralles and the territories on the left bank of the river Cayster (Küçük Menderes). They conquered Strobilos and Stadeia/Stadiotraceia. The brother of the emperor, *despot* John Palaiologos, who was one of the ablest Byzantine generals, moved with his army from the Balkans to Asia Minor. As soon as the Turks heard about his approach, they quickly offered him a peace treaty. Though the *despot* did not manage to recover Strobilos and Stadiotraceia, he restored order on the frontier and concluded a peace treaty with the Turks. He even ‘established the boundaries for their pastures, within which they should migrate when coming down [from the mountains]’.<sup>170</sup>

Because the *despot* had no right to establish pastures on Seljuk territory, the text suggests that the Byzantines gave permission to the Turks to use the territories on the lowlands along the river Maeander as *kışlaks*. These frontier Turks formed a very large unit, as they managed to ravage a vast territory from

Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii 1401–1477. În anexă Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos, Cronica 1258–1481*, ed. Grecu, p. 274, ll.42–47; Langdon 1992: 14, 18–21.

<sup>169</sup> Pachymeres mentions this event after the peace treaty concluded between John Palaiologos and Michael II Angelos (1263), but before the comet that appeared in the summer of 1264: Pachymeres, i, pp. 284, n. 1, 294, n. 2.

<sup>170</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 289, l.20–291, l.19, esp. 291, ll.15–16: καὶ σφίσιν ὅρους ἐτίθει, ἐς ὄποσον ἀν καὶ κυνηθέεν προσκαταβάνοντες ταῖς νομαῖς.

the Knidos (Resadiye) peninsula as far as the river Cayster and the fortress of Magedon near Philadelphiea. I thus suppose that the *despot* John concluded the treaty with 'Ali-bey, the head of the Turks of Denizli. The Byzantine territories that were devastated by the Turks in 1263–4 bordered the Seljukid lands which were occupied by the Turks of Denizli, from Laodikeia to Dala-man. These Turks had recently been deprived of their traditional *kışlaks* near Antalya and 'Alâ'îyya by the sultan and his Mongol allies in 1262. They received new *kışlaks* on Byzantine soil. In order to secure the situation in Asia Minor, the *despot* John remained for the three years 1264–7 in Byzantine Anatolia.<sup>171</sup>

The agreement, however, did not stop the infiltration of the Turks into Byzantine territory. Pachymeres writes that when the *despot* John left Asia Minor for the Balkans in 1267, the 'Anatolian possessions [of the Empire] were lost' because these were deprived of the army.<sup>172</sup> The Turks depopulated the lands along the river Maeander; their raids reached the river Cayster, the *theme* of Neokastra, and the fortresses of Magedon and Tabala. The southern Byzantine lands opposite Rhodes became the base for further Turkish incursions. As for Paphlagonia, only the main strongholds (Kromna, Tios, Amastris, and Herakleia Pontike) remained Byzantine. The people of Herakleia maintained contact with Byzantium only by sea.<sup>173</sup>

Pachymeres' description is a summary of the Byzantine losses in Asia Minor between 1267 and 1280, when Michael Palaiologos started his military inspections along the border again.<sup>174</sup> As Pachymeres' text bears no date, it is difficult to establish the sequence of the Turkish attacks along the rivers Maeander and Cayster. It seems that the Turks did not occupy large territories. For example, to cut Herakleia Pontike off from the Byzantine mainland, they needed only to ravage the territory of Tarsia and Lower Sangarios.<sup>175</sup> I can establish an approximate date when the Turks managed to isolate Paphlagonia. The Paphlagonian cavalry was still in Byzantine service in 1273.<sup>176</sup> Thus, the Turks managed to settle in the mountains of Paphlagonia, where horses can be bred, no earlier than the middle of the 1270s. From that time onwards, the Turks could have threatened the lowlands between Paphlagonia and Bithynia.

It appears that the Byzantine army, which was the most important element in the defence of Asia Minor, did not undertake any active operations in the peninsula for thirteen years, from 1267 to 1280. One cannot blame Michael for this. During this period he was faced with constant pressure from the West. In

<sup>171</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 403, ll.7–18.

<sup>172</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 403, ll.19–20.

<sup>173</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 403, l.21–405, l.18.

<sup>174</sup> Pachymeres himself connects the events of 1267, the description of the Byzantine losses, with those in 1280: Pachymeres, i, pp. 405, l.18–407, l.21.

<sup>175</sup> On the roads that connected Paphlagonia with Bithynia, see Booth 2002: 325–6.

<sup>176</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 111, ll.3–10, 115, ll.10–16; Bartusis 1992: p. 61.

1266 Charles of Anjou became king of Sicily. In May 1267 Charles, Pope Clement IV, the Latin ex-emperor Baldwin of Constantinople, and William of Achaia signed treaties in Viterbo which were, in fact, 'a blueprint for conquest of the Byzantine Empire'.<sup>177</sup> From this point on, Michael was forced to concentrate on relations with Western countries, including those in the Balkans, in order to prevent an attack by Charles and his allies which would threaten the very existence of the Empire.<sup>178</sup> In Asia Minor the Turks may have plundered some provinces, but they still did not settle there.

Moreover, one should not exclude the strong possibility of local defensive military expeditions against the Turks not recorded by Pachymeres or any other Byzantine historian of the time. For example, we read in the imperial prostagma of Michael VIII in February 1274 on the relations between the monastery of Lembotissa and the inhabitants (*ἐποικοι*) of Baris near Smyrna that 'when a military campaign (*στρατεία*) took place all of a sudden (lit. "prematurely", *πρότι καιρού*), these inhabitants of Baris managed to borrow from the monks [of the monastery] fifty five tested hyperpyra,<sup>179</sup> which they still had not returned'.<sup>180</sup> I do not think that the war in Thessaly in 1273 which Michael VIII had carefully prepared and to which he sent his best generals, the *despot* John Palaiologos and the *protostrator* Alexios Philanthropenos,<sup>181</sup> could have been called 'premature'. A more likely explanation is that a Turkish raid, otherwise unrecorded, took place in Byzantine Asia Minor at the beginning of the 1270s, and the authorities of the theme of Thrakesion imposed a special extraordinary money collection or demanded urgent military service

<sup>177</sup> Geanakoplos 1959: 197–9; Runciman 2002: 135–8; Dunbabin 1998: 89–90.

<sup>178</sup> Geanakoplos 1959: 197–367; Runciman 2002: 138–40, 146–7, 156–67, 174–200, 284–93; Dunbabin 1998: 89–98, 100, 114.

<sup>179</sup> The 'tested hyperpyra' (*ὑπέρπυρα ἔξαγια*) were the hyperpyra that matched the gold standard. It is not clear which standard was used: either that of John III Batatzes and Theodore II (17.1 carats or 71.3 per cent) or the debased one of Michael VIII (15.5 carats or 64.7 per cent). According to Pachymeres, the debasement of the hyperpyra under Michael VIII took place after the conquest of Constantinople in 1261; and scholars prefer to date the debasement to between 1261 and 1282, the third and the final years of Michael's reign. On Michael's hyperpyra in relation to the coinage of his predecessors and successors, see Pachymeres, ii, p. 541, ll.4–11; Morrisson *et al.* 1980–98: ii, p. 25; Laiou and Morrisson 2007: 215–20. To judge from the context of our document, the most likely, though by no means the only possible, explanation of the expression 'the tested hyperpyra' is that the monastery lent the hyperpyra of John III, which were worn out, as they had been in circulation for a long time (more than twenty years) and as such could have been compared with the relatively new coins of Michael VIII; in this case the total weight of gold was the most important (if the hyperpyra of John III were significantly superior to those of Michael VIII in 1274, they would have been subject to hoarding, which would eventually have ruled out their use in payments). On the relation between the circulation of money and the weight and standard of coins, see the brilliant study by Ponomarev (1998: 201–39) on the silver aspers of the Emperors of Trebizond.

<sup>180</sup> MM iv, p. 256.

<sup>181</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 417, l.19–433, l.16. On the preparations for war, see Pachymeres, i, p. 421, ll.1–19. The army of the *despot* John was ready to undertake operations in the Balkans from 1267 at the latest: Pachymeres, i, p. 403, ll.7–18.

from the *pronoiares*, which certainly increased the expenditure of the inhabitants of Baris, if the latter performed any paramilitary service.<sup>182</sup> If my interpretation is correct, this means that the local authorities in Byzantine Asia Minor had the resources and energy to repulse any sudden Turkish raids, especially those which took place at an unusual time; hence the expression 'prematurely', *πρὸ καιροῦ*, in our document.

Despite his bitter rivalry with Charles, Michael finally managed to dedicate himself to affairs in Asia Minor. In the spring of 1280, while Charles made an attempt to attack Byzantine possessions in Albania,<sup>183</sup> Michael himself led a part of his troops to Anatolia. The Turks, Pachymeres says, had devastated the vast territory from the estuary of Sangarios to Prousa (Bursa).<sup>184</sup>

The distance between Prousa and the Sangarios is 90–100 km. One cannot understand why Pachymeres mentions Prousa as the city near the river unless one suggests that the expression ὅσον περὶ Σάγγαριν ('the territory along the Sangarios') means not only the river Sangarios itself, but also its tributaries: the source of one of these, the modern Göksu Çayı, lies 25 km east of Prousa. If so, the text of Pachymeres suggests that the Turks had broken the Byzantine defences near the Sangarios and then started their incursions along the river, from its mouth to Prousa. This must be why the emperor mustered his troops at Mount Auxentios (near Kadıköy) on the Bosphorus in June 1280.<sup>185</sup> He stayed there until 16 August and then moved to Nikomedea and Nicaea and returned by the same route to Constantinople in September.<sup>186</sup> He thus cleared the left bank of the Sangarios of the Turks.

Michael VIII's second expedition took place in the summer of 1281 after the Byzantine victory over the Angevin army of Hugo le Rousseau de Sully near Berat in Albania.<sup>187</sup> This time Michael's aim was the right bank of the Sangarios.<sup>188</sup> Though Pachymeres does not specify the locations visited by the emperor, he nevertheless gives some details which are useful in establishing the expedition's route. In my opinion, the Turks, in order to isolate Herakleia Pontike and threaten Eastern Bithynia in the middle of the 1270s, needed to occupy only one particular territory, namely the region of Tarsia and Lower Sangarios. Pachymeres' text confirms this suggestion. The emperor, he writes, visited the land he had governed in 1256,<sup>189</sup> i.e.

<sup>182</sup> A similar borrowing of money (ten hyperpyra) from the monastery of Lembiotissa to help finance military service (*εἰς τὺς συγκρότησιν τῆς στρατιωτικῆς αὐτοῦ δουλείας*) is mentioned in the property settlement of the *sebastos* Michael Apelmene in March 1268: MM iv, p. 161; Vishniakova 1927: 43–4.

<sup>183</sup> Geanakoplos 1959: 329–30.

<sup>184</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 599, ll.24–25.

<sup>185</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 599, l.26–601, l.10.

<sup>186</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 621, ll.24–623, ll.2, 13–15.

<sup>187</sup> The Byzantine victory occurred at the beginning of April 1281: Geanakoplos 1959: 329–34; Failler 1981: 246.

<sup>188</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 633, ll.12–17; Gregoras, i, p. 140, ll.12–14.

<sup>189</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 633, ll.20–25.

Mesothinia.<sup>190</sup> He ordered that a special wooden wall be built near the bridge of Justinian on the Çark-su, which flows from Lake Sophon (Sapanca) to the Sangarios.<sup>191</sup> Then he returned to Prousa.<sup>192</sup> In order to secure the results of these two expeditions, he undertook his last campaign shortly before his death in 1282. He went along the river Sangarios and eventually along Göksu Çayı near Prousa, and then proceeded farther to Achyraios, where he fortified the border castles and ended his expedition in Lopadion.<sup>193</sup>

In the last years of his reign Michael also tried to secure the southern sector of the Byzantine border. He dispatched his son and co-emperor Andronikos to the Maeander in 1280. By this time, the left bank of the Maeander, including the city of Antioch, was in Turkish hands. The Turks devastated not only the lands around the cities near the mouth of the Maeander, such as Miletos and Priene, but also Magedon and the territories along the river Cayster.<sup>194</sup>

The actions of Andronikos in the Maeander Valley were no less successful than his father's along the Sangarios. He had a fierce battle with the Turks between Lydia and Ionia. Then the young co-emperor attacked the environs of Laodikeia and returned to Philadelphiea.<sup>195</sup> After that the Imperial army cleared the Cayster Valley of the Turks.<sup>196</sup> In order to restrict further Turkish incursions, Andronikos also rebuilt Tralles.<sup>197</sup> The city enjoyed a key position on the right bank of the Maeander, preventing the Turks from making their traditional incursions in two directions: first, along the right bank of the river to Priene and Miletos, and secondly, to the Cayster Valley. To secure the Byzantine defences west of Tralles, Michael VIII ordered the settlement of Greek refugees from Venetian Crete, the Chortatzai, in Ephesos and Anaia

<sup>190</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 43, l.6.

<sup>191</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 635, l.23–637, l.3; ii, p. 363, ll.9–15.

<sup>192</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 637, ll.4–8.

<sup>193</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 657, ll.12–15. The three expeditions of Michael Palaiologos along the Sangarios were recently studied by Booth (2002: 317–43).

<sup>194</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 591, l.26–p. 593, l.5; Gregoraras, i, p. 142, ll.11–22.

<sup>195</sup> George (Gregory) of Cyprus, 'Oratio laudatoria in Imperatorem Dominum Andronicum Palaeologum', in MPG, 142, col. 404: ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἡγεσ στρατηγοῦ νόμῳ, καὶ τῆς παρατάξεως στρατιωτικῶς καὶ τῆς μάχης μετείλιφας, καὶ τὸν τῆς συμπλοκῆς τόπον ἀπὸ Περσικῶν αἰμάτων ἐμέθυσας. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔργον δι μεταξὺ Λυδίας καὶ Ιωνίας ἔγνοκε τόπος· ἀλλο δὲ περιφανέστατον καὶ αὐτὸ δημέραις ὑστερον οὐ πολλαῖς περὶ που Λαοδίκειαν πέπρακται, καὶ πρὸ τούτων οὐκ ἔλλατον τούτων ἔτερον ἡ Φιλαδέλφου πόλις ὀγχιστά πῃ ἑαντῆς γεγενημένον ἔώρακεν. The same route was mentioned in the first part of the second *Imperial Oration* by Theodore Metochites: Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fols. 149r–150r; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 322–32.

<sup>196</sup> George (Gregory) of Cyprus, 'Oratio laudatoria in Imperatorem Dominum Andronicum Palaeologum', in MPG, 142, col. 404. On Gregory (sometimes called George) of Cyprus (d. 1290), the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1283–9, see Papadakis, 'Gregory II of Cyprus', in ODB, ii, pp. 876–7; PLP 4590.

<sup>197</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 593, l.6–597, l.3; George (Gregory) of Cyprus, 'Oratio laudatoria in Imperatorem Dominum Andronicum Palaeologum', in MPG, 142, col. 405; Failler 1984: 249–63; Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς πρῶτος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fols. 88r–88v; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 200–6.

(Kadi Kalesi, between Ephesos and Priene).<sup>198</sup> He also ordered his second son, Constantine, to undertake a campaign along the Maeander in the autumn of 1280, in order to secure the rebuilding of Tralles against any possible Turkish attack.<sup>199</sup>

Unfortunately, soon after Andronikos II's departure from the Maeander Valley for Nymphaion in 1280 the Turks captured Nyssa, which lay between Antioch on Maeander and Tralles. Tralles was devastated in 1283/4 by the Turkish army led by a certain 'Mantachias, [whose nickname], Salpakis, means "brave" in their own (Turkish) language' (*Σάλπακις μὲν, ὅν ἀνὴρ εἴκεινων γλῶσσα ἀνδρεῖον εἴποι, Μανταχίας τούνομα*).<sup>200</sup> This is the first mention of the bey of Menteşe in Greek sources.

It is now necessary to investigate how the nomadic emirate of Mehmed-bey of Denizli, and his successor Ali-bey was replaced by the new beylik of the Menteşeogulları. In other words, our next target is the structural changes that took place in the *uj* near the Byzantine border between 1267 and 1282, from the departure of the *despot* John from Anatolia to the death of Michael Palaiologos. To help understand this period, I will briefly summarize the achievements and failures of the Emperor Michael VIII and then describe the history of the *uj* zone in 1267–82.

Michael's long reign lasted almost 24 years and is often regarded as a disaster that predetermined the loss of Byzantine Anatolia under his son Andronikos II (1282–1328).<sup>201</sup> I do not agree. First, Michael faced a new danger, unknown in the Nicaean period: the formation of great nomad confederations along the Byzantine border. Michael's response to the new challenge was effective: with the help of his fiscal reforms in Asia Minor he enlarged his army and made it more mobile. The next step in his reforms was regular military inspections of the borders. That this strategy was sensible is suggested by the fact that the Seljuks and the Mongols adopted the same tactic against the nomads.<sup>202</sup> The two great military expeditions along the borders, that of *despot* John in 1264–7 and that of Michael himself in 1280–2, were

<sup>198</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello, 'Istoria del Regno di Romania', p. 145; Pachymeres, ii, pp. 235, l.19–237, l.8. Our chief source for these Cretans, the chronicle of Sanudo, relates that they were settled at Ephesos during the reign of Michael VIII and Andronikos II. According to Zachariadou, they may have appeared in Byzantium after the revolt against the Venetian authorities in 1273–8 at the latest: Zachariadou 1978b: 63–5. We have no evidence that after their arrival the Cretan refugees stayed anywhere else in Byzantium before being settled near Ephesos. Thus, they received the land at Anaia soon after coming to Byzantium, in 1279–82, when Michael VIII and Andronikos II were co-emperors. Cf. Laiou 1972: 81, 117, who suggests that Andronikos II settled the Cretans near Ephesos in 1290.

<sup>199</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 629, ll.16–17; Gregoras, i, p. 195, ll.8–15.

<sup>200</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 597, ll.4–599, l.14. Other variants of the nickname *σάλπακις* are *σάλπαις* and *σόλπακις*. On the date of the capture of Tralles by the Turks (1284), see Gregoras, i, p. 142, ll.16–17.

<sup>201</sup> D. M. Nicol 1993: 44–6, 74–89, 107; Laiou 1972: 11–31.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Aksarayî, p. 71–5, 100–4.

successful. The restoration of Tralles by Andronikos II also was an important operation, as it stopped Turkish incursions into the depths of Byzantine territory. Tralles was taken by the bey of Menteşe because of the lack of a water supply in 1284, when Michael was dead (he died 11 December 1282); thus, it is Andronikos II who was responsible for the fall of the city.

Secondly, the territorial losses of Michael VIII were relatively small. The Byzantines lost Strobilos, Stadiotracchia, and Antioch on the Maeander. Probably, the *themata* of Mylasa and Melanoudion (Karia) were also occupied by the Turks: Melanoudion is mentioned as a Byzantine possession in documentary sources for the last time c. 1273.<sup>203</sup> However, the main Byzantine strongholds were situated along the river Maeander; there, Michael ceded only a small amount of territory: the left bank of the river from Laodikeia/Denizli to Antioch on the Maeander.

In my opinion, Michael deserves serious blame for only two actions. He did not engage in any military activity in Asia Minor in 1267–80. And he did not manage to find common ground with his opponents in Asia Minor, the adherents of the Patriarch Arsenios and the Laskarid party. The struggle with the Arsenites had grave consequences for the defence of Asia Minor, as Michael himself admitted.<sup>204</sup> For example, the Turks devastated and then eventually occupied the strategically important land of Mesothinia with the collaboration of the local Greek population, which had pro-Laskarid sympathies.<sup>205</sup>

Both failures were largely caused by Michael's western policy. He did not manage to visit Asia Minor in 1267–80 because he was preoccupied with Balkan affairs and the struggle against Charles of Anjou. Even Michael's first two expeditions along the Sangarios in the 1280s were undertaken before and after, but not during, the Angevin invasion of Albania. Thus, the same Byzantine army was used first against the Turks and then against the Angevin troops of Hugo le Rousseau de Sully.

Likewise, any agreement with the staunchly Orthodox Arsenites was impossible while Michael continued his policy of union with Rome (indeed, he concluded the union between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches in the Council at Lyons in 1274).<sup>206</sup> But the union was itself part of Michael's complex diplomatic game with the West in order to postpone an attack by Charles against Byzantium.

Let me now consider the history of the *uj* zone near the southern sector of the Byzantine border in 1267–84. It seems that for ten years, 1267–77, the *uj* was under the control of the Seljukid authorities. As I have mentioned, in 1271 the sons of the *wazīr* Fakhr al-Din 'Alī added Laodikeia, Chonai, and Karahisar to their domains,<sup>207</sup> thus reducing the possessions of 'Alī-bey of Denizli.

<sup>203</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 405, l.2, 591, l.30; MM vi, pp. 234–5; BE ii, pp. 214–15.

<sup>204</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 407, ll.4–21. <sup>205</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 633, l.26–635, l.9.

<sup>206</sup> D. M. Nicol 1993: 53–7, 72–6. <sup>207</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 308; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 294–5.

In the spring of 1277 the Mamluk Sultan Baybars I invaded Rūm. The campaign was part of his struggle against the Īlhān. On 10 Dhū al-Qa'da AH 675 (16 April 1277) the Mamluk army defeated the Mongols and their Seljukid and Georgian allies in battle near Ablistān/Elbistan. The victorious sultan marched to Kayseri, where he was enthroned as the Sultan of Rūm. However, when the Īlhān Abaqā with his main army moved against him, Baybars turned back to Damascus without giving battle. He died there on 27 Muḥarram AH 676 (30 June 1277).<sup>208</sup>

While planning his invasion of the Sultanate of Rūm, Baybars counted on the support of the Turkish tribes in Anatolia and the *parwāna* Mu'in al-Dīn Süleymān, with whom he was in secret correspondence. In 1277 the *parwāna* did not dare join Baybars openly. Nevertheless his treason was revealed to the Īlhān, who ordered him to be executed on 1 Rabī' I AH 676 (2 August 1277).<sup>209</sup>

The nomadic Turks were a more difficult problem for the Seljukid government. The Karamanoğulları started their revolt in 1276, before the invasion of Baybars; their uprising reached Antalya.<sup>210</sup> Once the Mamluk sultan appeared in Anatolia, Mehmed-bey Karamanoğlu formed a coalition of three Turkmen confederations (Karamanoğulları, Eşrefogulları,<sup>211</sup> and Menteşeogulları) under the banner of Baybars. They marched towards Konya, taking and plundering it on Thursday, 8 Dhū al-Hijja AH 675 (13 May 1277). On their way to Konya they proclaimed a certain Cimri to be 'Alā' al-Dīn Siyāwush, the son of the exiled Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II. It is interesting to note that, in his search for a true Seljukid prince, Mehmed-bey Karamanoğlu was going to send an embassy to Michael Palaiologos, who kept a son of Kay-Kāwūs II at his court. Once in Konya, Cimri was enthroned as Sultan of Rūm.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>208</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 316–18; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 303–5; Aksarayı, pp. 113–16; Bar 'Ebrāyā, pp. 535–8; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 456–9; Baybars al-Mansūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 152–8; Baybars al-Mansūrī, *Kitāb al-tuhfa al-mulūkiyya*, ed. Hāmdān, pp. 84–7; Sebastats'i, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, ii, pp. 146–7; Step'annos Episkopos, 'Taregrut'yun', in *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, i, pp. 44–5; Galstian 1962: 28–9, 37; Cahen 2001: 204–5; Holt 1986: 97; Thorau 1992: 238–9, 267; Turan 1971a: 543–9.

<sup>209</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 318–21; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 305–8; Aksarayı, pp. 116–18; Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 768–70; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshān-Mūsawī), ii, pp. 1101–4; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 88–9; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, pp. 537–8; Bar 'Ebrāyā, p. 537; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, pp. 458; Baybars al-Mansūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, pp. 158–9; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 102–4; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 58–9; *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 78–9; Cahen 2001: 206–7; Turan 1971a: 549–57.

<sup>210</sup> Aksarayı, pp. 110–13; Turan 1971a: 558–9.

<sup>211</sup> The next mention of the Turkmens of the Eşrefogulları occurs in AH 679 (3 May 1280–21 April 1281) when they, together with the Karamanoğulları, plundered Konya and Akşehir. By 1287, the Eşrefogulları had conquered Ghurghurūm and made it their capital: *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 107–8, 113; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 64, 70. Little is known about them; cf. Sevim and Yücel 1989: 308–9.

<sup>212</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 321–5; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 308–12; Aksarayı, pp. 122–4; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 103; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 59–60; Cahen 2001: 205–6; Turan 1971a: 560–4.

In the chaos which existed in Rūm in 1277, only local Seljukid authorities could have organized a resistance. The sons of the *wazīr* Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī, who had fled from Konya to Karahisar, the centre of their possessions,<sup>213</sup> had bought the support of the Germiyanoğulları for 50,000 *dirhams*. However, in the battle at Altıntaş (near Akşehir) the sons were defeated and killed in a skirmish against the army of Cimri on Friday, 23 Dhū al-Hijja AH 675 (28 May 1277). After this victory the townsfolk of Sivrihisar recognized Cimri as their sovereign.<sup>214</sup> Thus, the *uj* near the Byzantine border, from Sivrihisar to Konya was in Turkmen hands, apart from Kütahya, the centre of the Germiyanoğulları, and Karahisar, which had repulsed their attack.<sup>215</sup>

Meanwhile a great Mongol army under the command of Qongqurtay, the brother of the Ḥilkān Abaqā, appeared in Anatolia. He marched to Konya. Mehmed-bey Karamanoğlu was soon killed in battle near Mūt Ova, at Qurbagħā-hiṣāri (modern Kurbaġa, between Mut and Anamur). Cimri escaped to the *uj* zone near the Byzantine border. Pursuing him, the Mongol-Seljuk army penetrated as far as Burghulū, Mulfidün (Bolvadin), and Pinarbaşı (south of Burdūl/Burdur), the territory east of the possessions of the Turks of Denizli. Cimri was finally defeated on 17 Muḥarram AH 678 (30 May 1279). He was flayed alive and his skin was stuffed with straw, to be exposed in the cities of Rūm. Then the *wazīr* Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī undertook a punitive expedition against ‘Alī-bey of Denizli, as the latter had refused to cooperate with the Seljuk and Mongol troops against Cimri. ‘Alī-bey was executed; the remaining lands of the Turks of Denizli (Denizli, Khūnās/Chonai, and Burghulū) as well as the environs of Afyonkarahisar, Sandıklı, and Juhūd (Şuhut) were plundered and Seljukid power was restored.<sup>216</sup>

The great Turkmen uprising in the south of Asia Minor in 1277–9 caused many changes in the *uj* zone. The territory from Konya to Denizli, near the Byzantine border, was devastated. The large confederation of Turks of Denizli disappeared, to be replaced by new confederations, in particular the ‘emirate’ of the Menteşeogulları. It seems that after the execution of ‘Alī-bey of Denizli, the Turks of Menteşe, whose original centre was in Makrī/Meğri (Fethiye), moved northwards and became the neighbours of Byzantium.<sup>217</sup> It was the bey

<sup>213</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 323; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 310.

<sup>214</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 326–7; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 314–15; Aksarayı, pp. 122–3; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 104–5; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluč), p. 60; Cahen 2001: 206; Turan 1971a: 564–5.

<sup>215</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 327; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 315.

<sup>216</sup> Ibn Bibi, pp. 329–34; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 316–21; Aksarayı, pp. 126–33; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 105–6; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluč), pp. 61–2; Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 770; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshān-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1104; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 89; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 538; Cahen 2001: 208–10; Turan 1971a: 564–70.

<sup>217</sup> Mercil, ‘Menteshe-oghulları’, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, vi, pp. 1018–19; Uzunçarşılı, ‘Menteşe-oğulları’, in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vii, p. 724.

of Menteşe, whose nickname was according to Pachymeres ‘brave, manly’ (*ἀνδρεῖος*),<sup>218</sup> who retook Tralles in 1284.

Originally the Turks of Menteşe were not part of the confederation of the Turks of Denizli. They migrated from Eastern Anatolia. According to Şikâri, the sixteenth-century Karamanid historiographer,<sup>219</sup> the father of Menteşebey was a certain Kurd, Hacı Bahadır (var. Bahaeeddin) by name, who was bey of Sivas during the reign of the Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn.<sup>220</sup> Şikâri does not specify which Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn is meant, whether ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I (1219–37), ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād II (1249–54), or ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād III (1298–1303). Early Turkish sources were written on the basis of oral tales that described the foundation of this or that dynasty. As is common with oral sources, the hero of a particular story may conflate several different persons. In reality, the epic sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn of Şikâri of early Ottoman sources was a conflation of at least two Seljukid sultans: ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād III.<sup>221</sup> The Ottoman chroniclers later tried to distinguish between these two, but their attempts were not successful. Şükrüllah Zaki, for example, writes that the sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād came to Rūm after the fall of Baghdad in 1258 and ruled for 20 years, 9 months and 13 days!<sup>222</sup> The ‘Seljuk’ chronology in the so-called *Rûhî Târîhi* is likewise unreliable:

<sup>218</sup> Pachymeres also gives the Turkish original form of the epithet *ἀνδρεῖος* as *σάλπακις* (var. *σάλπαις*, *σόλπακις*, *σαλάμπακις*, and, probably as a dynastic name, *σαλαμπάξιδες*): Pachymeres, i, p. 597, ll.8–9; ii, p. 239, l.11, 425, l.7. According to Planoudes (letter 120), the same person’s nickname was *σαλαμάτης*: Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, ed. Treu, p. 176, l.116; Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, ed. Leone, p. 209, l.4. There are two possible explanations for the nickname *σαλαμάτης*. According to Balivet, the form *σαλαμάτης* is the correct transliteration of the title ‘sağlam-ata’, ‘the honest/strong *ata* (father)’; hence Pachymeres’ *σαλάμπακις*, which meant ‘sağlam-bek/bey’, ‘the honest/strong *bey*’ (Balivet 1999: 109–13). Another interpretation was offered by Zhukov (1988: 20–2): *σαλαμάτης* was a corrupted form of the title *σαλαμ(π)ής*, i.e. *çelebi* (‘brave’, ‘gentleman’).

<sup>219</sup> On Şikâri, see Lindner 1983: 145–7.

<sup>220</sup> Şikâri, *Karamanoğulları tarihi*, ed. Koman, pp. 11–19, 30, 32–7, 41–2, 72.

<sup>221</sup> Şikâri, *Karamanoğulları tarihi*, ed. Koman, pp. 7–21, 35–48, 52, 56, 78, 118, 130; Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, p. 65b, beyt 7561–73; Ahmedî, ‘Dâstân ve tevârih-i mulük-i âl-i Osmân’, in Atsız: 1949: pp. 7–8, ll.49–74; Ibn Bibi (Yazıcıoğlu Ali), pp. 217–18; Ibn Bibi (Yazıcızâde Ali), p. 353; *Le Destân d’Umrî Pacha (Düsturnâme-i Enverî)*, ed. Mélíkoff-Sayar, p. 46, ll.11, 15; *Düsturnâme-i Enverî*, ed. Halil Yinanç, pp. 8–9, 17, 78–82; Osman Bayburth, *Tevârih-i Cedit-i Mir’at-i Cihan*, ed. Atsız, pp. 34–7; Âşikpâşazâde, *Menâqib ve Tevârih-i âl-i ‘Osmân*, MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin or. oct. 2448, fols. 7a, 14b–17a; *Die altosmanische Chronik des Âşikpâşazâde*, ed. Giese, pp. 7, 12–14; Âşikpâşazâde *Tarihi*, ed. Öztürk, pp. 7, 15–17; Seif 1925: ii, pp. 76–9; Kafadar 1995: 147.

<sup>222</sup> Seif 1925: 74–5; Şükrüllâh, *Bahyat al-tawârikh*, MS Bodleian Library, Marsh. 628, fol. 218b–219a; Şükrüllâh, *Bahyat al-tawârikh*, MS Fatih 4203 (Süleymaniyye Câmi’ digital collection), fols. 347v–348v; Şükrüllâh, *Bahyat al-tawârikh*, MS Aya Sofya 2990 (Süleymaniyye Câmi’ digital collection), fols. 285v–286r; cf. Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihân-nûmâ*, eds. Unat and Köymen, i, pp. 56–73; *Tavârih-i âl-i Osmân*, MS Bodleian Library, Rawl. Or 5, fol. 7–15; Sa’d al-Dîn, *Tâj al-tawârikh*, MS Bodleian Library, Sale 66, fol. 6b–7a; Idris Bidlisi, *Tâ’rikh-i Hasht-Bihisht*, MS Bodleian Library, Ouseley 358, fol. 28b–39a; Idris Bidlisi, *Tâ’rikh-i Hasht-Bihisht*, MS Aya Sofya 3541 (Süleymaniyye Câmi’ digital collection), fols. 22v–31v.

according to that source, the date of the death of the Sultan Mas'ūd I (1116–56), the father of Kılıç Arslan II, was AH 666 (22 September 1267–9 September 1268).<sup>223</sup> As early Turkish (Ottoman) historiography recorded oral tales with all their characteristic features,<sup>224</sup> it is almost impossible to establish satisfactory links between the real sultans of Rûm and the hero of the Turkish historical tales, the glorious sultan 'Ala' al-Dîn.

However, we have another means of establishing the date of when the bey of Menteşe appeared near the Byzantine border. Şikâri writes that 'the Sultan 'Ala' al-Dîn' cast into prison a certain ruffian whose name was Cimri. Then the sultan appointed Karaman-bey as his viceroy (*hâkim*) in Konya. Karaman-bey released Cimri and made him ruler of Konya; he also distributed some lands of the Sultanate among Turkish beys. In particular, the Turks of Menteşe, whose ruler, Hacı Bahadır, was the *wazîr* of Karaman-bey,<sup>225</sup> received the land of Çine (between Aydın/Tralles and Muğla) and Balat (Palation, Miletos).<sup>226</sup>

This information can be compared with the information given in the Seljukid sources. It seems that the Turks of Menteşe were indeed a part of the confederation of the Turks of Karaman, as they marched together towards Konya in 1277. The Menteşeoğulları may have come from Eastern Anatolia (Sivas);<sup>227</sup> they may also have been, like the Germiyanoğulları, of both Turkish<sup>228</sup> and Kurdish descent.<sup>229</sup> It seems that during or shortly after the

<sup>223</sup> *Tavârikh-i âl-i Osmân*, MS Bodleian Library, Marsh 313, fol. 29; Cengiz and Yücel 1989–92: 375–6.

<sup>224</sup> Kafadar 1995: 62–3.

<sup>225</sup> Şikâri, *Karamanoğulları tarihi*, ed. Koman, p. 37. On the genealogy of the Menteşeoğulları, see Zhukov 1988: 188; Merçil, 'Menteshe-oghulları', in *El<sup>2</sup>*, vi, p. 1018. Though Haci Bahadir is not mentioned in the genealogy, the information in Şikâri seems to have been more accurate than the mythical genealogical line of the Menteşeoğulları which can be found in their own inscriptions: Merçil, 'Menteshe-oghulları', in *El<sup>2</sup>*, vi, p. 1018.

<sup>226</sup> Şikâri, *Karamanoğulları tarihi*, ed. Koman, p. 45.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. the excerpt from Müneccimbaşı, *Câmi' al-duwal*, published in Wittek 1934: 175, § 4.

<sup>228</sup> Their Turkish origin is confirmed by the name of the founder of the dynasty, Kara (var. Kuri) Beg. The name of the dynasty, Menteşe, is ambiguous: in Turkish, it means 'a particular kind of hinge', but in Persian a 'mantasha' ('menteş' in Turkish pronunciation) means the 'unpolished and knotty walking stick of the *darwîshs* and *qalandars* (Muslim mystics)'. Mu'în 1963–73: iv, p. 438; Dihkhudâ 1993–4: xiii, p. 19048. The confederation may have been founded by a *darwîsh*.

<sup>229</sup> According to Sümer, these tribes occupied the lands of the vilayet of Menteşe: Kayı, Hûrzum (خوارزم, 'Khワrazm'), the descendants of the Türkmen and Kipçak refugees from Khワrazm who fled to Anatolia before the Mongols), Barza (بازه, I read the name as Barazah/Baraze), Kızılca-Yalinc (?), Kızılca-Keqiliü, and İskender Beğ (Sümer 1992: 148). Of these, Kayı, Horzum, Kızılca-Yalinc, and Kızılca-Keqiliü were of Turkish origin (as their names testify). The tribe of İskender Beğ could have been of any descent, while the tribe of 'Baraze', whose name presents certain difficulties, was Kurdish. The name Baraza (بازه) in the vilayet of Menteşe is similar to the name of the Kurdish tribe of Barâzi (بارازى, now the tribe confederation of Barizanlı) mentioned in the *Sharaf-nâme* of Sharaf-Khân Bidlisi (who ended his work in AH 1005 (25 August 1596–13 August 1597)) as an important part of the confederation of the Süleymânî Kurdish tribes. The tribe now dwells near the city of Saruca in Northern

revolt of Cimri, the Turks of Menteşe-bey occupied Fethiye and then Çine on their way to Tralles, Miletos (Balat), and Priene. After the dissolution of the confederation of the Turks of Denizli, the possessions of Menteşeogulları stretched as far as Laodikeia.<sup>230</sup>

It is difficult to establish to what extent the information in Şikâri on the emirate of Menteşe is correct. However, Şikâri's data coincides with Seljukid and Byzantine sources on at least two points. First, according to Pachymeres, Menteşe-bey was near Tralles in 1284, while according to Şikâri, his occupation of Çine took place around 1277: the dates are compatible. Secondly, all the possessions of Menteşe that were recorded in the 1270s (Fethiye, Çine, and Tralles) were situated along the road that connected (and still connects) Tralles/Aydın with the Anatolian shore opposite Rhodes.

It would appear that the Turks had destroyed Tralles for the first time c.1277–9, during the revolt of Cimri. As we have seen, the Seljuk–Mongol punitive expedition against Mehmed of Denizli in 1262 caused a major Turkish invasion of Byzantine territories in 1263–4, and the *despot* John was forced to undertake a campaign along the river Maeander. In 1277–9 the situation was very similar: the Mongols destroyed Cimri and his supporters; then the *wazîr* Fakhr al-Dîn 'Ali devastated the lands of 'Ali-bey of Denizli in 1279 near the Byzantine border. To save their lives, the Turks of Denizli were forced to migrate westwards, to Antioch on the Maeander, which they may have destroyed at the same time. Both Turkish incursions, the one from Denizli and the other from Çine, united at Tralles which thus became the key point of the struggle between Byzantines and Turks for control of the Maeander Valley in 1280–4.

If this reconstruction is correct, Pachymeres' accusations against Michael Palaiologos, that he had been preoccupied with the West to the detriment of eastern affairs cannot be accepted at face value. Between 1267 and 1280, the war against Cimri in 1277–9, which may have caused the serious Turkish

Mesopotamia, where they came from the environs of the Lake Van, though in the past the tribe's pastures were the territories west of the Lake Van, north-east of Diyarbakır (Âmid, Diyār Bakr), in the environs of Kulp (Kulp) and Batman, along the river Batman Çayı. In the sixteenth century the Süleymânî tribes occupied the environs of Diyarbakır and Mayyâfâriqin (Silvan), and their summer pastures were in the mountains of Sharaf al-Din and Aladağ near Hinis, south of Erzurum: Sharaf-Khân ibn Shams al-Din Bidlisi, *Sharaf-nâme*, MS Bodleian Library, Elliott 332, fols. 92b–93a; Sharaf-Khân ibn Shams al-Din Bidlisi, *Sharaf-nâme*, MS Bodleian Library, Elliott 331, fols. 111a–113a; *Scheref-nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes*, ed. Veliaminof-Zernof, i, pp. 263–4; Sharaf-Khân ibn Shams al-Din Bidlisi, *Sharaf-nâme*, tr. Vasil'eva, i, pp. 314–15, 526; Mullâ Mahmûd Bâyazîdi, *Tawârikh-i qadîm-i Kûrdistân*, eds. Kurdoev and Musaelyan, p. 139; Mustafaev 1994: 20. I thus suggest that part of the Kurdish tribe of Barâzî/Bîrâzî, originally from the territory between Diyarbakır and Mayyâfâriqin, came to Western Asia Minor with the Menteşeogulları. On the manuscripts of the *Sharaf-nâme*, see Vasil'eva's introduction (pp. 17–19) in her translation of the *Sharaf-nâme*.

<sup>230</sup> *Târikh-i âl-i Saljuq*, p. 127; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 87–8.

invasion along the Maeander Valley, was the only serious military campaign by the Mongol-Seljuk army near the Byzantine border. Andronikos' expedition to Laodikeia, which had recently been retaken by the Seljuk army, and then to Tralles took place one year later, in 1280. One should remember that in 1280 the struggle with Charles of Anjou was far from over. Nevertheless, Michael Palaiologos managed to find troops and money to send his son to the Maeander at this difficult moment. As with other actions of this brilliant emperor, this was a swift and decisive reply to the Turkish threat.

However, after 1282 the throne in Constantinople was occupied by his pious son Andronikos II, who was neither a good administrator nor a capable general. As I have mentioned, he lost Tralles in 1284; we know that he never tried to restore Byzantine positions in that sector of the Maeander river.<sup>231</sup> Moreover, we have no data about any military expeditions by the emperor for more than ten years, between 1284 and 1295. The only serious actions that Andronikos II undertook between 1282 and 1295 were his expedition along the Sangarios in the winter of 1283–4,<sup>232</sup> followed seven years later by his journey to Asia Minor, where he stayed for (almost) three years, from 1290/1 to 28 June 1293.<sup>233</sup>

Pachymeres is almost silent about both the military campaign in 1283–4 and the route taken by Andronikos II in 1290/1–93. We learn more about the actions of Andronikos II in Asia Minor from the second *Imperial Oration* which his friend Theodore Metochites wrote after 28 June 1293 or even after March 1294<sup>234</sup> (the first *Oration* describes Andronikos II's deeds prior to 1282<sup>235</sup>). The events mentioned in the second *Imperial Oration* have been ascribed different dates: according to Failler, Metochites described the actions of Andronikos II in Asia Minor in 1280–4;<sup>236</sup> another date has been suggested by I. D. Polemis, the publisher of Metochites' *Orations*: the first part of the second *Oration* describes the circumstances of Andronikos II's sojourn in Asia Minor before the death of his father in 1282.<sup>237</sup> And its second part<sup>238</sup> describes the tour of inspection by Andronikos II, now emperor, of the

<sup>231</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letter 120, ed. Treu: pp. 174, ll.73–175, l.2; ed. Leone: p. 207, ll.26–30.

<sup>232</sup> On the date of Andronikos II's expedition along the river Sangarios in 1283–1284, see Failler 1991: 178–82.

<sup>233</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 171, ll.1–25, 183, ll.15–18; Laiou 1972: 76–9; Failler 1990: 15–28.

<sup>234</sup> On the date of the composition of the *Orations*, see: I. D. Polemis, 'Επαγγελμάτων του Θεόδορου Μετοχίτη', in Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 33–42. Cf. Ševčenko 1962: 137–9; Laiou 1972: 77–9.

<sup>235</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς πρῶτος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fols. 81r–96v; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 128–283.

<sup>236</sup> Failler 1991: 175, 179–81.

<sup>237</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fols. 148v–152r; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 314–56.

<sup>238</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fols. 152r–158r; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 356–416.

fortresses along the Sangarios, in Bithynia and farther south as far as the Maeander Valley in 1290–3.<sup>239</sup>

What weakens Polemis's arguments is his unwillingness to compare the chronology and circumstances in Pachymeres with those in Metochites; here, Polemis's comparison of both sources is superficial. While insisting that Metochites describes Andronikos II's sojourn in Asia Minor in 1290/1–93, Polemis does not compare the data in Metochites with the events of the same chronological strata in Pachymeres. For example, the text of Pachymeres contains a dossier on the Byzantine lands along the river Sangarios in 1290–3, i.e. the same time (and place), when, according to Polemis's interpretation of Metochites, Andronikos II tried to improve the Byzantine fortifications there. However, Pachymeres does not mention the emperor's activities, but describes the great Turkic revolt that took place across the Byzantine border along the Sangarios, as far as Kastamonu, in 1291–3.<sup>240</sup> It would be tempting to suggest that this revolt and the possible danger of Turkic raids on Byzantine territory forced Andronikos II to visit the Byzantine frontier along the Sangarios beforehand and build the fortresses. However, the details in Pachymeres do not support this view. When the leader of the rebels, a certain Melik Masour (*Μελήκ Μασούρ*), whom I will describe in greater detail a few pages below, wanted to visit the emperor in AH 691 (24 December 1291–11 December 1292), he went to Herakleia Pontike and from there to Constantinople. Only when in Constantinople did he discover that Andronikos II had already gone to Nymphaion. The Melik went to Nymphaion, but when somewhere near Adramittion he realized that a meeting with Andronikos II would be fruitless, he withdrew to Rüm.<sup>241</sup>

Thus, according to Pachymeres, the itinerary of the Melik Masour (the significance of 'Melik' as a name or title will be considered below) can be established as follows: Kastamonu—Herakleia Pontike—Constantinople—Adramittion—Kastamonu or, generally, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rüm. Of these cities, Herakleia Pontike was very close to the region of the Sangarios. Moreover, even in Herakleia Pontike, less than five days' sail to Constantinople,<sup>242</sup> the Melik still did not know of the emperor's departure from the city of Byzantium. That means that he arrived at Constantinople just after the emperor had left. Pachymeres mentions only one journey by Andronikos II to Asia Minor during the last decade of the thirteenth century: his departure

<sup>239</sup> I. Polemis, 'Εἰσαγωγὴ', in Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 42–59, I. D. Polemis 1996: 51–8.

<sup>240</sup> Zachariadou 1977: 57–70; Beldiceanu-Steinherr 2000: 425–34; Korobeinikov 2001: 74–111, 2004b: 87–117.

<sup>241</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 361, ll.3–14, 673, ll.23–34.

<sup>242</sup> Karpov 1990: 61: a sea journey from Constantinople to Sinope (or *vice versa*) lasted from eleven to fourteen days in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries.

from Constantinople between 29 June 1290 and 29 June 1291<sup>243</sup> via Bithynia for Nymphaion, where he remained until 28 June 1293.<sup>244</sup> Likewise, oriental sources list only one revolt in Kastamonu between AH 691 and 692 (between 24 December 1291 and 1 December 1293),<sup>245</sup> the Melik visited Constantinople before the revolt, i.e. sometime before 24 December 1291.<sup>246</sup> Thus, the Melik's journey took place at the same time as Andronikos II left his capital city; from this point of view, the later date of 1291 as the date of Andronikos II's departure from Constantinople fits the sources better. Pachymeres' text thus suggests that in 1290/1 the emperor did not visit the lands along the Sangarios, but quickly moved to Nymphaion, so that the Melik did not manage to meet him en route. The description of the circumstances of Andronikos II's journey in 1290/1 in Pachymeres, if one also takes into account the story about the Melik Masour, is not in accordance with the itinerary of what seems to have been another, different, journey by the emperor described by Metochites: Constantinople—the lands between Constantinople and the estuary of the Sangarios—Bithynia and the lands of the 'Bebrekes' (the ancient Bebrykes, who once occupied lands in Bithynia and Mysia adjacent to the Propontis, somewhere near modern Yalova<sup>247</sup>)—Mysia and Mt Olympos—Phrygia—Aeolis—Lydia—the Maeander—Ionia.<sup>248</sup> Metochites describes in greater detail the part of the expedition in which the emperor himself participated: Andronikos II marched from Nikomedea to the north along the Sangarios as far as the estuary (*περὶ τοὺς αἰγαλόους Σαγγαρίου*), and then turned south to Nicaea. He established a chain of fortifications between the newly founded towns along the river.<sup>249</sup> Clearly, the most important part of the emperor's journey, that from Nikomedea to Nicaea via the Sangarios, is not in accordance with the data in Pachymeres. It is the circumstances of the Melik's journey in 1290–1 and the geographical proximity of Herakleia Pontike to the region in question that lend crucial support to Failler's opinion that the itineraries given in Pachymeres and Metochites are at variance as regards the Lower Sangarios and its estuary, and that the only reliable date for the events described in Metochites is 1284.

Thus, during 1283–4 Andronikos II marched from Nikomedea along the Sangarios to Nicaea and from there to Lampsakos and Adramittion.<sup>250</sup> This

<sup>243</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 177, ll.27–28; Failler 1991: 179.

<sup>244</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 171, l.1–183, l.18; v, p. 9; Failler 1990: 15–28.

<sup>245</sup> Aksarayi, p. 170–9; *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 129–30; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 90–1.

<sup>246</sup> Korobeinikov 2004b: 109.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Pachymeres, ii, p. 455, ll.3–15 and nn. 68 and 69.

<sup>248</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fols. 152v–153v; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 356–70.

<sup>249</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fols. 152r, 156r; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 370, 392–6; cf. Ševčenko 1962: 138, n. 6.

<sup>250</sup> Failler 1991: 176, n. 13, 181–2; Ševčenko 1962: 138–9.

was a military campaign during which Andronikos II fought two hard battles in Lydia.<sup>251</sup> On his return, he was congratulated by George of Cyprus for his successful military campaign.<sup>252</sup>

Andronikos II's second visit to Asia Minor in 1290/1 was hardly a military expedition. The emperor's route lay far from the most dangerous parts of the Byzantine eastern border: from the fortress of St George near the gulf of Nikomedeia, Andronikos II moved to Nicaea, Lopadion, and then to Nymphaion.<sup>253</sup> Even if one trusts I. D. Polemis and dates the events of the final part of Metochites' second *Oration* to 1290 or 1291, the 'dry remainder' of Andronikos II's expedition was only the renewed fortifications along a very small part of the Byzantine border, around Nikomedeia and on the Lower Sangarios,<sup>254</sup> though Pachymeres, when narrating the events in Bithynia and Western Paphlagonia at the beginning of the fourteenth century, mentions no traces of Andronikos II's fortifications at all, but only those of his father Michael VIII.<sup>255</sup> Unlike his father, in 1290/1 Andronikos II did not penetrate Seljuk territory or fight any battles: Metochites' remark in the chain of rhetorical questions that 'you (i.e. Andronikos II) attacked the enemy at convenient moments'<sup>256</sup> was a cliché, buried in a list of other deeds of the emperor. The cliché, contrary to other points on the list, is given no further

<sup>251</sup> Ο λόγιος Νικόλαος Λαμπτηνὸς καὶ τὸ ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον Β' Παλαιολόγου, ed. I. D. Polemis, § 31, 32, 35, pp. 47–9. I. D. Polemis's attempt to re-date Lampenos' account to 1290/1 contradicts, in my opinion, the content of § 31 of Lampenos. Besides, in § 37 (p. 50) Lampenos mentions a great military expedition by Andronikos II, when in Bithynia, against the Bulgarians ('Mysians'), the Serbs ('Dalmatians'), and 'the whole of Illyrikon'. In the thirteenth century, the Byzantines launched only two great military expeditions against Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321): in 1283 and 1297; cf. Nuzhdin 1997: 98–9. Of these dates, 1297 is very unlikely, as Byzantine Asia Minor was in disarray and the emperor was in Constantinople. Besides, the only time when the empire fought both the Bulgarians and the Serbs was between 1282 and 1284, in a protracted war, in which Serbia and Bulgaria acted as allies against Byzantium (Pachymeres, i, p. 599, ll.19–23: the Serbian raid in 1282 would have been impossible without the permission of the Tsar of Bulgaria) until a peace treaty with Tsar George I Terter (1279–92) of Bulgaria was signed in May 1283. In reality, this did not stop the war, as a Mongol raid from the Danube across Bulgaria, a vassal state of the Golden Horde, was repulsed in 1284. Likewise, the Byzantine army fought the Serbs in 1283–4. If the term 'Dalmatians' suggests the Epirotes (which is very unlikely, as the Epirotes were Greeks), the Byzantine army of Michael Tarchaneiates besieged Demetrias in the Gulf of Halmyros during the campaign against Epiros and Thessaly in 1284: Pachymeres, ii, pp. 79, l.8–89, l.13, 93, ll.1–19; Laiou 1972: 37–9. In 1290/1 and 1297, when Bulgaria was at peace with Byzantium, simultaneous expeditions against Bulgaria and Serbia could hardly have taken place.

<sup>252</sup> George (Gregory) of Cyprus, *Letters*, ed. Eustratiades, letter 142, p. 133; Failler 1991: 181.

<sup>253</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 171, ll.2–7; George Metochites, 'Historia dogmatica', ed. Cozza-Luzi, x, pp. 327–9; Failler 1991: 180.

<sup>254</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fols. 154r–156v; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 370–6, 386–98; cf. Ševčenko 1962: 137–40.

<sup>255</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 363, l.9–365, l.1.

<sup>256</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fol. 153r; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, p. 360; I. D. Polemis 1996: 57.

explanation by Metochites; I have to add that the list *per se* greatly resembled, or was indeed partly borrowed from, the earlier *enkomion* of George of Cyprus in relation to the events of 1280.<sup>257</sup> As for the expedition of 1290/1, Pachymeres mentions only court intrigues and church affairs. In particular, while in Nymphaion in March 1293, Andronikos II ordered the arrest and imprisonment of his own brother Constantine Palaiologos, who he thought was too popular with the aristocracy and the army. In the eyes of the ever suspicious Andronikos II, the 'guilt' of Constantine was that his father, Emperor Michael VIII, had much preferred his second son as a statesman and even wanted to make him his heir instead of Andronikos.<sup>258</sup> According to Gregoras, the arrest of Constantine weakened Byzantine defences along the Maeander.<sup>259</sup>

It is likely that the border was temporarily stabilized, though the situation was different from that under Michael VIII. In 1292 Andronikos II confirmed the rights of the monastery of St John Theologos in Patmos to have possessions along 'the river Maeander, in the place of Gonia near Pyrgos'.<sup>260</sup> Pyrgos was an old possession of the monastery situated north of Palatia/Balat (near Miletos).<sup>261</sup> The document suggests that Byzantium still had possessions north of the Maeander estuary, despite the loss of important strongholds in the Maeander Valley such as Antioch, Nyssa, and Tralles. However, after the fall of Tralles the battle for control of the left bank of the Maeander was lost by the Byzantines. As a result, at approximately the same time the Empire lost the lands south of the mouth of the Maeander: Miletos/Palation is mentioned in 1273 for the last time in the sources.<sup>262</sup> According to Maximos Planoudes, by 1295 Miletos was in the possession of Menteşe-bey,<sup>263</sup> while the fortress of Didymion nearby was occupied by the bey's chief wife.<sup>264</sup> The loss of the left bank of the Maeander and the partial loss of its right bank near Tralles made the Byzantine defences fragile, as the Turks could invade their lands through the 'open gates' of Tralles at any moment.

The passive policy of Andronikos II in Asia Minor for a decade, from 1284 to 1295, is astonishing. The *uj* in Rüm was in chaos at that time. During the years 1286–91 revolt followed revolt. It was mostly the Karamanoğulları who caused trouble, but one rebellion, that of the Germiyanoğulları, could have

<sup>257</sup> Compare: Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fols. 152v–153r; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, pp. 358, 360, 361 and n. 241 and George (Gregory) of Cyprus, 'Oratio laudatoria in Imperatorem Dominum Andronicum Palaeologum', in MPG, 142, cols. 404–405.

<sup>258</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 171, l.26–181, l.14; Gregoras, i, pp. 186, l.17–191, l.2; Laiou 1972: 6–7, 27; PLP 21492; Ahrweiler 1965: 174–5.

<sup>259</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 195, ll.8–15, 197, ll.16–23. <sup>260</sup> MM vi, pp. 236–7; BE i, p. 136.

<sup>261</sup> MM vi, pp. 176–9, 181, 189–91, 199, 201–2, 210, 217–19; BE i, pp. 121, 128, 248, 252, 255, 283; ii, pp. 138–40, 158–9, 194.

<sup>262</sup> MM vi, pp. 226–7 (1271), 234–5 (1273); BE i, p. 300; ii, pp. 214–15.

<sup>263</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letters 119–120: ed. Treu, pp. 169, ll.104–117, 176, ll.115–122; ed. Leone, pp. 201, l.15–202, l.3, 209, ll.3–10.

<sup>264</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 239, ll.8–15.

threatened Byzantine lands. In Rabi' II/Jumādā I AH 685 (June–July 1286) the Turks of Germiyan plundered the province of Ghurghurūm. In response, the Sultan Mas'ūd II (1284–98; 1303–5), the *wazīr* Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, and the Mongol–Seljuk army defeated them and devastated their land. However, Germiyan-bey managed to attack Afyonkarahisar, which was defended by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, the grandson of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī.<sup>265</sup> The leader of the Germiyan army, a certain Bozgūş Bahādīr,<sup>266</sup> defeated the army of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad and killed him. Only the second expedition of the sultan with Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī forced the Turks to retreat from Afyonkarahisar. The sultan returned to Konya on 7 Shawwāl AH 686 (15 November 1287).<sup>267</sup>

The *wazīr* Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī died a year later, on Monday, 25 Shawwāl AH 687 (22 November 1288).<sup>268</sup> His life had been sad: between 1277 and 1287 Turkish revolts cost him the life of his two sons and a grandson. The office of *wazīr* was assigned by the Īlhān Arghun (1284–91) to Fakhr al-Dīn Qazwīnī, of whom little is known. However, the new *wazīr* did not inherit the possessions of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī.<sup>269</sup> According to common practice in the disintegrating Sultanate, Afyonkarahisar, Denizli, Sandıklı, and Ghurghurūm, which originally formed an *iqtā'* of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, became hereditary possessions of his offspring. Of these, Ghurghurūm was taken by the Eşrefogulları even before the death of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī.<sup>270</sup> Denizli was probably occupied by the Turks of Germiyan at the beginning of 1289, after the death of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, but they were soon defeated by the Seljuk army in Jumādā I AH 688 (23 May–21 June 1289) near the village Günler or Gözler in the environs of the

<sup>265</sup> His name is preserved in the inscription in the mausoleum of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī: *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, xiii, 4887, p. 59. Cahen (2001: 215) gives another name, Sa'd al-Dīn Çelebi, but I do not know his source.

<sup>266</sup> 'Bozgūş Bahādīr' (بوزغوش باهادير) was a nickname. The first part, *bozgūş*, can be translated as (1) 'gyrfalcon'; cf. *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'*, eds. Nadeliaev *et al.*, pp. 115, lemma *boz*; *boz quš*; and as (2) 'grey led, or spare, horse', cf. Clauson 1972: 388–9, 670, lemmata: *bo:z* and *ko:ş*; Doerfer 1963–75: ii, pp. 335–6 (785); iii, pp. 362–4 (1361). The second translation seems to be more phonetically correct, as the form غوش means only 'the led, or spare, horse'. I thus translate the nickname as 'the warrior (*bahādīr*) with the grey led horse'. Cahen (2001: 215) transliterates the name as 'Barguş Bahadır' ('a peaceful warrior', from 'barguşmak/başmak', 'to go together', 'to make peace'; cf. Clauson 1972: 369, lemma: *bariş-*), which makes no sense.

<sup>267</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 112–13; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 69–70; Cahen 2001: 214–15.

<sup>268</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 115; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 72; Aksarayı, p. 150. I prefer the date given by Āqsarāyī, as the day of the week (Monday) coincides with the day of the month (25 Shawwāl). According to the anonymous chronicle, in which the word *bist* ('twenty') is omitted, Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī died on Monday (in reality Tuesday), 5 Shawwāl AH 687 (read: 25 Shawwāl AH 687). Cf. Turan 1971a: 591; Cahen 2001: 217. The inscription on the tomb of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī has another date: 1 Shawwāl AH 684 (30 November 1285), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, eds. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, xiii, 4863, p. 44. The confusion between بع (four' in AH 684) and سبع ('seven' in AH 687) is a common mistake in Muslim sources; cf. Ponomarev and Serikov 1995: 178.

<sup>269</sup> On Fakhr al-Dīn Qazwīnī and his fiscal reforms in Rūm, see Aksarayı, pp. 148–55.

<sup>270</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 113; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 70.

city.<sup>271</sup> Another grandson of Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī became master of Denizli, though the whole area nearby was soon ravaged by the Germiyanogulları.<sup>272</sup> He did not manage to keep his possessions for long; in the summer of 1291 he left Denizli for Konya in order to save the city from the attack of Khalil Bahādīr, the leader of the Germiyan Turks.<sup>273</sup> However, the Mongols now decided to establish firm control over the turbulent area of the *uj*.

After the death of the Īlkhan Arghun on 7 Rabī’ I AH 690 (10 March 1291) his brother Geikhatu was proclaimed the new Īlkhan in the *khuriltai* on 24 Rajab AH 690 (23 July 1291). As the new Īlkhan had been governor in Rūm from AH 684 (9 March 1285–26 February 1286) and was well aware of the problems of the Sultanate,<sup>274</sup> he decided to undertake a great punitive campaign in order to put an end to the Turkish revolts. He left his residence at Alādāgh with a large army, which included the contingents of King David VII of Georgia (1292–1301),<sup>275</sup> on Friday, 4 Ramadān AH 690 (31 August 1291).<sup>276</sup> At the beginning of Dhū al-Qa’da (26 October 1291) he was in Kayseri. From there the Īlkhan had attacked the lands of the Karamanoğulları and Eşrefoğulları by 16 Dhū al-Hijja (10 December 1291). The Mongols enslaved 7,000 women and children. The next target of Geikhatu was Laodikeia (Lādiq, Denizli), which at that time was probably a self-governing city. Because of fear of the Mongols, the people of Denizli closed the gates. In vain: on Saturday, 29 Dhū al-Hijja (23 December 1291) the Mongols took the city and massacred its inhabitants within three days. The Greek Orthodox community of the city was spared by a special request by King David VII to the Īlkhan.<sup>277</sup> Having left a garrison in Laodikeia,<sup>278</sup> Geikhatu then devastated the lands of Menteşe. He returned to Konya in Muḥarram AH 691 (24 December 1291–22 January 1292), where he ravaged the land of the Karaman Turks for the second time.<sup>279</sup> By 12 Rajab AH 691 (29 June 1292) the Īlkhan had returned to Īrān.<sup>280</sup>

<sup>271</sup> The transliteration depends on the reading. The text of the anonymous chronicle reads Günler (گلر), but the reading Gözler (گزلر) is also possible. If this is modern Gözler, the battle took place in the vicinity of Byzantine Tripolis.

<sup>272</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, p. 115; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 72–3; Cahen 2001: 214–15.

<sup>273</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 125–6; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 85–6; Cahen 2001: 220.

<sup>274</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 119–20; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 78; Aksarayi, pp. 145, 146; Vassāf al-Hazrat, *Ta’rikh-i Vaṣṣāf*, pp. 237, 259; Äyyati, *Tahrīr-i Ta’rikh-i Vaṣṣāf*, pp. 143, 157.

<sup>275</sup> *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, p. 611.

<sup>276</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 831; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1192; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 132; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 581; Aksarayi, pp. 167–70; Vaṣṣāf al-Hazrat, *Ta’rikh-i Vaṣṣāf*, pp. 260–1; Äyyati, *Tahrīr-i Ta’rikh-i Vaṣṣāf*, p. 158.

<sup>277</sup> Bar ‘Ebrāyā, p. 577; Bar Hebraeus (Budge), i, p. 492; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, p. 611. The Georgian chronicle mentions Denizli ('Thonghouzalo') as 'la ville grecque'.

<sup>278</sup> *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. and tr. Brosset, i, p. 611.

<sup>279</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 126–8; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 87–8; Shams al-Dīn Ahmād al-Aflākī al-‘Arifī, *Maṇāqib al-‘Arīfin*, ed. Yazıcı, i, p. 331–3, ii, pp. 611–13; Aflākī, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, tr. Huart, i, pp. 167–8; Shams al-Dīn Ahmād-e Aflākī, *The Feasts of the Knowers of God* (Maṇaqeb al-‘ārefin), tr. O’Kane, pp. 230–1, 419–21.

<sup>280</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 833; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1194; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 133; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 582.

As a result of the war in the frontier zone, the remnants of the Seljukid administration and military units were wiped out from an area stretching from Konya to the Byzantine border. The *iqtā'* of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Ali that had helped to control some cities near important routes disintegrated after his death and turned into hereditary possessions of his grandchildren. The *iqtā'*, which was reduced to Afyonkarahisar and Sandıklı after the loss of Denizli and Ghurghurūm, was transformed into a small beylik of the descendants of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Ali, later known as the Sâhibataoğulları.<sup>281</sup> The members of the dynasty, originally founded by a high-ranking Seljuk official, became the sort of ordinary *uj* beys so common in the frontier zone: for example, in 1291 the army of Shams al-Dīn Muhammed, the grandson of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Ali consisted mostly of border Turkmens (*lashkar-i uj*).<sup>282</sup>

Geikhatus punitive expedition did not achieve all its goals, however. Despite all the cruelty, the campaign itself lasted for a very short period, from November 1291 to January 1292. Moreover, we have no evidence that any Seljukid or Mongol administration, apart from the garrison in Denizli, was installed in the recently devastated areas. In fact, the Turks along the border were now beyond all control.

As was usual after the great anti-nomad Mongol campaigns that took place in dangerous proximity to the Byzantine border, the territory of the Empire was again ravaged in the next few years by the Turks, whose traditional habitat and organization had been damaged by the Mongols. At the end of the winter 1292–3 Andronikos II received the news that the Turks had crossed the border and devastated the *theme* of Neokastra.<sup>283</sup> Andronikos responded immediately. As he himself was not a gifted general,<sup>284</sup> he appointed a relative, Alexios Philanthropenos, to whom he had recently given the title of *pinkernes*, as commander-in-chief of all Byzantine troops in Lydia and Kelbianon (i.e. between the Maeander and the Cayster). Another commander, the *protovestiarites* Libadarios, was appointed head of the troops farther north, in the *theme* of Neokastra.<sup>285</sup> All these appointments had been made by the spring of 1293.<sup>286</sup>

Our chief source for the expedition of Philanthropenos is the letters of Maximos Planoudes,<sup>287</sup> the *hegoumenos* of the monastery at Mt Auxentios. While in Asia Minor in 1293 and 1295, he exchanged letters with Alexios

<sup>281</sup> Aksarayi, p. 311; Sevim and Yücel 1989: 299–300.

<sup>282</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 126; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 86.

<sup>283</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 237, ll.10–11. I accept the date given by Beyer 1993: 111–12; cf. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, i, p. 194; Schreiner 1969: 376–83; Laiou 1978: 91.

<sup>284</sup> The expedition of 1280 seemed to have been planned by Michael VIII and not by his son Andronikos II.

<sup>285</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 237, ll.10–18.

<sup>286</sup> Laiou 1978: 91; Beyer 1993: 111–12.

<sup>287</sup> On him, see Fisher, 'Maximos Planoudes', in ODB, iii, pp. 1681–2; PLP 23308.

Philanthropenos, his former pupil, as well as with Melchisedek Akropolites.<sup>288</sup> The number of the letters that relate to the military campaign in Asia Minor is thirty but only a few of them give us precise information about the route of the army of Alexios Philanthropenos.

Philanthropenos left Gallipoli on 30 March 1293.<sup>289</sup> According to Planoudes, Philanthropenos first saved Achyraios from the Turkish threat (in the spring or summer of 1294), and then marched south to Philadelphiea.<sup>290</sup> This route from Achyraios to Philadelphiea was the safest: Planoudes does not mention any battle there. On his way to the estuary of the Maeander Philanthropenos won a great victory over the Turks, who then begged him to conclude a peace treaty in the summer of 1294.<sup>291</sup> Gregoras also mentions this battle, which presumably took place between the Maeander and the Cayster.<sup>292</sup> Philanthropenos' next target was Miletos.<sup>293</sup> He moved there with his army of Cretan soldiers along the Maeander Valley via Tralles and Nyssa, which had been occupied by the Turks.<sup>294</sup> A considerable number of the 'barbaroi' together with their children and wives took the Byzantine side and proclaimed Philanthropenos as their leader.<sup>295</sup> Philanthropenos' next victory was against the master of the 'barbaroi' of Miletos, the bey of Menteşe, whose name (in reality, title) was Σαλαμάτης (*saglam-ata* or *çelebi*).<sup>296</sup> Despite the victory, Philanthropenos did not manage to occupy Miletos at this time.<sup>297</sup> His final operation was against the fortress of Δύο Βουνοί ('Two Hills', modern İkizada<sup>298</sup>) which he took in the summer or autumn of 1295.<sup>299</sup> He then

<sup>288</sup> Melchisedek Akropolites, who took part in the campaign of Philanthropenos, was the son of the historian George Akropolites. Melchisedek's niece, Theodora Akropolitissa, was the wife of Alexios Philanthropenos. Pachymeres, ii, pp. 240, n. 67, 241, ll.17–21.

<sup>289</sup> *Die Byzantinischen Kleinstrichenken*, ed. Schreiner, i, p. 194.

<sup>290</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letters 60 and 77: ed. Treu, pp. 75, ll.33–40, 97, ll.46–54; ed. Leone, pp. 91, ll.19–26, 116, l.28–117, l.3; Beyer 1993: 113–15.

<sup>291</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letters 94, 98, 99 and 107: ed. Treu, pp. 122, ll.78–81, 125, l.1–126, l.40, p. 130, l.42–p. 132, l.105, p. 143, ll.29–33; ed. Leone, pp. 146, ll.12–15, 149, l.23–151, l.3, 155, l.10–157, l.26, 171, ll.1–5; Laiou 1978: 93–4.

<sup>292</sup> *Correspondence de Nicéphore Grégoras*, ed. Guilland, p. 171, ll.12–19; cf. Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letter 101: ed. Treu, p. 136, ll.13–30; ed. Leone, pp. 162, l.16–163, l.8.

<sup>293</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letters 102 and 105: ed. Treu, pp. 137, ll.22–34, 140, ll.35–39; ed. Leone, pp. 164, ll.3–16, 167, l.31–168, l.3.

<sup>294</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letter 120: ed. Treu, pp. 174, l.57–p. 175, l.97; ed. Leone, pp. 207, l.10–208, l.18. On the Cretan soldiers, see Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letter 105: ed. Treu, p. 140, ll.35–39; ed. Leone, 167, l.31–168, l.3.

<sup>295</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letter 120: ed. Treu, pp. 175, ll.98–105, 177, ll.176–180; ed. Leone, pp. 208, ll.18–26, 210, ll.27–32.

<sup>296</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letter 120: ed. Treu, p. 176, ll.112–138; ed. Leone, pp. 208, l.33–209, l.26.

<sup>297</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letter 120: ed. Treu, p. 176, ll.136–138, ed. Leone, p. 209, ll.24–26; Laiou 1978: 96.

<sup>298</sup> Thonemann 2011: 277.

<sup>299</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letter 119: ed. Treu, pp. 166, l.1–169, l.103; ed. Leone, pp. 198, l.2–201, l.14.

captured Miletos: according to Planoudes, ‘the Miletans now breathe the air of freedom and are securely united with the people of their own race’.<sup>300</sup>

Pachymeres gives additional details of the capture of the ‘Two Hills’. The fortress was occupied by the chief wife of Menteşe-bey (*Σαλάμπακις*), who was himself dead by then. When Philanthropenos took the fortress, he found there a large treasure which he distributed among his soldiers, including his own Turks.<sup>301</sup>

Philanthropenos’ expedition resembled the best campaigns of Michael VIII Palaiologos and his brother, the *despot* John, in Asia Minor. This was a military expedition along the Byzantine border which ended in the recapture of Miletos and the restoration of the *status quo* on the border before the fall of Tralles in 1284. He fought against two Turkish nomad confederations, that of the Germiyanoğulları at Achyraios and then that of the Menteşeoğulları near Tralles, Nyssa, and Miletos. Unfortunately, all these achievements were soon lost, because Philanthropenos rebelled against Andronikos and proclaimed himself emperor at the end of 1295.

It is difficult to establish the precise motive behind the rebellion. Laiou, who has made a special study of the text of Pachymeres, mentions various reasons: the Cretan guard was afraid that Philanthropenos, who was very popular, would fall into disgrace; the peasants were sick of the financial exactions imposed by central government; the inhabitants ‘were bitter against the lazy, luxury-loving officials of Constantinople who expected the army to receive the brunt of the Turkish attacks while they lived a life of relative comfort and safety in the capital’.<sup>302</sup>

This is a summary of Pachymeres’ explanations for the revolt.<sup>303</sup> However, the facts, which can be found in Pachymeres, differ somewhat from his *post factum* explanations, which describe feelings that always were in existence. There must have been something more serious that converted the resentment into open revolt.

There was a strong rumour spread by Andronikos II’s close retainers that the emperor, suspicious of the popularity of Philanthropenos, wanted the

<sup>300</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letter 119: ed. Treu, p. 169, ll.112–14; ed. Leone, p. 201, ll.23–25.

<sup>301</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 239, ll.8–26. Pachymeres does not actually mention the Turks in this passage but he refers to those who joined Philanthropenos with their wives and children. Obviously, they were the nomadic Turks. Thonemann’s suggestion that *Σαλαμάτης* in Planoudes and *Σαλάμπακις* in Pachymeres are different persons as the latter was dead at the moment when the former was still alive is ill-founded. Letter 120 in Planoudes, which mentions *Σαλαμάτης*, describes events near Miletos that took place *before* the military operation at *Δύο Βουνού*, by which time *Σαλάμπακις* was already dead. It is possible to suggest that one person, *Σαλαμάτης*–*Σαλάμπακις*, who was Menteşe-bey, died between Philanthropenos’ two military campaigns against Miletos. Thonemann 2011: 277. On the summary of the chronology of Planoudes’ letters, see Beyer 1993: 113–14.

<sup>302</sup> Laiou 1972: 82.

<sup>303</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 239, l.27–243, l.25.

money that had been collected by the victorious army in Asia Minor, while Andronikos II himself had a bad reputation, as he paid his own soldiers' salaries irregularly. Two monks, Tarkas, the *hegoumenos* of the monastery of the Sanides, and Melchisedek Akropolites, who had contacts with the court,<sup>304</sup> visited Philanthropenos and urged him to rebel. Otherwise, they said, 'the situation would be worse if he did not anticipate [the danger] and submitted himself to the anger of the emperor'.<sup>305</sup> In other words, Philanthropenos had no choice but to send to Constantinople the rest of the money, which in reality belonged to the whole army, or to revolt. No wonder that the army rebelled after this conversation between Philanthropenos and the two monks.<sup>306</sup>

To understand why the rumour about the emperor's demands for the money led to disaster, one needs to remember two facts. First, according to Planoudes, Philanthropenos had previously sent more than enough spoils and money to Constantinople, to the emperor's great satisfaction.<sup>307</sup> The demand for additional money was unjust and unwise. Secondly, Pachymeres writes that just before Philanthropenos's expedition Andronikos II discovered that the salary (*rhoga*)<sup>308</sup> that ought to have been delivered to the *akritai* was paid late and/or illegally reduced. Andronikos II was forced to remove the corrupt officials and to appoint more trustworthy commanders; he also dispersed between various garrisons the Cretan soldiers who had been settled at Anaia by Michael VIII and who were experienced warriors.<sup>309</sup>

In this context, these *akritai* were mercenaries, probably of Byzantine origin, as they received a salary. Bartusis, who has made a special study of the structure of the Byzantine army, lists three categories of the military: the smallholding soldiers, the mercenaries, and the *pronoiares*. The difference between them was that the mercenaries received a salary directly from the fisc; the *pronoiares* received rights to state revenues; while the smallholding soldiers received a parcel of land in return for military service.<sup>310</sup> It is important to note that the *akritai* who received salaries in the 1290s were originally smallholding soldiers: because of the Turkish incursions, they were deprived of their land and were forced to move to the protection of Byzantine castles and towns. There, the state started to pay them in order to enable them to continue their military service.<sup>311</sup> Pachymeres specially stresses the importance of paying salaries regularly in order to keep frontier armies in good condition:

<sup>304</sup> His brother, Constantine Akropolites, was *logothetes tou genikou* (foreign minister) of Andronikos II: Laiou 1972: 83, n. 106; Talbot, 'Akropolites, Constantine', in *ODB*, i, p. 49; *PLP* 520.

<sup>305</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 241, ll.9–22.

<sup>306</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 241, ll.22–243, l.25.

<sup>307</sup> Maximi monachi Planudis *Epistulae*, letters 105 and 112: ed. Treu, pp. 140, ll.16–39, 151, ll.35–39; ed. Leone, pp. 167, ll.18–31, 180, ll.23–27.

<sup>308</sup> On the term *rhoga*, see Bartusis 1992: 149.

<sup>309</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 235, l.16–237, l.4.

<sup>310</sup> Bartusis 1992: 139–40, 157–63.

<sup>311</sup> Pachymeres, i, pp. 33, l.19–35, l.13.

The defenders would have soon yielded up the border to the Turks, who made incursions every day, if they had not been receiving a salary, because they had not managed to safeguard [their own property].<sup>312</sup>

Under the circumstances in the frontier zone, it was difficult for a soldier to preserve his land revenues. To pay a salary was the most reliable way to fund the army and the garrisons on the border.

While accusing Michael VIII of all possible crimes, Pachymeres never blames him for postponing or reducing the *akritai*'s salary.<sup>313</sup> Indeed, in the *prostagma* ('decree') of 1272, Michael VIII advised his co-emperor Andronikos to increase, if necessary, the salary of the soldiers.<sup>314</sup> When he became emperor, Andronikos II, who tried to reduce state expenditure on the navy and the army, imposed a special 10 per cent tax on *pronoia* holders in 1283.<sup>315</sup> The money collected from this tax should have been paid to the

<sup>312</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 33, ll.19–21.

<sup>313</sup> Pachymeres' accusations at the beginning of his *History* against state officials who illegally reduced or did not pay salaries on time, are, in my view, merely general explanations of Byzantine mistakes in defending Asia Minor and thus could have been applied to both Michael VIII and Andronikos II: Pachymeres, i, pp. 33, l.25–35, l.13. However, all the facts about late or reduced payments to soldiers belong to the reign of Andronikos II. Laiou and Lindner interpret the two passages from Gregoras, i, pp. 137, l.22–138, l.14 and Pachymeres, i, p. 317, ll.8–17 to the effect that 'the [eastern] frontiers were not adequately defended, and for this Michael must be held responsible: he had withdrawn some of his eastern forces to fight his western wars, and the soldiers of the frontier garrisons who had not received their salaries abandoned their posts': Laiou 1972: 22; Lindner 1983: 16. The passage from Gregoras follows the description of the revolt in Kastamonu in 1291–3, and thus belongs to the reign of Andronikos II. As for Pachymeres, nothing he says approximates to the charges levied by Laiou against Michael Palaiologos. Indeed, the chronicler writes that 'the situation in the eastern provinces worsened for two reasons: their forces were sent to the west; whilst those [that remained] were neglected from afar'. Pachymeres then alludes to the successful expedition of the *despot* John in 1264, which nevertheless did not stop Turkish raids. I see no mention of soldiers' desertions or salary problems in this passage in Pachymeres. Indeed, the chronicler blames Michael for the lack of military expeditions after the successful campaign of *despot* John in 1264. As we have seen, only large-scale military campaigns of the Byzantine field army along the border could have stopped major Turkish raids. Salaries would have been paid by local officials; from this point of view, Pachymeres' mention of the distance ('from afar') sounds peculiar. However, if Pachymeres means the absence of the emperor (with his army), who remained in Constantinople or in the Balkans, the mention of the distance makes sense.

<sup>314</sup> The text refers to the *pronoiares*, but I suggest that the passage can be also applied to the mercenaries as well, because the text mentions the term *εἰδέργεσία*, an equivalent of the term *ρόγια*, 'salary': Heisenberg 1973b: 40, ll.78–84; pp. 70–2; Laiou 1972: 117. Cf., however, Bartusis 1992: 166–8, 1988: 268–71, 2012: 266–8, who suggests that the term *εἰδέργεσία*, while being ambiguous in meaning (it could be both a 'grant' and a 'salary') in this passage, refers to the increase in *pronoia* holdings. I am not convinced, because I do not share Bartusis' opinion on the strict divisions between mercenaries and *pronoiares* and their payments. It would be strange if a *pronoiar* were entitled to an additional allowance, while a mercenary received only irregular awards.

<sup>315</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 81, ll.10–16; Bartusis 2012: 431–3; on the 'austere' fiscal policy of Andronikos II, see: Kontogianopoulos 2004: 263–6.

mercenaries.<sup>316</sup> In reality, this act achieved nothing: while making the *pro-noiars* more displeased with central government's policy, it gave no relief to the mercenaries, as the salaries which, notably, were not increased, continued to be paid irregularly.

Thus, the situation in 1295 was a predictable result of Andronikos II's inability to fund the army. His attempt to replace the corrupt officials took place just before 1292, at a time when the Ilkhān Geikhatu was devastating the lands of Menteşe and a new Turkish invasion was about to begin. Despite Pachymeres' laudatory words,<sup>317</sup> there was indeed too little time to give any satisfactory result. In other words, Andronikos II's unwillingness to maintain the army in good condition and to carry out necessary reforms in the ten years from 1282 to 1292 had a disastrous effect on Byzantine troops in Asia Minor. By the end of Philanthropenos' victorious campaign his soldiers were faced with the prospect of once again becoming ill-paid mercenaries. Still worse, a government which they did not trust was going to confiscate the spoils they had won after a fierce battle against the Turks.

Fortunately for Andronikos II, Philanthropenos' revolt was soon put down: Libadarios, the governor at Neokastra, bribed the Cretan mercenaries, who handed Philanthropenos over. He was blinded in December 1295.<sup>318</sup> His army disintegrated without him: Philanthropenos' Turkish allies who were personally bound to him and remained loyal until the last moment started devastating the country, while the Cretan soldiers must eventually have been dismissed, as they are never mentioned in the sources after 1295.<sup>319</sup>

Andronikos now realized that reforms in Asia Minor were inevitable. He thus chose a new commander, John Tarchaneiotes. John was a relative of both the emperor and Alexios Philanthropenos.<sup>320</sup> He departed for Asia Minor in September, 1298.<sup>321</sup> His task was to restore the Byzantine army. Despite Philanthropenos' revolt, the Byzantines seem not yet to have lost any territory. The residence of Tarchaneiotes was in Pyrgion:<sup>322</sup> this may have been Pyrgos near Miletos or modern Birgi on the river Cayster, between Sardis and Nyssa. Either location proves that the border along the right bank of the Maeander was still in Byzantine hands. But after the revolt by Philanthropenos, Byzantium had no army strong enough to withstand a massive new attack by the frontier Turks.

<sup>316</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 237, ll.2–4; Laiou 1972: 116.

<sup>317</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 235, ll.22–25.

<sup>318</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 247, l.32–255, l.21; *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, i, p. 194; ii, pp. 214–15; Laiou 1972: 82–4; Failler 1990: 28–37.

<sup>319</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 257, ll.10–21; Bartusis 1992: 74.

<sup>320</sup> On John Tarchaneiotes, see Laiou 1972: 86–7; PLP 27487.

<sup>321</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 285, ll.12–20. On the date of his expedition, see Pachymeres, ii, p. 309, ll.15–30; Laiou 1972: 87, n. 4.

<sup>322</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 287, ll.18–19.

Tarchaneiotes discovered that the *pronoia* system in Byzantine Asia Minor was in decline. Many *pronoiares* had lost their holdings and were unable to perform military service, while others had increased their holdings by bribing officials. In order to improve the situation, Tarchaneiotes returned to the policy of Michael VIII Palaiologos: he ordered an *exisisis*.<sup>323</sup>

Once again, the situation with the *pronoias* seem to have been another failure for Andronikos II. His father, the Emperor Michael VIII earned a reputation not only for making *pronoia* hereditary,<sup>324</sup> but, as we have seen in the case of Chadenos' reforms, he also increased the number of the *pronoiares*, who became the backbone of the Byzantine *themata* and partly *tagmata* troops. Michael was fully aware of the danger of social stratification among the *pronoiares*: hence his 'frequent cadastral surveys' in the provinces, which aimed at preventing the dissolution of *pronoia* holdings. In 1272 Michael also advised Andronikos II to deprive the *pronoiares* who did not perform their duty of their *pronoia* holdings.<sup>325</sup> We know from Pachymeres' text that these 'lazy' *pronoiares* were in particular those who enlarged their holdings: for them, the organization and supervision of their increased estates became more important than military service.<sup>326</sup>

It seems that social stratification among the *pronoiares* was the process that, from within, destroyed *pronoia* as a military institution in Byzantine Asia Minor. Bartusis, in his study of the historical development of *pronoia*, stated that during his *pronoia* reforms Michael VIII first employed a uniform tax revenue, *posotes* (*ποσότης*), or 'the taxes and monetary charges levied on an item or group of items'.<sup>327</sup> Practically, the *posotes* was the sum of all the individual taxes levied on the taxable property of an estate. According to Bartusis, the use of such uniform tax revenue for an estate or possession made *pronoia* similar to its eastern counterpart, *iqtā'*, also a grant of state tax, with its cadastral fiscal value, '*ibra*', in exchange for the military service of the beneficiary.<sup>328</sup> There was, however, a difference which made *pronoia* a less stable military institution than *iqtā'*.

First, unlike *posotes*, which was a fiscal assessment of landed *property*, the '*ibra*' was originally a basic tax evaluation of a *harvest*. It was established by 'the tax-collector, sometimes, but not always, after an inspection of the crop during growth or harvest time',<sup>329</sup> usually once every three years. This inevitably meant that '*ibra* (and the *iqtā'* grants thereof) were subject to more

<sup>323</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 285, ll.22–31.

<sup>324</sup> Bartusis 1992: 179, 2012: 274–80.

<sup>325</sup> Heisenberg 1973b: 41, ll.92–95; Bartusis 1992: 167.

<sup>326</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 285, ll.22–31.

<sup>327</sup> Cf. Smyrlis 2010: 211–17.

<sup>328</sup> Bartusis 2012: 241–51, 600, esp. pp. 245 and 247.

<sup>329</sup> Lambton, '*Kharādjī*', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, iv, p. 1038. Cf. Cahen, '*Iqtā'*', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, iii, pp. 1088–91, esp. p. 1090: 'The development of the *pronoia* took place a little later. The *iqtā'* therefore owed nothing to the *pronoia*, and it is impossible to say whether the *pronoia* owed anything to the *iqtā'*'.

frequent cadastral surveys, as a tax based on harvest was more changeable than one based on property assessment. In *iqtā'* grant documents in fourteenth-century Īrān, the term *mahṣūlāt* (plural, 'harvest, crop') often designated the tax income of the *iqtā'* holder. Moreover, central government under the last Īlhāns and the Jalāyirids, their successors after AH 740 (1340), was forced to forbid officials from making frequent surveys in the *iqtā'* lands.<sup>330</sup>

Secondly, in Byzantium, where no legal restrictions prevented a *pronoiar* from acquiring more property (which *de facto* changed his status into that of an owner with no military obligations) and where private domains and possessions available for purchase were more widespread than in the Muslim East (where ownership of property lay predominantly with the state),<sup>331</sup> *pronoia* at some stage of its development could have survived as a strong military institution only under constant government supervision and frequent cadastral surveys.

However, an *exisisis* was a painful and expensive operation: painful because some of the *pronoiares* would have been deprived of part of their holdings; expensive and laborious because the *exisisis* meant a revision of complex *pronoia* income of all kinds.<sup>332</sup> That is why there were only four such *exisisis* reassessments in Byzantium from the end of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth centuries.<sup>333</sup> It seems that Andronikos II, who economized on everything, ordered no *exisisis* from 1282 to 1298.

In the beginning, Tarchaneiotes' reforms worked well. He managed to restore the army and even built some ships. But the rich *pronoia* holders united with the metropolitan of Philadelphiea against him. Tarchaneiotes was an Arsenite, and the official Church, including the Patriarch himself, opposed him. Fearing for his life, Tarchaneiotes left Asia Minor for Thessalonica in 1300.<sup>334</sup> His *exisisis* was never carried out.

Meanwhile the Sultanate of Rūm endured its last few years. The sultans were puppets in Mongol hands; the real masters were the Mongol military governors, appointed by the Īlhāns. However, these governors who ruled Asia Minor for a long time were becoming more and more independent. One of the most dangerous revolts the Īlhāns ever faced in Asia Minor was that of Sülemeş (Sülāmīş, Süleymiş), the grandson of Bajju.<sup>335</sup> Sülemeş revolted in Kaz Ova (near Tokat) in Şafar AH 698 (8 November–6 December 1298).<sup>336</sup> He was supported by the Mamluks of Egypt as well as the Turks of the *uj*. His army

<sup>330</sup> Petrushevsky 1960: 266–8. <sup>331</sup> Khvostova 1964: 215–16, 223–4, 226, 230.

<sup>332</sup> On the complex structure of the *pronoia* holdings, see Bartusis 1992: 166–73.

<sup>333</sup> Bartusis 1992: 177–9.

<sup>334</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 285, l.31–289, l.8.

<sup>335</sup> On the genealogy of Sülemeş, see Rashid al-Dīn, i, pp. 54–5, 159; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), i, pp. 73–4, 210; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), i, pp. 99, 195–6; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), i, pp. 42, 111; Aksarayī, p. 205.

<sup>336</sup> On the date, see Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 936; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī), ii, p. 1286; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 180; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 642.

numbered as many as 50,000 men; he defeated and killed two other Mongol commanders in Rūm, Bayınjar (Bāyīnjar), and Bujkhur (Bujkhūr, var. Bujqūr). The Īlkhān Ghazan sent a large army to Asia Minor under his two best commanders, Qutlugh-shāh and *amīr* Chuban (Chūbān). Sülemeş was defeated at Akşehir near Erzincan on 24 Rajab AH 698 (27 April 1299) but escaped and crossed the Mamluk border on the night of 13/14 Sha'bān AH 698 (16–17 May 1299).<sup>337</sup> The revolt of Sülemeş spread through Northern Anatolia, including such cities as Tokat and Sivas and probably the lands of the early Ottoman beylik in Sögüt, Eskişehir, and Karacahisar (var. Karahisar).<sup>338</sup> In particular, the Ottomans remembered the Mongol commander Bayınjar (Bāyīnjar) as their enemy,<sup>339</sup> while Sülemeş is represented in the early Ottoman chronicle of 'Āşikpāşāzāde as the 'brother' of Ertoğrul-gazi, the founder of the Ottoman state.<sup>340</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn's statement that Sülemeş used troops from the border zones (the *ujs*, *ūjhā*) is noteworthy.<sup>341</sup>

With the help of the Mamluks, Sülemeş soon returned to the Sultanate of Rūm. This time he decided to rouse the Turks of the *ujs* in Western Asia Minor. He marched with 40,000 horsemen from Cilician Armenia to Akçe Derbend, to the land of Mehmed-bey and Güneri-bey Karamanoğulları, and from there

<sup>337</sup> Aksarayi, pp. 239–45; Rashid al-Dīn, ii, pp. 936–7; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawī), ii, pp. 1286–8; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 180–1; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, pp. 642–3; *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq*, p. 132; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 93.

<sup>338</sup> On the first Ottoman settlements by 1299, see Seif 1925: 81; *Tavārikh-i āl-i Osmān*, MS Bodleian Library, Rawl. Or 5, fols. 4v (7), 9v (17); MS Bodleian Library, Marsh 313, fols. 29–39; Cengiz and Yücel 1989–92: 375–83; 'Āşikpāşāzāde, *Menāqib ve Tevārikh-i āl-i 'Osmān*, MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin or. oct. 2448, fols. 4b–22b; *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Āşikpāşāzāde*, ed. Giese, pp. 5–16; 'Āşikpāşazāde *Tarihi*, ed. Öztürk, pp. 6–22; Mehmed Nesri, *Kitāb-i Cihān-nūmā*, eds. Unat and Köyメン, i, pp. 78–9, 87–8, 104–5; Laonicus Chalcocondylas, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. Darcó, i, pp. 12, l.20–13, l.17; Zachariadou 1991: 76–85; Imber 1990: 18–19; Lindner 1983: 20, 2007: 35–80; Lowry 2003: 55–94; İnalçık 2007: 479–536; Korobeinikov 1997: 490–542.

<sup>339</sup> Mehmed Nesri, *Kitāb-i Cihān-nūmā*, eds. Unat and Köyメン, i, pp. 66/67; Darvíş 'Āşik, *Tavārikh-i āl-i Osmān*, MS Bodleian Library, Turk e.1, fol. 5a–5b (another variant of the story about the battle of the Ottomans against Bayınjar). Cf. the description of the battle without mentioning the name of the Mongol commander in 'Āşikpāşāzāde, *Menāqib ve Tevārikh-i āl-i 'Osmān*, MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin or. oct. 2448, fols. 16a–17a; *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Āşikpāşāzāde*, ed. Giese, p. 13; 'Āşikpāşazāde *Tarihi*, ed. Öztürk, pp. 16–17. A different version, also without Bayınjar, can be found in MS Marsh 313, fols 33–5; Cengiz and Yücel 1989–92: 377. Bayınjar was appointed as commander-in-chief in the Sultanate of Rūm after the execution of the previous commander, Baltu (Bāltū), on 25 Dhū al-Hijja AH 696 (14 October 1297); Rashid al-Dīn, ii, pp. 933, 936; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawī), ii, pp. 1282, 1286–7; Rashid al-Dīn (Arends), iii, pp. 177, 180; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, pp. 640, 642–3; Aksarayi, pp. 236, 239.

<sup>340</sup> 'Āşikpāşāzāde, *Menāqib ve Tevārikh-i āl-i 'Osmān*, MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin or. oct. 2448, fol. 21b; *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Āşikpāşāzāde*, ed. Giese, p. 16; 'Āşikpāşazāde *Tarihi*, ed. Öztürk, p. 21.

<sup>341</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, ii, p. 936; Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawī), ii, p. 1287; Rashid al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, p. 180; Rashid al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, p. 643.

to Ghurghurūm/Beyşehir and finally to Ankara, where he was captured. He was executed in Tabrīz on 29 Dhū al-Hijja AH 698 (27 September 1299).<sup>342</sup>

No doubt the Mongol army, which was in hot pursuit of Sülemiş and his Turkish supporters in the *uj* zone, devastated the unstable frontier zone once again. Besides, the winter of 1298–9 was remarkable for its severe frost,<sup>343</sup> which may have been a major problem for the fragile nomad economy. Little wonder that in 1300–1 Andronikos II received news of constant Turkish attacks on Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor.<sup>344</sup>

The Byzantine military campaign of 1302 was a complete failure. As Andronikos II had no strong army in Asia Minor, he gladly accepted the Alans, who with their wives and children came to Byzantium from the Golden Horde at the beginning of 1302.<sup>345</sup> The Alans were Christian Iranian-speaking people originating in the Caucasus, the ancestors of the present-day Ossetes. They numbered 10,000–16,000; half of them were warriors.<sup>346</sup> Andronikos divided the Alans into three groups: the first group was settled on the Hellespont; another formed the army of the *hetaireiarches* Mouzalon, the governor of Bithynia; the last part formed an army headed by the co-emperor Michael IX, the son of Andronikos II, against the Turks in the southern sector of the Byzantine border.<sup>347</sup> But Michael IX's expedition, which began on 22 April 1302, ended in disaster: when he reached Magnesia, his own generals convinced him to avoid any battle against the Turks. These passive tactics led to the desertion of some of his Byzantine troops, so the Alans simply refused to fight and also returned to Thrace. With his diminished army, surrounded by the Turks, Michael IX fled to Pergamon in the winter of 1302–3.<sup>348</sup> He returned empty-handed to Constantinople on 24 January 1304.<sup>349</sup> Michael IX's defeat caused the exodus of the Greek population of Magnesia, which fled

<sup>342</sup> Aksarayı, pp. 270–1; Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, pp. 937–8; Rashīd al-Dīn (Rawshan-Müsawī), ii, pp. 1288–9; Rashīd al-Dīn, (Arends), iii, pp. 181–2; Rashīd al-Dīn (Thackston), iii, pp. 643–4; Abū al-Fidā', ed. Dayyub, ii, p. 375 (under AH 697, but his chronology is uncertain); al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xxxi, pp. 373–5; Turan 1971a: 624–5.

<sup>343</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 305, ll.17–27.

<sup>344</sup> In his letter, dated April 1299–October 1300, the Patriarch Athanasios I (1289–93; 1303–9) asked Andronikos II to leave Thessalonica, where his daughter Simonis had married Stephen Milutin of Serbia, for Constantinople, in order to organize resistance to the Turkish invasions: *The Correspondence of Athanasius I*, ed. Talbot, pp. 2, ll.2–14, 4, ll.25–26, 307. Cf. Pachymeres, ii, pp. 335, l.4–337, l.6; Gregoras, i, p. 204, ll.23–24. Pachymeres mentions Halley's Comet, which appeared on 1 September 1301 and foreshadowed not only the traditional Turkish invasions into various provinces in Anatolia but also the complete loss of Byzantine Asia Minor.

<sup>345</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 337, l.27–339, l.21; Gregoras, i, pp. 204, l.14–205, l.21.

<sup>346</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 204, l.21, 205, l.11; Pachymeres, ii, p. 337, ll.28–29. On the Alans, see Barthold and Minorsky, 'Alān', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, p. 354; Pritsak, 'Alans', in *ODB*, i, pp. 51–2.

<sup>347</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 339, ll.26–30.

<sup>348</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 341, l.15–349, l.10; Gregoras, i, pp. 205, l.21–207, l.12; Laiou 1972: 90.

<sup>349</sup> Failler 1990: 44–53.

to Adramition (Edremit)<sup>350</sup> and then to Lampsakos.<sup>351</sup> By 1302 the Turks had occupied the lowlands between the rivers Maeander and Hermos (Gediz); by the end of 1304 the whole coastline to Adramition, apart from Phokaia (Foça), a Genoese possession, was in their hands.<sup>352</sup>

Mouzalon's army was likewise defeated by the Ottomans, on 27 July 1302, in a battle at Bapheus (Koyun Hisar) near Nikomedea.<sup>353</sup> The northern sector of the Byzantine border defences was broken, and the Turks had appeared on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus by 13 December 1302.<sup>354</sup> Like the catastrophe of the Byzantine army under Michael IX in Magnesia, Mouzalon's defeat forced the Greek population of Eastern Bithynia to flee to Constantinople and the Balkan possessions of the Empire. According to Pachymeres, only the narrow strip of the lowlands between Achyraios, Kyzikos, Pegai, and Lopadion remained safe from Turkish incursions, whilst Nikomedea, Nicaea, and Prousa were surrounded by the Turks.<sup>355</sup> Byzantine Asia Minor seemed to have been completely lost.

One needs to understand how the Turks managed to penetrate the formidable Byzantine defence lines that had been created in Paphlagonia by Michael VIII in 1280–1 and Andronikos II in 1283–4. To stop the Turkish raids against this sector of the Byzantine border, Andronikos II not only carried out military operations: he also played a complex diplomatic game in order to use the Mongols against the Turks. The Byzantine defences in the area started to deteriorate after the great Turkish revolt which occurred in Kastamonu in AH 691–2 (24 December 1291–1 December 1293). The scope of the revolt was so large that it was remembered not only by the Seljuk chroniclers, but also by their Byzantine contemporaries, Pachymeres and Gregoras. I will begin with the evidence of the Seljukid historians.

Āqsarāyī writes that in AH 691 (24 December 1291–11 December 1292) the *malik* Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān revolted against his brother, the Sultan Mas'ūd. Rukn al-Dīn went to Kastamonu, where the Turks supported him. However, he managed to establish his power only when he had broken down resistance. For example, the *sipāhdār* of Kastamonu, Mużaffar al-Dīn [ibn] Alp Yürek,<sup>356</sup> who acted against the *malik*, was killed. The Turkish tribes

<sup>350</sup> Adramition was defended by the rest of Michael IX's army during the winter and spring of 1303. Pachymeres, ii, p. 369, ll.23–27; Failler 1990: 52.

<sup>351</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 349, ll.12–32.

<sup>352</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 609, ll.13–16; Gregoras, i, p. 214, ll.1–7.

<sup>353</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 359, ll.4–7, 365, l.13–367, l.32.

<sup>354</sup> *The Correspondence of Athanasius I*, ed. Talbot, pp. 76, l.1–78, l.12; Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 202, p. 71; *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. Goodenough, ii, p. 488.

<sup>355</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 369, ll.2–33.

<sup>356</sup> Āqsarāyī misunderstood the names of the son and the father. According to Ibn Bibī and the inscriptions, a certain Alp Yürek was the father of Mużaffar al-Dīn Yavlak Arslān. The full name of Alp Yürek is unknown. Ibn Bibī also mentions Mużaffar al-Dīn Yavlak Arslān as *sipāhdār* of Kastamonu in 1280; he obviously must have performed the same office in 1291.

started their uprising in the province, and the Īlkhan Geikhatu ordered the Sultan Mas'ud to subdue the rebels. The sultan obediently launched a campaign against his brother. He was accompanied by Mujir al-Din Amīr-shāh, the *sāhib* Najm al-Din, and the heads of the 'Tājik' detachments.<sup>357</sup> Geikhatu sent three thousand Mongol horsemen to support Mas'ud's army, which was much smaller than the enemy's. In a mountain pass near Kastamonu<sup>358</sup> the Tājik-Mongol army suffered an unexpected attack by the Turks. The sultan's detachment was defeated and he himself was captured and sent to Kastamonu. Göktay, the head of the vanguard, decided to turn back, and only the Mongol commander Giray with the rest of the army was left to launch an attack against the Turks. He finally managed to overcome the enemy and liberate the sultan. The army then returned to Osmancık.<sup>359</sup>

The anonymous Persian chronicle describes the final stage of the revolt. A certain *malik shāhzādah*, the sultan's brother, rebelled against the sultan. The chief centre of the revolt was in Kastamonu and Bürghulū (Safranbolu), near the Byzantine border. The sultan, together with Tashtemür, the proxy of the Īlkhan Geikhatu, and a *mustawfi*, decided to put an end to the revolt. The *mustawfi* managed to subdue Bürghulū by bribery and capture the *malik*. The chronicle gives the dates: the uprising started after 11 Rajab AH 691 (28 June 1292)<sup>360</sup> and was put down by Thursday, 5 Jumādā I or Jumādā II (*māh-i tawba*) AH 693 (April–May 1294).<sup>361</sup> It seems that the Persian chronicle describes the last stage of the revolt, which ended in the capture of the *malik*, while Āqsarāyī writes about the beginning of the uprising, which started with the death of Mużaffar al-Din [ibn] Alp Yürek, and goes on to the

Thus, 'Mużaffar al-Din Alp Yürek' in Āqsarāyī should be read as 'Mużaffar al-Din [Yavlak Arslan ibn] Alp Yürek': Ibn Bibi, p. 337; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 325; Yücel 1980: 40–1; Turan 1971a: 612, n. 11.

<sup>357</sup> 'Tājik' was the name for the sedentary population in the Sultanate of Rūm. Many of the 'Tājiks' in Asia Minor, if not the majority, were Persian-speaking, though the same name could have been applied to the Turkish-speaking townsfolk. Cf. Rashid al-Din's reply to the letter of the nobles of Kayseri, in which he mentions 'the group of the Tājik (i.e. the dwellers of Kayseri), who are disobedient to us and who are offending us by their animosity', *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī', p. 142; Rashid al-Din, *Perepiska*, tr. Falina, p. 195. Cf. Morton 1999: 155–99, who suggests that the letters of Rashid al-Din, the author of the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, were forged during the Timurid era. If so, the term 'Tājik' in its specific meaning of the sedentary population in Anatolia was still in use at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

<sup>358</sup> Talat Mümtaz Yaman (1935: 83, n. 2) suggests that it was the Derekli pass.

<sup>359</sup> Aksarayī, p. 170–9. Cf. İnalçık 1970: i, pp. 266–7; Cahen 2001: 221; Zachariadou 1977: 67–8; Yücel 1980: 46–7.

<sup>360</sup> After the capture of Qal'at al-Rūm by the Mamluks; on this date, see Abū al-Fidā', ed. Dayyub, ii, pp. 362–3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xxxi, p. 226; Rashid al-Din, ii, pp. 833–4; Rashid al-Din (Rawshan-Müsawi), ii, p. 1195; Rashid al-Din (Arends), iii, pp. 133–4; Rashid al-Din (Thackston), iii, p. 582; Holt 1986: 105.

<sup>361</sup> *Tārikh-i āl-i Saljuq*, pp. 129–30; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), pp. 90–1. The date in the chronicle contains a mistake: neither 5 Jumādā I nor 5 Jumādā II AH 693 fell on a Thursday.

expedition of the Tājik–Mongol army to Kastamonu and the battle with the rebels in the Derekli pass, somewhere between Osmancık and Gümüşhacıköy.

Now let me focus on Pachymeres' account. According to Pachymeres, a certain Melik Masour (*Μελήκ Μασούρ*, whom I have mentioned before in relation to Andronikos II's visit to Asia Minor in 1290/1–93), was the son of the sultan Azatines (*Ἄζατίνης*, the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II). After his father's death in the Crimea, the Melik crossed the Black Sea and sailed to Thymaine, on the shores of Asia Minor.<sup>362</sup> He then went to Kastamonu.<sup>363</sup> The Īlhān Arghun (*Ἄργανης*) granted the Melik power over the former lands of his father Azatines. However, the local lord Amourios (*Ἀμούριος*), the father of Ali (*Αλῆς*) and Nastratios (*Ναστράτιος*), opposed this decision. Amourios' resistance forced the Melik to seek Byzantine help. When the Melik arrived at Constantinople (via Herakleia Pontike),<sup>364</sup> he was informed that Emperor Andronikos II had gone to Nymphaion. The Melik followed the emperor's route, but as soon as he realized that a meeting would be unprofitable, he returned to the 'Persians'. In Rūm (the context reveals 'in Kastamonu') the Melik managed to become so powerful that Amourios was forced to ask him to make peace. When Amourios arrived at the Melik's court, the latter ordered that he and his children be cut to pieces. Only Ali, Amourios' son, was saved. In revenge, Ali waged guerrilla warfare against the Melik. The Melik was forced to launch a campaign against Ali, but was slain in battle. This raised Ali to the dignity of *amīr* (*εἰς ὄγκον Αμούριον*),<sup>365</sup> and he soon showed his hostility to the Byzantines. The Empire managed to resist Ali's first incursion and even to sign a peace treaty with him. Unfortunately, the flooding of the river Sangarios (March 1302) left eastern Bithynia unprotected, despite Michael VIII's wooden wall and Ali's troops entered Byzantine territory. A considerable number of the troops joined those of the *amīr* Osman near Nikomedea. Pachymeres then describes the battle at Bapheus, where the Ottomans defeated the Byzantines.<sup>366</sup>

Nikephoros Gregoras repeats the information in Pachymeres. His account differs from Pachymeres' in only one detail: the Melik did not die in battle, but was secretly killed by his enemies.<sup>367</sup>

The beginning of Pachymeres' account, the arrival of the Melik Masour in Anatolia, neatly fits the information in Ibn Bibī, who describes the arrival of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd, the son of 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II. Mas'ūd himself was sultan in 1284–98 and 1303–5.

<sup>362</sup> Thymaine (*Θυμαινη*) was located 16 km north-east of Cide: Belke 1996: 274–5.

<sup>363</sup> Cf Pachymeres, ii, p. 673, ll.23–24. <sup>364</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 673, ll.26–28.

<sup>365</sup> Moravcsik, Mordtmann, and Failler believe that 'Amourios' transliterates the name 'Umar/'Omar: Moravcsik 1958: ii, p. 216; Mordtmann, 'İsfendiyār oğlu', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, iv, pp. 108–9; Failler 1994: 96–104. Zachariadou and Cahen transliterate 'Amourios' as the title 'amīr': Zachariadou 1977: 63–5; Cahen 1974d: 157.

<sup>366</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 359, l.4–365, l.12.

<sup>367</sup> Gregoras, i, p. 137, ll.4–22.

According to Ibn Bibī, the ex-sultan Kay-Kāwūs II died in the town of Sūlkħād (var. Sūlkhat, modern Solkhat in the Crimea) in AH 679 (3 May 1280–21 April 1281). His two sons, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas’ūd and Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth, were at his side. In his will ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II ordered Mas’ūd, his heir, to sail to Asia Minor and claim the Seljukid throne. However, the *shāhzādah* Kayūmarth, Mas’ūd’s younger brother, acted more quickly. He landed on the south shore of the Black Sea before Mas’ūd. The *nā’ib* of Kastamonu captured him in the territory of the *uj* of Amasya. Kayūmarth was imprisoned in Kastamonu. Then Mas’ūd arrived in Sinope. He was greeted by the *sipāhdār*<sup>368</sup> of Kastamonu, *amīr* Mużaffar al-Dīn Yavlak Arslān ibn Alp Yürek. Yavlak Arslān was the grandson of the *amīr* Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban-bey, the first *beylerbeyi* of Kastamonu, and the founder of the dynasty of the Çobanoğulları.<sup>369</sup> Yavlak Arslān delivered Kayūmarth to Mas’ūd, who refused to pardon his rebel brother (this suggests that Kayūmarth remained in chains in Kastamonu). Then Mas’ūd visited the court of the Īlhān Abaqā. As a result, Mas’ūd received Āmid, Harput, Malatya, and Sivas.<sup>370</sup>

Pachymeres’ account covers the period between 1280, the date of the arrival of the *maliks* Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas’ūd and Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth, and 1302, the date of the battle at Bapheus. We also know that the emperor’s sojourn in Nymphaion dates to between 1290/1 and 1293. The Melik Masour’s visit to Byzantium took place at the time of the great revolt in Kastamonu (1291–3).

I suggest that Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth in Ibn Bibī and Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān in Āqsarāyī are the same person. How then should we transliterate the name ‘Masour’ in Pachymeres? Two manuscripts of his *History* give the name as *μανσούρ*, which is an accurate reproduction of the Arabic title *manṣūr* ('victorious').<sup>371</sup> As Beldiceanu-Steinherr has stressed, *manṣūr* is not a name but a title; the title *al-malik al-manṣūr* was a standard inscription on the Seljukid coins. Thus, the ‘Melik Masour’ may have been the *malik* Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān, the head of the revolt in Kastamonu.<sup>372</sup> His animosity towards Mużaffar al-Dīn Yavlak Arslān started in 1280 and ended in the brutal death of the latter in 1291 during the revolt in Kastamonu.

As for ‘Amourios’ and his sons ‘Nastratios’<sup>373</sup> and Ali, the bitter enemy of the Melik, it has been suggested that they are representatives of the

<sup>368</sup> ‘Sipāhdār’ was a military commander in a province or a city. Cf. another variant of Ibn Bibī, in which Yavlak Arslān is called ‘bey’: Ibn Bibī (Duda), p. 324 (d).

<sup>369</sup> Yücel 1980: 40–7. On the *amīr* Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban-bey, see also Chapter 2.

<sup>370</sup> Ibn Bibī, pp. 334–7; Ibn Bibī (Duda), pp. 322–6.

<sup>371</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 359, l.14 (68); Zachariadou 1977: 65–8; Failler 1994: 95–6.

<sup>372</sup> Beldiceanu-Steinherr 2000: 427.

<sup>373</sup> There have been various attempts to decipher the name. Zachariadou (1977: 57) suggests that ‘Nastratios’ is the name Naşır al-Dīn. Cahen (1974d: 154) doubts whether this person was Husām al-Dīn Çobanoğlu, to whom Qutb al-Dīn Shirāzī dedicated his famous *Encyclopaedia*. In the chronicle of Makarios Melissenos (Pseudo-Sphrantzes) of the sixteenth century, one can find other names of Amourios’ sons: Haşan (*Xασάν*) and Muḥammad (*Μαχούμετ*): Georgios

Çobanoğulları dynasty in Paphlagonia.<sup>374</sup> In particular, the *sipāhdār* of Kastamonu, Muzaffar al-Dīn Yavlak Arslān, who was killed by the rebellious *malik*, was a Çobanoğlu. If so, the accounts by Pachymeres and Āqsarāyī fully coincide as far as the death of Yavlak Arslān (Amourios) is concerned. Yavlak Arslān's son, the *mustawfi* Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Yavlak Arslan, appears in the pages of the Persian chronicle as an important member of the Seljukid government in Konya.<sup>375</sup> He might have been the 'Nastratios' of Pachymeres.

Moreover, one might suppose 'Amourios' and his sons were Çobanoğulları if one could show that 'Amourios' should be translated as the title 'amīr'. Such a translation is possible, as we know of cases where the vowel [i] in Turkish or Arabic and Persian words was reproduced in Greek as the diphthong [ou].<sup>376</sup> Pachymeres' source might have had something like *εἰς ὅγκον ἀμύριον* [or *ἀμύραν*], as the form *ἀμυρπ(ᾶς)* can be found in other Byzantine loan words: *Ἀμυροτζῆς*,<sup>377</sup> *Ἀμυρτζαίνα*,<sup>378</sup> *ἀμυραχούρης*,<sup>379</sup> *Ἀμυριάλης*;<sup>380</sup> one can also find the form *ἀμυρᾶς*.<sup>381</sup>

How should one translate this awkward construction *Ἀλῆς Ἀμούριος*?<sup>382</sup> As "Ali, the son of the *amīr*"? But in this case the Greek text should have had a clearer construction: *Ἀλῆς Ἀμούριον* or *Ἀλῆς τοῦ Ἀμούριον*. 'The *amīr* 'Ali'? Why should the title *amīr* be placed *after* the name? I suggest that in the construction *Ἀλῆς Ἀμούριος* we are faced with the name of a dynasty,<sup>383</sup> as the cases of the ancestor and the descendant are the same.<sup>384</sup>

Sphrantzes, *Memorii 1401–1477. In anex: Pseudo-Phrantzes. Macarie Melissenos Cronica (1258–1481)*, ed. Grecu, p. 216, ll.30–31.

<sup>374</sup> İnalçık 1970: i, pp. 266–8; Zachariadou 1977: 65–7; Cahen 1974d: 155–7; Yücel 1980: 47–9. Cf. Failler 1994: 96–104, who believes that as 'Amourios' is a name and not the title 'amīr', this person cannot be identified with the Çobanoğulları dynasty.

<sup>375</sup> *Tārikh-i äl-i Saljuq*, pp. 119–23; *Histoire* (ed. Uzlu), pp. 77–83. On him, see Cahen 2001: 218–22.

<sup>376</sup> For example, Pachymeres gives the name of the founder of the Germiyanoğulları dynasty as *Ἀλισύρας* (Byzantine reading: [Alisiras]) from the name 'Alishir (Alişir), while Gregoras, who reproduces the text in Pachymeres, changes this name into *Ἀλισούριος*. Pachymeres, ii, p. 425, l.7; p. 463, l.14; p. 469, ll.18, 28; p. 471, l.9; p. 479, l.1; Gregoras, i, p. 214, l.15.; Moravcsik 1958: ii, pp. 62–3.

<sup>377</sup> Shukurov 1995a: 75, n. 1.

<sup>378</sup> Shukurov 1995a: 75, n. 2.

<sup>379</sup> Akropolites, i, p. 138, l.2; Moravcsik 1958: ii, p. 68.

<sup>380</sup> Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, p. 81, l.17; Moravcsik 1958: ii, p. 68; Shukurov 1995a: 75, n. 1.

<sup>381</sup> Bryennios, ed. Gautier, pp. 187, l.26, 189, l.7, 191, l.4; Moravcsik 1958: ii, p. 67.

<sup>382</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 365, l.7.

<sup>383</sup> Cf. Moravcsik 1958: ii, p. 215, lemma *Ὀθμάνος*. 3: *Μουράτμπεη Ἀτμάνε* (voc.), *Μουράτμπεη Ἀτουμάνη* (voc. and gen.), *Πλαγιαζήτου Ἀτουμάνου* (gen.), *Ὀτουμάνεω Ἀμουράτεω* (gen.).

<sup>384</sup> Failler opposes the hypothesis of Zachariadou and Cahen, according to which 'Amourios' was the title *amīr*. In Failler's opinion, the construction *Ἀλῆν . . . Ἀμούριον* is an example of the rhetorical formula 'hyperbate', in which 'ce nom constitue précisément le seul proparoxyton de la phrase'. However, Failler's main objection is based on phonetics: according to him, there are no transliterations of the title *amīr* as *ἀμούρης* in Byzantine texts. He ignores the cases when the Turkish sound [i] was reproduced in Greek texts as *ov*. I reject Failler's translation of the

Thus, Pachymeres' text, which contains no dates, describes three different events:

1. the arrival of Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth in Anatolia in 1280,
2. his revolt in Kastamonu in 1291–3 when he killed his rival Mużaffar al-Dīn Yavlak Arslān and
3. the incursion of the Çobanoğulları Turks into Byzantine territory near Nikomedea in March 1302.

Pachymeres does not mention the two campaigns of the Sultan Mas'ūd against Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth in 1291–3. It also seems that Pachymeres had no reliable information about the circumstances of the death of Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth, who had been imprisoned in 1293. The later evidence in Gregoras is probably more reliable: the *malik* was secretly murdered (in prison). In 1295–9 Kastamonu, as well as almost the whole of Paphlagonia and Western Pontus, was subdued by the *parwāna* Mu'in al-Dīn Mehmed-bey, the son of the *parwāna* Mu'in al-Dīn Süleymān.<sup>385</sup> However, his power in Kastamonu was of a different nature to that of the Çobanoğulları, who were hereditary lords in the region. The *parwāna* Mehmed-bey II regarded Kastamonu only as a source of income and established his power there with help of mercenaries.<sup>386</sup>

Āqsarāyī writes that the rebellious *malik* Rukn al-Dīn (Kayūmarth) aimed at a separate kingdom, independent of Konya and Tabriz. Pachymeres' text provides additional details: the *malik*, unable to obtain the independence of Kastamonu on his own, was ready to accept Byzantine protection. This alliance could hardly have been a union of equals. On the contrary, it meant Byzantine superiority and protection: in 1290–1 the *malik* gave his family as hostages to the Byzantines.<sup>387</sup> We know nothing about the *malik*'s wife, but, fortunately, Pachymeres has information about the *malik*'s daughter: she was brought up at her uncle Constantine's court, and later the Emperor Andronikos II married her to the *malik* Isaac, a Turk in Byzantine service, in 1306.<sup>388</sup> The territory, which must have been under Byzantine protection in 1291, was vast: the *malik*'s lands between Osmancık and Safranbolu, including Kastamonu.

In 1302 'Ali Çobanoğlu signed a peace treaty with Byzantium, but his troops did not accept this and took part in the battle at Bapheus.<sup>389</sup> The hostile relations between Byzantium and the master of Kastamonu in 1299–1302 cost the Empire dearly, since the double attack (from the

statement *ταῦτα τὸν Ἀλῆν ἐπῆρεν εἰς ὄγκον Ἀμούριον* as 'Ces faites excitèrent Halès Amourios à l'orgueil'. He himself cites many examples where ὄγκος should be translated as 'dignity': Failler 1994: 101–3.

<sup>385</sup> Aksarayî, pp. 217, 247–50.

<sup>386</sup> Aksarayî, pp. 217–18.

<sup>387</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 673, ll.28–32.

<sup>388</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 671, ll.6–20, 673, l.33–675, l.8.

<sup>389</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 365, l.8.

Çobanoğulları and from the *amīr* Osman) allowed the Turks to reach Nikomediea for the first time. In 1304 'Alī, who was anxious about the new Byzantine-İlkhanid treaty (which was concluded in 1302), asked the Empire to grant him the lowlands of Mesonesion, between the Sangarios and Nikomediea.<sup>390</sup> There is no further information about 'Alī and his *beylik* in Pachymeres' text. We know about the end of the Çobanoğulları dynasty from Ottoman sources. Süleymān-paşa, the son of Shams al-Din Yaman Candaroğlu, who was one of the 366 holders of land in return for military service in Kastamonu,

collected the Turks from Efluğan (Eflani), where his *timar* was, formed an army, and marched against Kastamonu. One night he all of a sudden breached the gates of the palace of Mehmed-bey, the son of Yavlak Arslān [Çobanoğlu], the *subaşı* of Kastamonu. He at once seized and killed Mehmed-bey. He became the master of Kastamonu and the fortress of Borlu, which was called Zalifre at that time (modern Safranbolu).<sup>391</sup>

Mehmed-bey ibn Yavlak Arslān was killed between 1309<sup>392</sup> and 1314, when Āqsarāyī mentions Süleymān-paşa as master of Kastamonu.<sup>393</sup> It was the Candaroğulları dynasty that managed to establish the new *beylik* in Kastamonu, which lasted until 1461.

The study of the revolt in Kastamonu reveals that the situation in the *uj* zone was very complex. Kastamonu, like Amasya, was in the *uj* region. Apart from the old Seljukid strongholds, we find there possessions of the old Seljukid aristocracy, such as those of the Çobanoğulları or the son of the *parwāna*; fortresses, which were often defended by mercenaries; and possessions of the Mongol *noyans* or those who had received their lands from the İlhān. Apart from the nomadic Turks whom Āqsarāyī describes as 'demon-like impious men', we find the sedentary Muslim population, the Tājiks, as they were usually called.

Gregoras' analysis of the revolt is noteworthy. First, he underlines the danger of Mongol punitive expeditions against the Turks, as the latter then escalated their attacks on the Byzantine borders. Gregoras regards the revolt in Kastamonu as a watershed, after which Turkish pressure on the Byzantine border greatly increased.<sup>394</sup> Secondly, he points out that there were two major melting pots in Anatolia: one in Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor, and the other in Paphlagonia.<sup>395</sup> This is correct. We have seen that the Byzantines

<sup>390</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 507, ll.15–21.

<sup>391</sup> Ibn Bibi (Yazıcızâde Ali), pp. 909–10; Yücel 1980: 58.

<sup>392</sup> For the date of the first mention of Süleymān-paşa in the sources, see Yücel 1980: 56–7.

<sup>393</sup> Aksarayî, pp. 311–12; Heywood, 'Kastamuni', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, iv, p. 738; Yücel 1980: 60.

<sup>394</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 137, l.22–138, l.18.

<sup>395</sup> Gregoras, i, p. 138, ll.18–22. According to Hendy (1985: 115), 'the main evidence for early Turkish settlement in Anatolia, the (somewhat later) presence of toponyms deriving from the

always had problems with the Turks of ‘Pamphilia’, namely the Turks of Denizli and later of the Menteşeogulları, who had finally broken the Byzantine defences at Tralles. As for Kastamonu, the Turks were greatly restricted in that region, because the Mongols controlled Paphlagonia for a long time. The last İlkhānid coinage in the territory of the beylik of Süleymān-paşa Candaroğlu was struck on AH 725 (18 December 1324–5 December 1325). The last İlkhānid coins in Asia Minor were issued in Ankara in AH 742 (17 June 1341–5 June 1342).<sup>396</sup> That is why the Mongol suppression of the revolt in Kastamonu did not lead to immediate Turkish penetration into Byzantine territory, but rather to a slow—though no less disastrous—migration towards the Lower Sangarios, the regions of Tarsia and Mesonesion.

The third statement in Gregoras is the most important. He connects increasing Turkish pressure on the Byzantines with structural changes in *uj* society. According to him, the Turks were at first led by the nobles (consider the *malik* in Kastamonu, who was a member of the royal dynasty). Later, people of common origin, who possessed nothing but managed to organize mobile groups of soldiers to penetrate Byzantine territory, replaced the aristocracy.<sup>397</sup> The old dynasties, such as those of Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī, the *parwāna* Mu‘in al-Dīn Süleymān, or the Çobanoğulları, gave way to new formations, such as the Ottomans or the Candaroğulları.

The temporary influence exerted by Byzantium on the Turkish frontier zone was not an innovation of Andronikos II. Pachymeres writes that Michael VIII Palaiologos hoped to use ‘the Persian fortresses’ in the Sultanate of Rūm, in case the Mongols attacked him.<sup>398</sup> By the end of the thirteenth century Byzantine diplomatic influence over the frontier had gone; the Empire could no longer follow a policy of *divide et impera*. Byzantium entered the fourteenth century without an army or diplomatic protection for her borders, while her oriental provinces were occupied by the Turks.

names of the Oğuz tribes that provided the human material of the earlier invasions, shows heavy concentrations on the broken or transitional lands of Paphlagonia, Phrygia and Lycia, rather than on either the coastal plain (held by the Byzantines) or on the central plateau (subject to too wide extremes of climate').

<sup>396</sup> Seifeddini 1968: 86–7, 89; Blair 1983: 299–300, 311–12; Yücel 1980: 143–4; cf. Aksarayî, p. 311; Ḥamd-allâh Mustawfi of Qazwin, *Nuzhat-al-Qulûb*, ed. and tr. Le Strange, i, pp. 94, 97 (Persian text); ii, pp. 95, 97 (English translation).

<sup>397</sup> Gregoras, i, pp. 137, l.22–138, l.6.

<sup>398</sup> Pachymeres, i, p. 187, ll.6–7.

# Chapter 7

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## The Aftermath: Asia Minor after 1303

On September, 1303, a group of Catalan mercenaries, headed by Roger de Flor, disembarked in Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> They were the last hope of Andronikos II for the reconquest of Asia Minor.

The last hope, indeed. At the end of 1303 and the beginning of 1304 the situation in Byzantine Asia Minor was desperate. The Turks had broken through the Byzantine defences at two points: on the Lower Maeander, which had been occupied by the Turks under Mas'ūd (d. c. 1319) ibn Menteşe-bey around 1300;<sup>2</sup> and on the Lower Sangarios, from the bridge of Justinian to Nicaea. These two major 'gaps' in the Byzantine border allowed the Turks to flood into Western Asia Minor. But the Byzantine defences had still not completely disintegrated.

The occupation of the Lower Maeander, the territory from Tralles to Priena, opened the coastal road to the Turks. They soon occupied the lowlands between the rivers Maeander and Hermos (Gediz), and the coastline as far as Adramittion was controlled by them.<sup>3</sup> The big cities, such as Ephesos, Magnesia,<sup>4</sup> and Sardis<sup>5</sup> were still in Byzantine hands, while Phokaia<sup>6</sup> was in Genoese possession. Achyraios was also Byzantine<sup>7</sup> but, unfortunately, we know nothing about Kalamos at that time. If Kalamos remained intact, it means that the Byzantines still possessed the old road from Lopadion to Achyraios, Kalamos, and farther to Philadelphieia, which was besieged by the Germiyanogulları.<sup>8</sup> The important frontier fortress of Tripolis had recently been taken by the Germiyan Turks.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 202, p. 70; *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. Goodenough, ii, p. 486; Pachymeres, ii, p. 431, ll.2–12; Gregoras, i, pp. 217, l.17–220, l.12; Laiou 1972: 127–34; D. M. Nicol 1993: 128–9; Bartusis 1992: 78–9.

<sup>2</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello, 'Istoria del Regno di Romania', p. 145; Zhukov 1988: 188. Sanudo Torsello referred to Mas'ūd as 'Menteşe' (*Mandachia*), like his father.

<sup>3</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 369, ll.23–27.

<sup>4</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 439, l.10–441, l.13.

<sup>5</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 441, l.14–443, l.33.

<sup>6</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 609, ll.13–16; Gregoras, i, p. 214, ll.1–7.

<sup>7</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 369, ll.23–27.

<sup>8</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 463, ll.14–19, 503, ll.17–21.

<sup>9</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 475, l.29–479, l.5.

Thus, Philadelphiea, Magnesia, and Sardis constituted a large Byzantine enclave surrounded by Turks; the only possible route connecting the enclave with Byzantium was by way of Achyraios. There were still some local Byzantine troops near Philadelphiea: for example, in 1302–3 the army of the *πριμμικήριος τῆς αὐλῆς* ('master of ceremonies')<sup>10</sup> Nostongos helped the citizens of Sardis drive the troops of a certain chieftain 'Alais'<sup>11</sup> (Ἀλάις) ('the highest') out of the city.<sup>12</sup>

If we look at the northern sector of the Nicaean border, we discover that not all was completely lost for the Byzantines. There, Andronikos II used the Mongol factor as much as possible. In 1299 a certain *Küçi(n)* *bakṣi* (*Kouτζίμπαξι*, 'the powerful pagan priest (shaman)')<sup>13</sup> sailed for Anatolia.

<sup>10</sup> *Primmikerios* literally means 'a first one in rank', 'chief', 'principal', *primus cujusque ordinis*. There were three offices of the *primmikerioi* in Byzantium under the Palaiologoi: *πριμμικήριος τῆς αὐλῆς* ('master of ceremonies'), *πριμμικήριος τῶν Βαράγγων* ('primmikerios of the Varangians', 'the chief of the imperial bodyguard') and *πριμμικήριος τῶν Βαρδαρωτῶν* ('primmikerios of the Vardariotai', 'the chief of a palace guard division of the Vardariotai'). Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, p. 179, l.16–p. 182, l.10; Bartusis 1992: 272–5, 279–81. On Nostongos, see PLP 20725.

<sup>11</sup> I date this expedition to 6 December 1302, as Pachymeres mentions Andronikos II's embassy to the Ilkhān Ghazan in 1302 in relation to Nostongos' campaign against the Turks near Sardis (Pachymeres, ii, p. 441, ll.20–28); Failler (Pachymeres, ii, p. 440, n. 21) Dölger (*Regesten*, 4, N 2265), and the authors of PLP 20725 incorrectly place the event just before the death of Ghazan on 17 May 1304. They underestimate the evidence of Rashid al-Din, according to which Andronikos II sent only one embassy to the Ilkhān Ghazan between 26 August and 6 December 1302. According to Pachymeres, Nostongos' expedition took place when 'the rumours about the [coming] Tatars by little and little disappeared (lit. "weakened", ἡσθένουν)': Pachymeres, ii, p. 443, l.22. This statement might suggest the end of 1303 as *terminus ante quem*. However, to judge by the context, Nostongos' expedition should have taken place before the return of the co-emperor Michael IX from Pegai to Constantinople in January 1304 (Pachymeres, ii, p. 445, ll.1–18).

<sup>12</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 442, n. 25; p. 443, ll.17–33. I suggest that the name Ἀλάις (plural form: Ἀλάίδες; cf. the manuscript forms ἀλάίδες and ἀλά ἴδει: Pachymeres, ii, p. 425, l.8; p. 441, l.30) represents the title *a'lä*, 'the highest' plus the Greek ending *-is*, *-idēs*, but not the name (the part-time title) '*Aliyy*', 'high, tall, august'.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Zachariadou 1978a: 262–4, who suggests another transcription: *Khʷāja bakhshī*, the 'distinguished pagan priest'. I do not agree: the Persian word *khʷāja* was usually applied to Muslims; it is difficult to imagine how the Persian adjective with its strong Islamic association was placed together with the Old Turkic term *baqṣı/bakṣı* (originally 'a (Buddhist) religious teacher, instructor, elder lama', from the Ancient Chinese *bāk-si*, later *po-shih*: *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'*, eds. Nadeliaev *et al.*: 82; Clauson 1972: 321, lemma: *baqṣı*; Doerfer 1963–75: ii, pp. 271–7 (724); see also Chapter 5, n. 263). It is interesting to note that Pachymeres reproduces not the Persian/Turkish form *bakhshī* (var. *baxṣı*) but the precise Mongol/Old Turkic form *bakṣı*: *-μπαξι [-baksi]*, where the letter *ξ* [ks] represents both Turkic/Mongol sounds k [k] and š [sh], the latter being absent from Greek. We thus can expect that the first part of the name is no less precise. Indeed, *küçi(n)* (var. *küçü(n)*) is the Mongol form of the Old Turkic word *küç* ('power', 'strength', 'might', '[military] force', 'vigour'); in both Middle Mongol and Old Turkic this word often formed the first part of many titles and names: cf. the Old Turkic title/name *küç tegin*. *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'*, eds. Nadeliaev *et al.*: 322–3; Clauson 1972: 693, lemma: *küç*; Golden 2000: fol. 203, col. A.8 (p. 262); fol. 203, col. B.23; Doerfer 1963–75: iii, pp. 625–8 (1662); Ščerbak 1997: 128 (N 234); Lessing 1960: 70, 496, lemmata: *bazi* and *kycy(n)*; Bawden 1997: 36, 483; Boberg 1954–5: i, pp. 395, 739.

He was a retainer of the khān Noghai and, in Pachymeres' words, 'one of the highest[-ranking] among his magi'. *Küci(n) bakṣi* landed at Herakleia Pontike, was received and then baptized together with his wife and children by the Byzantines. Andronikos II appointed *Küci(n) bakṣi* the governor of Nikomedea. The daughter of this former shaman married Süleymān-paşa Candaroğlu in 1302 by order of the emperor, as Andronikos wanted to stop the raids by the Candaroğulları against Byzantine Paphlagonia.<sup>14</sup> The marriage alliance temporarily secured the Byzantine frontier from Nikomedea to Eflani, the centre of the emirate of Süleymān-paşa. In the meantime, in 1302, the Byzantines concluded a peace treaty with 'Ali Çobanoğlu, though his troops later took part in the battle at Bapheus (27 July 1302).<sup>15</sup> After these two treaties, the most dangerous enemy for the Byzantines in the area near Nikomedea, Nicaea, and Prousa was the *amīr* Osman.

However, the Ottomans, despite their victory at Bapheus, did not immediately gain much Byzantine territory, though in the spring of 1304 their raids reached Chele (Şile) and the fortress of Hieron on the Bosphorus.<sup>16</sup> In the battle at Bapheus they destroyed the Byzantine field army but the fortresses that surrounded Nicaea and Prousa remained still to be conquered. Pachymeres' text suggests that by the spring of 1304 Osman occupied the lands between Nicaea and the fortresses of Angelokomis (İnegöl), Belokomis (Bilecik<sup>17</sup>), Plataneia (between Nicaea and Prousa), and Melangeia/Malagina (Yenişehir), situated south of Nicaea.<sup>18</sup> The road from Nicaea to the Gulf of Nikomedea, near the fortresses of Herakleion (Ereğli), Neankomis (near Helenopolis (Hersek)), and Pythia (Yalova), was blocked by the Ottomans. The inhabitants of Nicaea could have received supplies from Byzantium only by the difficult and unsafe road that ran from Kios (Gemlik) to Kroulla (Yenigürle) and then to Lake Askania (İznik Gölü).<sup>19</sup> Osman also ravaged the environs of Prousa and Pegai.<sup>20</sup> But of all these cities and towns near Nicaea, in the spring of 1304 the Ottomans managed to conquer only Belokomis and the surrounding fortresses.<sup>21</sup> Ottoman sources indicate which Byzantine castles were taken. According to 'Āşikpāşāzāde and Neşri, Bilecik (Belokomis), Yar-hisar, İnegöl (Angelokomis), and Yenişehir (Melangeia) were conquered by Osman in AH 699 (28 September 1299–15 September

<sup>14</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 379, ll.1–23; Dölger, *Regesten*, 4, N 2244, p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 365, l.8.

<sup>16</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 453, ll.25–28. Chele (Şile) is located on the shores of the Black Sea, east of the Bosphorus.

<sup>17</sup> The location is by no means certain, cf. Lindner, *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory*, p. 35, n. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 453, l.28–p. 455, l.2.

<sup>19</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 455, ll.2–15.

<sup>20</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 457, ll.15–19.

<sup>21</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 457, ll.10–14.

1300),<sup>22</sup> while the *Tavārikh-i al-i Osmān* (MS Bodleian Library) gives another date: AH 687 (6 February 1288–24 January 1289).<sup>23</sup> I consider the date in Pachymeres (1304) to be the most reliable, because the first Ottoman chronicles were based on oral tales. Many dates were incorporated into early Ottoman texts *post factum*; hence the chronological discrepancy in Ottoman sources as far as their first conquests were concerned. But it seems unlikely that the sequence of the Ottoman conquests, as distinct from these added ‘precise’ dates, is inaccurate.

Thus, in the spring of 1304 Osman made a considerable breach in the Byzantine defences in Bithynia. However, his acquisitions were relatively small (four fortresses) and a successful Byzantine counter-attack could have restored the military balance in the area. What Andronikos II needed most was to drive out the more numerous and dangerous Turks from the coastal lowlands between the mouth of the Maeander and Adramittion. Then, the border could be restored by a series of military expeditions along the frontier zone.

Unfortunately, the emperor had no strong army. When he realized in 1302–3 that the expedition of his son Michael IX had failed, Andronikos II tried to revive the Byzantine army. He proposed a scheme by which the *pronoia* holdings of the Church and state (i.e. the non-military *pronoias*) would become military, in order to increase soldier numbers. However, as Anatolia was in chaos, the reform was never carried out.<sup>24</sup> The situation was so desperate that between 13 December 1302 and Easter (7 April) of 1303 the patriarch Athanasios I wrote a letter to Andronikos II in which he suggested that a capable general or administrator ('someone') be sent to the East; yet the only hope was conversion to the Lord and repentance.<sup>25</sup> The Īlkhan Ghazan, with whom Andronikos II had concluded a treaty against the Turks on 6 December 1302,<sup>26</sup> died on 11 Shawwāl AH 703 (17 May 1304).<sup>27</sup>

Thus the Catalan mercenaries were the emperor's last hope. Initially, their actions were successful. In November 1303 they landed at Cape Artake (Artaqui, Erdek) on the shores of the Gulf of Kyzikos, which they made

<sup>22</sup> 'Aşikpāşazade, *Menāqib ve Tevārikh-i al-i 'Osmān*, MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin or. oct. 2448, fols. 18a–31a; *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Aşikpāşazade*, ed. Giese, pp. 14–20; 'Aşikpāşazade *Tarihi*, ed. Öztürk, pp. 18–29; Mehmed Neşri, *Kitāb-i Cihān-nūmā*, eds. Unat and Koymen, i, pp. 96–105; Zachariadou 1991: 138–46.

<sup>23</sup> *Tavārikh-i al-i Osmān*, MS Bodleian Library, Rawl. Or 5, fol. 17; cf. *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler*, ed. Turan, pp. 16–17 (AH 650), 52–3 (AH 655); Idris Bidlisi, *Tā'rikh-i Hasht-Bihisht*, MS Bodleian Library, Ouseley 358, fols. 61b–63b (AH 698).

<sup>24</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 425, l.23–427, l.4.

<sup>25</sup> *The Correspondence of Athanasius I*, ed. Talbot, p. 78, ll.30–33. Cf. Pachymeres, ii, p. 463, ll.7–13.

<sup>26</sup> Rashid al-Din, ii, p. 951; Rashid al-Din (Rawshan-Müsawī), ii, p. 1308; Rashid al-Din, (Arends), iii, pp. 192–3; Rashid al-Din (Thackston), iii, p. 654; Pachymeres, ii, p. 441, ll.15–28.

<sup>27</sup> Rashid al-Din, ii, p. 963; Rashid al-Din (Rawshan-Müsawī), ii, p. 1335; Rashid al-Din, (Arends), iii, p. 202; Rashid al-Din (Thackston), iii, p. 662.

their base after a fierce struggle with the Turks.<sup>28</sup> They started their campaign on 1 April 1304; their target was Philadelphiea. From Kyzikos, the Catalans moved to Germe (Soma), between Pergamon and Thyateira (Akhisar), then to Chliara (near Kirkağaç), and then Philadelphiea. The Turks fled before them.<sup>29</sup> The second battle between the Catalans and the Turks took place at Aulax,<sup>30</sup> near Philadelphiea. Roger de Flor was victorious once again. According to Muntaner, his enemy were the tribes of Sasa and Aydin (*la gabella de Sesa e de Tin*);<sup>31</sup> according to Pachymeres, it was Ἀλισύρας Καρπανός, i.e. Yakub (Ya'qūb) I Alişir Germiyanoğlu (1294–1325?).<sup>32</sup> ‘Sesa’ and ‘Tin’ in Muntaner were the *amīr* Sasa Aydinoğlu of Birgi,<sup>33</sup> the son-in-law of Mas'ūd Menteşeoglu, and Mubāriz al-Dīn Mehmed Aydinoğlu respectively.<sup>34</sup> We know from the *Düsturname-i Enverī* (composed in 1465, but the relevant chapter had been written by 1348<sup>35</sup>) that Sasa and Mehmed Aydinoğulları came to Byzantine Asia Minor from the land of Germiyan;<sup>36</sup> Mehmed-bey Aydinoğlu was *subaşı* (military commander) of Yakub I Alişir.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the battle at Aulax in 1304 was between the Catalans and a confederation of the Turks under the command of Yakub I Alişir, whose army numbered, according to Muntaner, 8,000 horsemen and 12,000 infantry.<sup>38</sup>

After this victory the Catalans moved to Nymphaion, Magnesia, and then to Thyraia (Tire).<sup>39</sup> There, they fought a fierce battle with the Turks of Mas'ūd

<sup>28</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 203, pp. 71–4; *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. Goodenough, ii, pp. 489–93.

<sup>29</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 205, pp. 75–6; *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. Goodenough, ii, pp. 496–7; Pachymeres, ii, p. 467, l.25–p. 469, l.16; Gregoras, i, pp. 221, ll.7–222, l.12.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Aulax’ (‘furrow’) was a village or small town mentioned in the *Testament of Maximos (Testament for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia)*, tr. Dennis, pp. 1182, 1187). Using the combined evidence of the *Testament*, Pachymeres, and Muntaner, I have come to the conclusion that Aulax was located ‘at a distance of one day’s journey’ (*a una jornada*) south of Philadelphiea, on the way to Tripolis along the river Koca Çayı in Alaşehir Ovası: Eustratiades 1930: 328, l.25, p. 333, l.2; Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 205, p. 76; Pachymeres, ii, p. 469, l.19.

<sup>31</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 205, p. 75. The Catalan word *gabella* is derived from the Arabic term *qabila* (‘tribe’).

<sup>32</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 469, l.15–471, l.10. On him, see Mélikoff-Sayar, ‘Germiyān-oghulları’, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, ii, p. 989.

<sup>33</sup> North of Tire.

<sup>34</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 647, ll.26–30; *Le Destân d'Umûr Pacha (Düsturnâme-i Enverî)*, ed. Mélikoff-Sayar, p. 46, l.21–p. 48, l.40; *Düsturnâme-i Enverî*, ed. Halil Yinanç, pp. 17–18; Lemerle 1957: 19–26; Zhukov 1988: 24–6.

<sup>35</sup> Zhukov 1988: 147, n. 26.

<sup>36</sup> *Le Destân d'Umûr Pacha (Düsturnâme-i Enverî)*, ed. Mélikoff-Sayar, p. 46, ll.21–24; *Düsturnâme-i Enverî*, ed. Halil Yinanç, p. 17.

<sup>37</sup> Shams al-Din Ahmād al-Aflākī al-'Ārifī, *Manāqib al-'Ārifīn*, ed. Yazıcı, ii, pp. 947–8; Aflākī, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, tr. Huart, ii, pp. 391–2 (724); Köprülü 2001: 169–71; Halil Yinanç 1930: 8–15.

<sup>38</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 205, p. 76.

<sup>39</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 205, p. 76; *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. Goodenough, ii, p. 497; Pachymeres, ii, p. 471, ll.13–16.

Menteşeoglu (*Mendeixia*).<sup>40</sup> After the victory over the Menteşeogulları, Roger de Flor moved towards Ephesos. At Anaia (Ània, Kadi Kalesi) the Catalans defeated the tribe of Tira (*la gabella de Tira*)<sup>41</sup> or, according to Francisco de Moncada, of Saruhan-bey (*Sarcano Turco*).<sup>42</sup> The later account by Muntaner is somewhat fanciful. He writes that after a stay of 14 days in Anaia the Catalans marched deep into Asia Minor and, in a battle at Iron Gates (*la Porta del Ferre*), on the border of the Kingdom of Armenia, defeated a large tribe of Turks from Anaia (*gabella d'Ània qui eren estats desconfits en l'horta d'Ània*) on 15 August 1304.<sup>43</sup> I think that the date is correct: the whole campaign from Kyzikos to Anaia could have taken four and a half months; but the location of the battle at the 'Iron Gates' is pure invention on the part of Muntaner: it was probably one of the passes in the mountains south of the Maeander.

It seems that the Catalans were successful: the Turks of the Germiyan-, Aydin-, Menteşe-, and probably Saruhanoğulları were forced to leave the plains of the Lower Maeander and the Hermos. However, the Catalan victories were achieved at the expense of the Greek population. The mercenaries plundered Philadelphieia, Pyrgos, Ephesos, and the islands of Chios, Lemnos, and Mitylene.<sup>44</sup> Attaleiates, the governor of Magnesia, refused to open the gates of the city to Roger de Flor. The Catalans besieged the city. When he realized that these mercenaries were too dangerous and difficult to control, Andronikos II ordered them to return to the Balkans in order to help Michael IX in his struggle against Theodore Svetoslav of Bulgaria. The Catalans spent the winter of 1304–5 in Madytos (Eceabat), near Gallipoli.<sup>45</sup> Soon after their departure, on 24 October 1304, Sasa Aydinoğlu captured Ephesos.<sup>46</sup>

The Catalans revolted against Andronikos II in May 1305; they devastated Thrace and threatened the capital. The Byzantine defences were paralysed until 1311, when the Catalans established their state in Athens.<sup>47</sup> Under these

<sup>40</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 206, pp. 76–8; *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. Goodenough, ii, pp. 497–500.

<sup>41</sup> The text suggests that 'Tire' was not a specific tribal name, but a group of Turks who lived near the city of Thyraia (Tire).

<sup>42</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 206–207, pp. 77–9; *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. Goodenough, ii, pp. 497–501; de Moncada 1858: 16; Zhukov 1988: 146, n. 19. Saruhan-bey (d. 1346) was the founder of the emirate of the Saruhanoğulları in Manisa. According to Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihân-nûmâ*, eds. Unat and Köymen, i, pp. 50–1, Saruhan-bey was a military commander (*nöker*) of the Sultan Mas'ûd II. Cf. Sevim and Yücel 1989: 301–5.

<sup>43</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 207, p. 79; *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. Goodenough, ii, pp. 501–2.

<sup>44</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 471, ll.13–16; p. 479, l.22–p. 481, l.4.

<sup>45</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 479, l.6–p. 485, l.20; p. 497, ll.1–25; p. 527, l.20–p. 535, l.22; Gregoras, i, p. 221, l.7–p. 224, l.12; Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, ii, 208–209, 212, pp. 79–81, 82–3; *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. Goodenough, ii, pp. 502–5, 507–9.

<sup>46</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 646, n. 91, p. 647, ll.14–30.

<sup>47</sup> Laiou 1972: 134–99, 220–9; D. M. Nicol 1993: 129–40; Bartusis 1992: 79–83.

circumstances, Andronikos II had no opportunity to defend Asia Minor and the Turks soon reoccupied the rest of the peninsula. All Byzantine attempts to use the Mongols against the Turks failed, because the Ilkhānid state was preoccupied with the Turks in Central and Eastern Anatolia. Western Asia Minor was not an area in which the Ilkhāns had much interest. The fall of the last strongholds, such as Magnesia, Nicaea, and Nikomedeia, to Turkish attacks was merely a matter of time.

# Conclusion

## Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century: Diplomatic Success and Military Failure

Why was Byzantine Asia Minor lost? The answer is not easy. Study of the history of Nicaean (Byzantine)–Seljuk, and later, Byzantine–Mongol relations demonstrates how strong the Empire was. Let me recall several important points.

The Nicaeans inherited a special relationship with the Sultanate of Rūm that had existed long before, in the twelfth century. Seljuk support was one of the major factors that helped Theodore I Laskaris triumph over his other Greek rivals in Asia Minor, including the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond. Even the dangerous invasion of Kay-Khusraw I in 1211 that ended in the disastrous Seljuk defeat at Antioch on the Maeander, was an attempt to help Alexios III Angelos, who had superior rights to the Nicaean throne in the eyes of the sultan. This special relationship between the two ruling dynasties, the Komnenoi, and later the Angeloi and the Laskarids, on the one hand, and the Seljuks of Rūm, on the other, had a very solid foundation: Greek influence in the Sultanate. The Sultanate was a state that absorbed many ethnic elements, but the Greek element was dominant. It is difficult to find traces of representatives of the Greek aristocracy in the pages of the Seljuk sources, as they tended to conceal any facts not in accordance with classical Muslim patterns, but if one does not assume a strong Byzantine influence, one cannot explain the power that the future Byzantine emperor Michael Palaiologos exerted in the Sultanate in the 1250s.

I am not going to exaggerate the influence of Byzantium in the Sultanate of Rūm. But I cannot otherwise explain the long-lasting political cooperation, the *entente cordiale* between the Empire and the Sultanate of Rūm, which existed for a century, from 1160 until 1261, interrupted only by the battle at Myriokephalon in 1176. As I have already stated, the *entente* was based on the following principles: *amicitia* (*φιλία*) between the heads of state, friendship between the Seljukid and Byzantine lords, the Greeks in the sultan's service,

the influence of the Orthodox Church in the territory of the Sultanate, and the prestige of Byzantine culture.<sup>1</sup>

There are two striking examples of the *entente*. The one belongs to Theodore Metochites and the other to Ibn Bibi. In the second *Imperial Oration*, which Metochites wrote between 1293 and 1294, he observes the bleak perspectives of Byzantine Asia Minor, now under the constant Turkish raids. Metochites mentions bitterly that the Turks now 'have many rulers, [like] the ever-increasing heads of the Hydra. If there were [among them] a zeal for established authority and appropriate unity in whatever form, the current state of affairs would be different.'<sup>2</sup>

Nothing can better explain the priorities of Byzantine policy at the end of the thirteenth century, when the empire was in dire straits. Despite the traditional disdain of a Byzantine, who believed that his state was the source of everything good in this world, towards unruly and 'disorganized' barbarians, the text shows a desperate need for a powerful and peaceful eastern neighbour who could pacify the Turks on the Byzantine borders in Asia Minor. In the past, such neighbours were the Seljuk sultans in Konya whose dynastic ambitions directed them from the Byzantine West towards the Islamic East. The traditional policy of *divide et impera*, of exploiting the divisions between the Turks, made no sense in Asia Minor.

Ibn Bibi describes the arrival of the exiled sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I before Alexios III in 1200. I have already translated the relevant passage in the abridged version of Ibn Bibi<sup>3</sup> but the fuller version is even more interesting. It shows the difference between political reality and Muslim state ideology. The text reads:

The emperor (*fāsilīyūs*) considered the previous treaty ('ahd) with His Majesty [the Sultan] (*mu'azzam-i u*) as his great achievement. [Showing to the sultan his] support and respect, the emperor sent to him his servants, members of the aristocracy and chamberlains, who knew Seljuk customs<sup>4</sup>, to serve him on various occasions. The emperor said: "It is of great importance that the Padishah of Islam should consider as befitting to him to share absolute power over this kingdom with [me], his own Steward<sup>5</sup>. He knows that sincerity of friendship and delight in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Korobeinikov 1997: 629–41.

<sup>2</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Βασιλικὸς δεύτερος*, MS Cod. Vindobon. Philol. Gr. 95, fol. 155r; Theodore Metochites, *Oἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. I. D. Polemis, p. 384; Ševčenko 1961: 178 and n. 46.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Bibi used the term *ighthirāb*, which means 'a person who travelled into foreign parts or married a foreigner'. In both cases it suggests an acquaintance with foreign rites and languages. In this context, the expression *hujjāb-i ighthirāb-i u* literally means the 'valets or chamberlains who had travelled in the sultan's country (or married a Seljuk woman)'.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: 'It is of great importance that the Padishah of Islam should consider as befitting to him the shared with [me], his own Steward (*nuwwāb*), rather than absolute, power over this kingdom'. The term *nuwwāb*, a plural form of *na'ib*, 'a representative, vicegerent, steward,

concord are the bonesetters for the [once broken] amity of faiths (*jābir-i muḥabbat-i i'tiqād*) and the central point in the religions (*miyānat-i adyān*). For all that, after the necessary consultations [between us], the *farmāns* and *barāts* (the sultanic diplomas) must have force in all parts of this kingdom and in the treasury of [me], the Steward of [His] Sultanic Majesty (*nuwwāb-i janāb-i saltānat*)". Every day the sultan was incessantly on the move (*nazz*), [then] had a solemn feast, and at the time of attendance and assemblies he sat with the emperor on the throneto.<sup>6</sup>

Ibn Bibī tries to describe Byzantine–Seljuk relations within the categories of classical Muslim thought. Byzantium was traditionally regarded in Muslim political theory as *dār al-harb*, the land of war, in which the laws of Islam were prohibited and which was to be conqueredto.<sup>7</sup> The nature of Byzantine–Seljuk relations did not allow Ibn Bibī to describe the meeting between Alexios III and Kay-Khusraw I in terms of the *dār al-harb*, the concept of permanent war. Instead, he presents Byzantium as a subordinate state of the so-called *dār al-'ahd*, the land of the covenant, or *dār al-ṣulḥ*, the land of the truce.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the term *'ahd* was used by Ibn Bibī in relation to the treaty between Alexios III and Kay-Khusraw I. According to the Muslim jurists who wrote during the classical era of Islam, between the eighth and eleventh centuries, the term *dār al-'ahd* denotes lands which pass into the hands of Muslims by agreement. The rulers of the *dār al-'ahd* retained their possession on condition that they paid *kharāj* ('tribute'), which was considered the equivalent of *jizya*, the poll tax imposed on non-Muslims. Strictly speaking, the lands of the *dār al-'ahd* were part of the lands of Islam, the *dār al-Islām*, because the people of the *dār al-'ahd*, like the *dhimmīs*, the non-Muslims in the Muslim state, were under the protection of the Muslim community. In other words, everything outside *dār al-Islām* was *dār al-harb*. Muslim political thought denied that a Muslim prince could be a subordinate of a Christian sovereign. On the other hand, the rulers of the *dār al-'ahd* must be the enemy of the enemies of the Sultan and the friend of his friends; in return they received protection against internal and external enemies and respect for their religion, laws, and customs. It was, however, the prerogative of the Muslim sovereign to extend his direct rule over the kingdom of the *dār al-'ahd*.<sup>9</sup>

It is easy to see how Ibn Bibī applies the doctrine of the *dār al-'ahd* when he describes the relationship between the emperor and the sultan in 1200–3.

deputy-in-chief', could be applied to a single person; in this case the plural form is the so-called plural of majesty and could be translated as title 'Altesse', 'Highness'. However, in this instance this was not so. A few lines later on, the text of Ibn Bibi has an expression *nuwwāb-i janāb-i saltānat*, which can be translated only as 'the Steward, or Deputy-in-Chief, of [His] Sultanic Majesty'.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Bibi (AS), pp. 51–2.

<sup>7</sup> Abel, 'Dār al-Harb', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> İnalçık, 'Dār al-'Ahd', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 116; Macdonald and Abel, 'Dār al-Ṣulḥ', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> İnalçık, 'Dār al-'Ahd', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, p. 116; Abel, 'Dār al- Islām', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, pp. 127–8.

The speeches of both sovereigns were doubtlessly composed by a Muslim: their wording is quintessentially Islamic.<sup>10</sup> The emperor behaves as a Muslim subordinate: he pays the *kharāj*; he begs the sultan to allow him, his ‘Steward’, to continue to exercise his power, albeit reduced; he is afraid that the sultan will extend his direct rule over Byzantium, and under exceptional circumstances he agrees that the orders of Kay-Khusraw I (issued according to the laws of Islam) have the same force as the decrees of the emperor himself. Even his title ‘Your Highness’ is deliberately misinterpreted as that of a vicegerent (*nuwwāb*). Byzantium is expressly described as a part of the *dār al-Islām*.

This ideological construction was so arbitrary that Ibn Bibī did not manage to convince even the author of his own abridgement, the *Mukhtaṣar*. The latter writes that it was the emperor, not the sultan, who as the real master of his own state decided to allow Kay-Khusraw I to participate in running the affairs of Byzantium and, as a symbolic representation of this decision, to sit together with the emperor on the throne.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, further reading makes it clear that the emperor sat alone on his high throne, while the sultan was placed somewhere below, just as his father Kılıç Arslān II had sat when the emperor Manuel I Komnenos met him on his reception in Constantinople in 1161.<sup>12</sup> The text which Ibn Bibī used was composed by an anonymous Muslim author at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It contained a real, not imaginary, description of how the exiled Kay-Khusraw I, bereft of anything, appeared in Constantinople in 1200. He had little chance of being honourably received.<sup>13</sup>

This recovered text ascribes the expression ‘sincerity of friendship and delight of concord are the bonesetters for the [once broken] amity of faiths and the central point in the religions’ to Alexios III and, through him, to Kay-Khusraw I. In reality the statement shows how the Seljuks of Rūm understood their *entente cordiale* with the Byzantines in this rare picture of their sultan being met by the emperor in Constantinople. Like the Byzantines, they put the idea of friendship (or union: *ittiḥād*), love (*muḥābba, widād*) and fellowship (or partnership: *mushāraka*) above religious divisions. There are three possible explanations, complementary to each other. None can be entirely ascribed to Byzantine influence. Rather, they were the outcome of profound changes in the Muslim world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

First, the terms used in the text of Ibn Bibī (for example, *ittiḥād*) were also the terms employed by the Islamic mystics, the *ṣūfīs*. It seems that the author of the text shared the doctrines and beliefs of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the founder of the brotherhood of Mawlawī (Mevlevi), according to which love for God could

<sup>10</sup> Korobeinikov 2007: 99–100.

<sup>12</sup> Korobeinikov 2007: 94–5, 100.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Bibi, p. 14; Ibn Bibi (Duda), p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, p. 522, ll.21–24.

unite Christians and Muslims.<sup>14</sup> As soon as the Muslim mystics advanced the formula that 'All is He' (i.e. All is God), alien beliefs and practices (including Christian ones) could easily be interpreted as expressions of Islamic truth.<sup>15</sup> This was a spiritual development of the Islamic idea of *ahl al-kitāb*, 'the people of the Scripture', whose faith, though corrupted in comparison with that of Muslims, nevertheless had some justification in the eyes of the Lord. What is new in the text of Ibn Bibī is that these *ṣūfi* ideas were understood as a doctrine of foreign relations.

Secondly, the expression 'sincerity of friendship and delight of concord' points to the increased importance of chivalrous ideas in the Muslim world, probably because of Turkish influence. On non-theological levels the notions of holy war (*ghazā*) and war for faith (*jihād*) were transformed into a code of honour, and personal obedience to a trustworthy ally was sometimes considered more important than religious divisions. Cemal Kafadar wrote that 'recognizing the role of honour and etiquette enables us to understand that being a gazi (*al-ghāzī*, Islamic fighter for faith) means that one fights not necessarily for a particular set of beliefs but for one's side'.<sup>16</sup> I find this definition more appropriate for the realities of the thirteenth century than the usual descriptions of the *ghazā* and *jihād* as uncompromising struggle with infidels, according to classical Muslim perceptions.

And thirdly, the image of Byzantium in the Muslim world underwent profound changes in the thirteenth century. The attitude of early Muslims to Byzantium was that of *l'ennemi intime et l'adversaire fasciné*.<sup>17</sup> despite the reverence for Byzantine wisdom and culture, the empire was regarded as the chief realm of the *dār al-harb*, and its emperor was denied his sovereign rights and was called *al-tāghīyya*, a 'tyrant'. During the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries the image of the empire becomes more friendly in the eyes of Muslim chroniclers: they stop applying the pejorative tags 'May God curse them' or 'May God send them to perdition' to the Byzantines (but continued to do so to the Crusaders). Ibn al-Athīr felt sympathy for the unfortunate Byzantines whose capital city of Constantinople was taken by the savage Crusaders in 1204.<sup>18</sup> In the fourteenth century the Mamluk sultans of Egypt called the Byzantine emperor 'friend of the *maliks* and the sultans' and addressed him as a powerful ruler of Christendom, the head of the Byzantine Commonwealth (oddly, these Mamluk charters are the only extant sources that contain the official list of the countries of the Byzantine Commonwealth, whose supreme head was the emperor in Constantinople: Bulgaria (including

<sup>14</sup> Vryonis 1971: 382–91.

<sup>16</sup> Kafadar 1995: 85.

<sup>15</sup> Hunwick *et al.*, 'Taṣawwuf', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, x, p. 321.

<sup>17</sup> Dagron 1996: 62.

<sup>18</sup> Hillenbrand 2001: 84–4.

Serbia), Vlakhia, Alania, Rus', and Georgia).<sup>19</sup> The Mamluks even called the emperor the lord of the Turks in 1341.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, by announcing their friendship with the emperor and recognizing him as 'father', the Seljuk sultans of Rūm entered the Byzantine circle of rulers. Thus, these changes in Muslim perceptions opened the way for Byzantine political influence over the sultans of Rūm.

The arrival of the Mongols forced the Byzantines to put aside those brilliant alliances. Initially, both states, the empire of Nicaea and the Sultanate of Rūm, were bound together by the Mongol danger. However, Mongol control over the Sultanate increased after the foundation of the Mongol state of the Ilkhāns in Īrān in 1258; and after almost 20 years (1243–61) of attempts to use the Seljuks as a barrier against the Mongols, the new Nicaean emperor, Michael Palaiologos, turned Byzantine policy in the East abruptly towards amicable relations with the Ilkhānid state. He concluded a treaty with Hülegü, the first Ilkhān, in 1260.

If we look at the geographical limits of the Mongol conquests in the 1240–50s, Byzantium can be seen as a safe haven in the Mongol storm. Both the Balkans (Bulgaria) and Asia Minor were devastated and subdued by the armies of the khān of the Golden Horde and the Ilkhān respectively. But these two Mongol streams never united at the walls of Constantinople (see Fig. 1). Despite the rivalry between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhānid realm, both Mongol states, for various reasons, maintained friendly relations with Byzantium. Moreover, the Mongols of Īrān, like the Seljuks before them, were guarantors of the security of the Byzantine eastern border. It was a joint Seljuk–Mongol expedition that eliminated the first great Turkmen confederation near the Byzantine frontier, the 'emirate' of Mehmed-bey of Denizli in 1262. But soon the advantage of this special relationship with the Mongols was to be offset by serious drawbacks.

The Mongol conquest of Asia Minor opened a Pandora's box of Turkish resistance. The numbers of Turks near the Byzantine border increased. However, we have no clear evidence that the augmentation of Turkish numbers in itself destroyed the Byzantine defences. The strongest Turkish confederation near the Byzantine border, the Turks of Denizli, numbered 6,000 warriors at the most. As we have seen, in 1304, the confederation of three beys (Yakub I Alişir Germiyanoğlu, Sasa and Mehmed Aydinoğulları) numbered no more than 8,000 horsemen and 12,000 infantry. As the mediaeval sources are very unreliable as far as figures are concerned, I suggest that, in the light of all we

<sup>19</sup> Korobeinikov 2004a: 53–74. Dimitri Obolensky, who first described the Byzantine Commonwealth, failed to find the description of the Commonwealth in its entirety in Greek or Slavic sources: Obolensky 1971:1–3. To reconstruct the Commonwealth, he brought together various data, because the phenomena that he studied left few direct traces in the sources.

<sup>20</sup> Korobeinikov 2004a: 60–1.

know about Turkish nomadic units at that time, the confederation's army was no more than 8,000–10,000 capable warriors, most of whom were horsemen. The Ottomans had no more than 5,000 horsemen in 1304, though they were earlier supported by the Turks from Maeander and Paphlagonia.<sup>21</sup> In other words, I cannot envisage a significant increase in the numbers of any particular Turkish confederation. The Byzantine army under Michael Palaiologos (8,000 heavily armed troops<sup>22</sup>) was rather larger than its Nicaean counterpart (6,000). The Catalans in 1303–4 had approximately the same number of soldiers (6,500).<sup>23</sup> As we have seen, from a military point of view, the campaigns of Michael VIII and later of the Catalans against the Turks in Asia Minor were successful.

Paradoxically, it was the Mongol wars against the Turks near the Byzantine frontier that caused the most serious problems for the Byzantines. The Turks, whose traditional habitat had been damaged by the Mongols, tried to compensate by occupying Byzantine territory. Time and time again, when Pachymeres mentions a great Turkish onslaught against the Byzantines,<sup>24</sup> the Seljukid or İlkhanid sources reveal that one or two years earlier Mongol and/or Seljukid troops had devastated the land beyond the Byzantine border. The only exception was the revolt in Kastamonu in 1291–3.

Until the 1290s the Byzantines managed to maintain their defence system. In 1280–2 Michael VIII Palaiologos, despite his preoccupation with relations with the West, found enough resources to drive out the Turks who had entered Byzantine territory in 1277–9. His reforms, which were aimed at increasing soldier numbers and concentrating military power in his own hands, were the correct response to the formation of the large Turkmen confederations near the imperial borders which posed an unprecedented threat to the safety of the Anatolian possessions of the Empire.

Unfortunately, his son Andronikos II took a different view of the policy of the Empire. During his reign, Byzantine strategy towards the East became passive. No important military operation was undertaken from 1284 to 1295, despite the loss of Tralles and turbulent Turkish revolts against the Mongols. The emperor probably thought that the old Laskarid strategy of rebuilding fortresses and supplying the garrisons with money and soldiers would be the best solution.<sup>25</sup> If so, this was a short-sighted policy.

Very soon Andronikos II began to suffer from a shortage of money. He tried to solve his financial problems at the expense of the Byzantine navy and army. In 1284–5 a special 10 per cent tax was imposed on *pronoia* holders. At the same time Andronikos II abandoned the navy,<sup>26</sup> without which the mobility of

<sup>21</sup> Pachymeres, ii, p. 457, l.1.

<sup>22</sup> Bartusis 1992: 37.

<sup>23</sup> Bartusis 1992: 78.

<sup>24</sup> See the Chronology in Pachymeres established by Failler: Pachymeres, v, pp. 3–15.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Theodore Metochites' programme for the defence of Asia Minor: Laiou 1972: 78–9.

<sup>26</sup> Pachymeres, ii, pp. 81, l.20–83, l.28.

Byzantine troops in the complex coastal area of Western Asia Minor was greatly reduced. The debasement of Byzantine coinage sharply accelerated after 1294: Michael VIII reduced the percentage of gold in coins from 17.1 carats (71.3 per cent) under Theodore II to 15.5 carats (64.7 per cent) in 1261–82, while Andronikos II reduced the proportion from 15.5 carats to 13.4 carats (55.9 per cent) over a similar period (1282–1305?, esp. after 1294).<sup>27</sup> During the short period from 1282 to 1294, Andronikos II managed to impoverish all the important parts of the military: the navy, the *pronoia* holders, and the mercenaries, who received their fixed salary in the devalued currency. Little wonder that Alexios Philanthropenos' soldiers revolted in 1295 when they heard a rumour that the emperor wanted to take the booty they had won in the territory of the emirate of Menteşe.

The Turkish invasion in 1292–3 proved the ineffectiveness of Andronikos II's defence in Asia Minor based on the system of fortresses. Philanthropenos' revolt in 1295 and the failure of Tarchaneiotes' reforms in 1298–1300 resulted in the elimination of the Byzantine army in Asia Minor by 1302. Later attempts by Andronikos to use foreign mercenaries (the Alans, then the Catalans) ended in disaster: the Catalans threatened the very existence of the Empire in 1305–11.

Unfortunately for the Byzantines, the Turkish conquest in 1302–5 was more than a simple nomadic invasion, as the boundary zone was a territory where both sedentary and transhumant elements coexisted. After the conquest of Byzantine Asia Minor, not only did the nomads become sedentary in their new environment,<sup>28</sup> but soon the new territories became subject to Muslim immigration from the depths of Asia Minor. Conditions for the peasants and the townsfolk in Asia Minor under Mongol power were difficult: Āqsarāyī mentions many times the burdensome taxation, political instability, and arbitrary rule of the local authorities, both Seljukid and Mongol.<sup>29</sup> The famous traveller, Ibn Battūṭa, when in Bursa in 1331, met a learned *imam*, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Sultān-önü, at the Ottoman court.<sup>30</sup> The *nisba* 'al-Sultān-önü' means that he was born or brought up in the small town of Sultan-önü (var. Sultan-öyügü),<sup>31</sup> one of the centres of the Ottoman *beylik* before the conquest of the Byzantine territory, and then migrated to Bursa. Such people helped the

<sup>27</sup> Morrisson et al. 1980–98: 25; *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and Whittemore Collection*, vol.5, pp. 44–5; Kontogiannopoulou 2004: 271–86; Hendy 1985: 526–30. I am grateful to Dr E. Lianta who called my attention to this material. Cf. Zakythinos 1948: 7–29.

<sup>28</sup> Lindner 1983: 25–36.

<sup>29</sup> Aksarayī, pp. 247–50; 265–66; Vryonis 1971: 244–9.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Battūṭa, *Rihla*, p. 323; Ibn Battūṭa, *The Travels*, tr. Gibb, ii, pp. 450 (N 140), 453.

<sup>31</sup> On Sultan-önü, see Ibn Bibi (Yazıcıoğlu Ali), pp. 217–18; Ibn Bibi (Yazıcızâde Ali), p. 353; Seif 1925: 90–1; Mehmed Neşri, *Kitāb-i Cīhān-nüma*, eds. Unat and Köyメン, i, pp. 72/73; Hadji Khalifa Kiatib Tchélébi 1852: ii, p. 701; Zachariadou 1991: 87.

Ottomans take their first steps in establishing their state in the recently conquered Byzantine lands.

We read in the chronicle of 'Āşikpāşazāde that as soon as the *amīr* Osman conquered Bilecik, Karaca-Hisar, and other Byzantine fortresses in the vicinity of Nicaea, he distributed among his warriors *timārs* or the revenues from the villages.<sup>32</sup> He thus laid the foundations of a healthy military system that was not based on any tribal organisation, and a Byzantine reconquest became virtually impossible. The old Byzantine Empire was doomed; the new Ottoman empire was born.

<sup>32</sup> 'Āşikpāşazāde, *Menāqib ve Tevārikh-i āl-i 'Osmān*, MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin or. oct. 2448, fols. 33a–34a; *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Āşikpāşazāde*, ed. Giese, p. 22; *Āşikpāşazāde Tarihi*, ed. Öztürk, pp. 31–2.

## *Glossary*

The glossary includes important terms which are not explained on their first appearance in the text.

Abbreviations:

A—Arabic

B—Byzantine

M—Mongolian

P—Persian

T—Turkish

*al-'ajam* (A)—Literally, ‘non-Arab, foreigner’. The term was largely applied to Persians, the ‘foreigners’ in the Muslim community in the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates.

*akritai* (B)—Smallholding Byzantine soldiers in the frontier zone, usually those exempted from taxation on return for military service.

*allagion* (B)—A unit of troops, usually a large one, in battle formation.

*amīr* (A, P, T)—Literally, ‘one who commands’. A local or regional ruler with a status inferior to that of a sultan. The term could also be applied to high-ranking Seljukid officials and military commanders.

*amīr-i akhūr* (P)—Literally, ‘master of the horse’, the head of a stables, who also served as commander of a military detachment or field army.

*archon* (B)—Title of a local lord or any ruler of inferior rank to an emperor.

*atābey* (*atābeg*) (T)—Literally, ‘father of the prince’. A *bey/beg* (q.v.) acting as the guardian of an infant ruler.

*bey* (*beg*) (T)—Title of Chinese origin, which was used as the most general designation of a ruler or military commander in Turkic; a Turkish equivalent of the title *amīr* (q.v.).

*beylerbeyi* (*beglerbega*) (T)—Literally, ‘the *bey* of the *bays*’. The commander-in-chief of the Seljukid army after the sultan himself, in charge of the organization of the defences of the *uj* (q.v.) of the Sultanate. The Turkish equivalent of the title *amīr al-umarā'* ('commander-in-chief').

*beylik* (T)—Territory under the control of a *bey* (q.v.); a principality. As such, the term is usually applied to the Turkish states of Asia Minor outside the Ottoman Empire in 1307–1468, from the fall of the Sultanate of Rūm until the conquest of the *beylik* of the Karamanoğulları by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II Fatih (1444–6; 1451–81).

*caesar* (B)—Title of a high-ranking courtier, fourth in precedence after the emperor; usually reserved for members of the imperial family or foreign rulers connected with the Byzantine imperial dynasty.

*despoina* (B)—Literally, ‘madam, mistress’. A title of high-ranking female members of the imperial family; as such, the title could be applied to the empresses and the emperor’s daughters (including those who were illegitimate).

*despot* (B)—High-ranking court title, second only to emperor and reserved for members of the imperial family.

*dīwān* (A, P, T)—Among other meanings, the term signified the main governing department(s) of the Muslim state, the assembly of the chief ministers or officials. The Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm had the following most important *dīwāns*:

*dīwān-i aṣlā* (P)—Office of the *wazīr* (q.v.)

*dīwān-i istīfā* (P)—Tax office, whose head was called *mustawfī* (q.v.)

*dīwān-i ishrāf-i mamālik* (P)—Tax collection office, *bureau des impôts*, with the *mushrif* (‘superintendent’) as its head

*dīwān-i ṭughrā* (P)—State chancery

*dīwān-i ‘adl* or *dīwān-i mazālim* (P)—‘The office of justice’, whose head, the *amīr-i dād*, was the Sultan’s chief magistrate for the repression of administrative and other abuses (*mazālim*)

*dīwān-i ‘ard* (P)—Superintendency of the army

*bayt al-māl* (A), *khizāna* (P)—State treasury

*khizāna-i khāṣṣ* (P)—Sultan’s private treasury

*dīwān-i tawliyyat-i awqāf* (P)—Superintendency of the *waqfs* (q.v.)

*enkomion* (B)—Type of laudatory speech, which formed a special genre in Byzantine rhetorical theory.

*firmān* (A), *farmān* (P)—Decree, diploma, or order issued by a sultan.

**Great Khān**—Supreme ruler of all the Mongols. The Great Khāns of the Mongol Empire were Chinggis Khān (1206–27), Ögedei (1229–41), Güyüg (1246–8), Möngke (1251–9), and Qubilay (1260–94).

**hegoumenos** (B)—Superior of monastery (the equivalent of the Latin ‘abbot’).

**Īlkhān** (M, T)—Title of the Mongol rulers of Īrān. The title is usually translated as ‘subject Khān’, as its holders recognized the superior rights of the Great Khān (q.v.) until the reign of the Īlkhān Ghazan (1295–1304).

**imām** (A)—A leader in communal prayer; the leader of the Islamic community, the Caliph; a successor to the Prophet.

**iqtā‘** (A)—Grant of revenue from land or a province to a military or administrative office holder, the *muqtā‘*, to whom the sultan or any other supreme state authority could also grant legislative or administrative rights over the territory of the *iqtā‘*.

**kastron** (B)—A fortified town or a fortress.

**kastrophylax** (B)—Person in charge of a town’s fortifications.

**kephale** (B)—Military and civil governor of a *kastron* and its surrounding territory.

**Khān** (M, T)—Mongol or Turkish ruler, whose rank was superior to that of a *bey* (q.v.).

**khātūn** (M, T)—A noblewoman, a lady. The title was applied, though never exclusively, to the senior female members of the family of a Khān (q.v.), sultan (q.v.), or *shāh* (q.v.) in dynasties of Turkic origin.

**khutba** (A)—Mention of the sovereign’s name in the sermon at Friday prayers in the mosque, a sign of sovereignty.

**kışlak, qışlāq** (T)—Winter pastures of Turkish or Mongol nomads.

**kundışabl** (P)—Seljuk loan title from the Latin *comes stabuli* or Byzantine *κοντοσταῦλος*. A master of the private stables of the Sultan of Rūm.

**laqab** (A)—Honorific part of Muslim names, which consists of agnomens, nicknames, or titles of the holder.

**logothetes** (B)—High-ranking functionary or minister of a state department. As such, the term *logothetes* was part of many Byzantine state offices. Of these, the most important were:

**megas logothetes** (B)—Prime minister of the Byzantine Empire, in charge of civil administration and foreign affairs.

*logothetes ton agelon* (B)—High-ranking court official, literally ‘secretary of herds’, originally in charge of the state horses of the Empire.

*logothetes tou genikou* (B)—Secretary of the state household.

*logothetes tou dromou* (B)—Originally, the secretary of the state Post Office, a Byzantine equivalent of ‘foreign secretary’.

*logothetes tou stratiotikou* (B)—Secretary of the imperial military bureau, in charge of the *pronoia* holders and the organization of the army; the office disappeared in the fourteenth century.

*madrasa* (A, P)—Islamic religious college or school.

*megas domestikos* (B)—Grand domestic, commander-in-chief of the army.

*megas doux* (B)—Grand duke, a high-ranking court title, often with no fixed function, originally held by the commander of the navy.

*megas drungarios* (B)—Admiral-in-chief of the imperial navy.

*megas konostaulos* (B)—Literally, ‘grand constable’, *comes stabuli*, a high-ranking military title, in charge of the foreign mercenaries of the Empire.

*megas logariastes* (B)—Grand treasurer of the Empire.

*megas stratopedarches* (B)—Military officer in charge of the provisions and equipment of the army.

*mesadzon* (B)—imperial chancellor; literally, ‘intermediary’ between the emperor and his subjects.

*mustawfi* (A, P)—Revenue accountant or treasurer.

*nā'ib* (A, P)—Generally, a deputy; the title was often applied to the sultan’s deputy-in-chief (*nā'ib al-saltana*) in various provinces or in the capital during the sultan’s absence.

*nisba* (A)—Part of the name in Arabic, Persian or Turkish Islamic names which indicates a profession or the place of origin of the person or his forebears.

*noyan* (M)—A Mongol general; a Mongol nobleman who did not belong to the ruling Chinggisid dynasty.

*oikeios* (B)—Retainer with a close personal connection to his master, often to the emperor; the *oikeioi* formed the emperor’s entourage at the court or in the field. When applied to a foreign ruler, the term meant a subordinate of the emperor.

*pansebastos sebastos* (B)—Court title with no fixed function.

*parwāna* (P)—Literally, ‘butterfly’, ‘moth’. The sultan’s personal assistant who delivered his master’s orders to the ministers of the Sultanate.

*philos* (B)—Literally, ‘a friend’; a designation of a follower and client of a noble person, especially of an emperor. When applied to a foreign ruler, the term meant an ally of the emperor.

*prokathemenos* (B)—Top civil official of a *kastron* (q.v.), subordinate to the *kephale* (q.v.).

*pronoia* (B)—Literally, ‘providence, care’. A grant to an individual or individuals from the emperor, consisting of the fiscal rights over the revenue from state land or other state properties.

*pronoiar* (B)—A holder of a *pronoia*.

*protobestiarios* (*protovestiarios*) (B)—High-ranking courtier, in charge of the imperial wardrobe.

*qādī* (A, P)—A Muslim judge.

*qubchur* (M)—Mongol tax on individual adult males (in Islamic lands) or on individual households (in China).

Rūm (A, P, T from ‘Rome’, ‘the Byzantine Empire’)—Designation of the former Byzantine lands in Asia Minor which had been conquered by the Seljuks.

*şāhib* (P)—Literally, ‘lord’, ‘master’. A designation of a high-ranking Seljukid or İlhānid official, who served as head of some government departments, e.g. *şāhib dīwān* (q.v.).

*şāhib dīwān* (P)—Minister of finance; also the chief minister (‘the head of the *dīwān*’) in the İlhānid state.

*sebastokrator* (*sevastokrator*) (B)—Highest honorary title after emperor and despot, reserved for the members of the imperial family only.

*shāh* (P)—Title of the supreme ruler of Irān or Central Asia; sometimes, but not always, served as a Persian equivalent of the title ‘sultan’ (q.v.).

*shāhzādah* (P)—Crown prince, the son of a *shāh* (q.v.) or a sultan (q.v.).

*shihna* (var. *shahna*) (A)—Originally governor of a province, later prefect of a city responsible for collecting taxes and maintaining order. In the Mongol Empire the office of *shihna* was also called *dārughā* (M) and *basqaq* (T), ‘tax collector’.

*sipahdār* (P)—Commander-in-chief of the troops in a province or city.

*stratarchon* (B)—Commander of a garrison.

*stratiotes* (B)—A soldier; the term might have been applied to the *pronoiares* (q.v.).

*subaşı* (T)—Commander of a large military detachment or a garrison.

Sultan, *sultān* (A)—One of the highest secular titles of the ruler of a Muslim state. According to Seljukid historical tradition, the title, which was originally held by the Ghaznavids, was bestowed by the Caliph al-Qā’im bi-Amr Allāh (1031–75) upon the Seljukid chief Ṭoḡrīl-bey (1037–63) in AH 447 (2 April 1055–20 March 1056). From then on, it became the title of Seljukid and subsequent Muslim rulers in the Middle East.

*symmachos* (B)—A foreign ruler who became the military ally of the Empire and recognized himself as subordinate to the emperor.

*tagmata* troops (B)—Regular troops consisting of *tagmata*, Byzantine professional military units of no set size and employed for major military operations.

*themata* troops (B)—Local regular troops, formed in a *theme* (q.v.).

*theme* (B)—Administrative unit, whose governor, the *doux*, exercised civil and military power.

*timār* (P, T)—Grant or prebend of state taxes in the Ottoman Empire in return for the military service of the holder.

*uj (uc)* (T)—Literally, ‘the end, extremity, peak, limit’. A designation of the frontier zone or marchlands, especially those inhabited by the nomadic Turks. Its equivalents were *akra* (‘highest or farthest point’, ‘cape’, ‘end’, ‘extremity’, hence the term *akritai*, q.v.) in Greek and *al-thaghr*, pl. *al-thughūr* (‘front tooth’, ‘mouth’, ‘border’) in Arabic.

*waqf* (A, P, T)—A grant of land or any source of revenue in perpetuity for pious or charitable purposes.

*wazīr* (A, P, T)—The sultan’s or shāh’s omnicompetent minister, usually the head or chairman of the chief state *dīwān* (q.v.).

*yaylak, yāylāq* (T)—Summer pastures of the Turkish or Mongol nomads.

*zāwiya* (A, P)—Literally, ‘a corner’. A place of religious retreat or a meeting place of Sufis (Muslim mystics) for prayer and the invocation of the name of God.

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*takwūr* (*t'agawor, tākwar*) 46, 154  
*tarjumān* 22, 86  
*tawliyyat-i awqāf-i mamālik* 24, 85  
*telos* 238  
*themata* 74, 78, 236, 240, 242, 244–5, 251, 270, 303  
*timār* 297, 303  
*tughrāī* 84, 86

*uj* (*uc*) 27, 83, 90–2, 95, 130–1, 157, 191, 193, 222, 224–5, 228–30, 232, 250–1, 253, 261, 263–4, 271–3, 280–1, 303  
*'ulamā'* 201–2  
*ulus* 177, 200  
*ustādhādār* 84

*wālidā-i sultān* 187  
*waqf* 24, 84–5, 303  
*wazir* 84–6

*yarlıgh* 25–6, 108, 173, 180, 182, 187, 197, 200  
*yaylak* (*yāylāq*) 231, 236, 303

*zāwiya* 95–303

## TWO CAPITALS: CONSTANTINOPLE AND NICAEA

(a)



(b)



Figs. 1a-b. Triple Theodosian land walls of Constantinople. Built in AD 404–13, these walls protected Constantinople from its enemies, including the Byzantines of Nicaea in 1247–61.



**Figs. 2a-d.** Walls and 114 towers of Nicaea (near Constantinople Gates (Istanbul Kapi)). Built in AD 258–69, the walls were a formidable structure even in the thirteenth century. Emperor Theodore I Laskaris built additional fortifications at some wall locations. It was probably through the Constantinople Gates of Nicaea (see book cover) that the refugees from Constantinople entered the city in 1204.

(c)



(d)



Figs. 2a-d. Continued



**Figs. 3a-c.** Church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea. The church, the location of the First and the Seventh Ecumenical Councils (held in AD 325 and AD 787 respectively), was rebuilt in 1025. It served as a coronation cathedral church of the Nicaean emperors. Its synthronon (Fig. 3b) is still extant, as well as some frescoes (Fig. 3c) that survived the destructions of 1922.

(c)



Figs. 3a-c. Continued



**Figs. 4a-b.** Golden Gates of Constantinople. They were used as triumphal gates for solemn processions. On 17 April 1204 Patriarch John X Kamateros and Nicetas Choniates escaped from the sacked Constantinople through the northern entrance of the Golden Gates; and on 15 August 1261, on the feast day of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos entered the City through the same gates in a solemn procession celebrating the liberation of Constantinople from the Latins.

## EASTERN ANATOLIA



**Fig. 5.** Ruins of Ani. Church of Tigran Honents<sup>c</sup> (1215). In the thirteenth century Ani was outside Seljukid control: the city was a part of the domains of the atabeg Ivanē (1187–1227) and Zak‘arē Zakhārid-Mkhargrdzeli (1187–1213) under the Georgian queen Thamar.

## MARIA (MELANIA) DIPLOBATATZINA



Fig. 6a. Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora (renovated by Theodore Metochites in 1315–21) (Kariye Cami).



Fig. 6b. Maria Diplobatatzina, wife of the Ilkhān Abaqā. This portrait, from the frescoes of Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora, shows Maria Diplobatatzina, later the nun Melania, the illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII and the wife of the Ilkhān Abaqā. Her title ‘Empress of the East’ in Philes’ poem emphasizes not only her high position as the Ilkhān’s widow but also her protection for the Melkite communities of Iran (on these, see Korobeinikov 2005: 3–4). (Wikimedia Commons/Caner Cangül)



**Fig. 6c.** Deesis of the Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora with the portraits of the two church benefactors: the 'Lady of the Mongols' Maria Diplobatatzina, later the nun Melania, the consanguine sister of Andronikos II, and the prophyrogennetos sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos (1093–after 1152), the son of the Emperor Alexios I and the father of Andronikos I. Both church patrons had connections with eastern countries. Maria was in Tabriz, the capital city of Mongol Iran, in 1265–82, during the lifetime of her husband Abaqha. Isaac Komnenos, who opposed the Emperor John II, spent fourteen years in exile, from 1122 (or early 1123) to 1136, travelling across the Sultanate of Rum, the emirate of the Dânişmendogulları, Cilician Armenia, and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. His son John preferred to settle permanently in the Sultanate of Rum in 1140, where he married a daughter of the Sultan Mas'ud I. © The Dumbarton Oaks Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives.

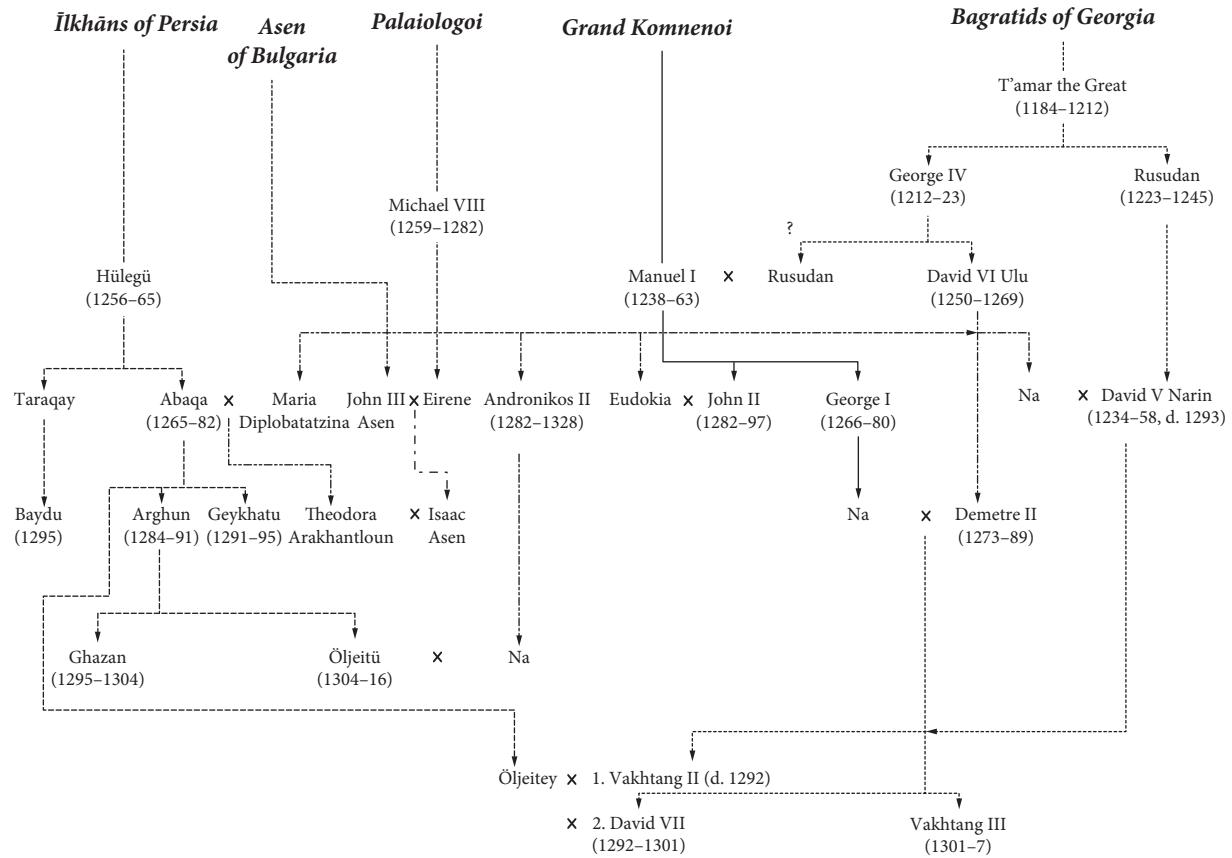


Fig. 7. Genealogical table